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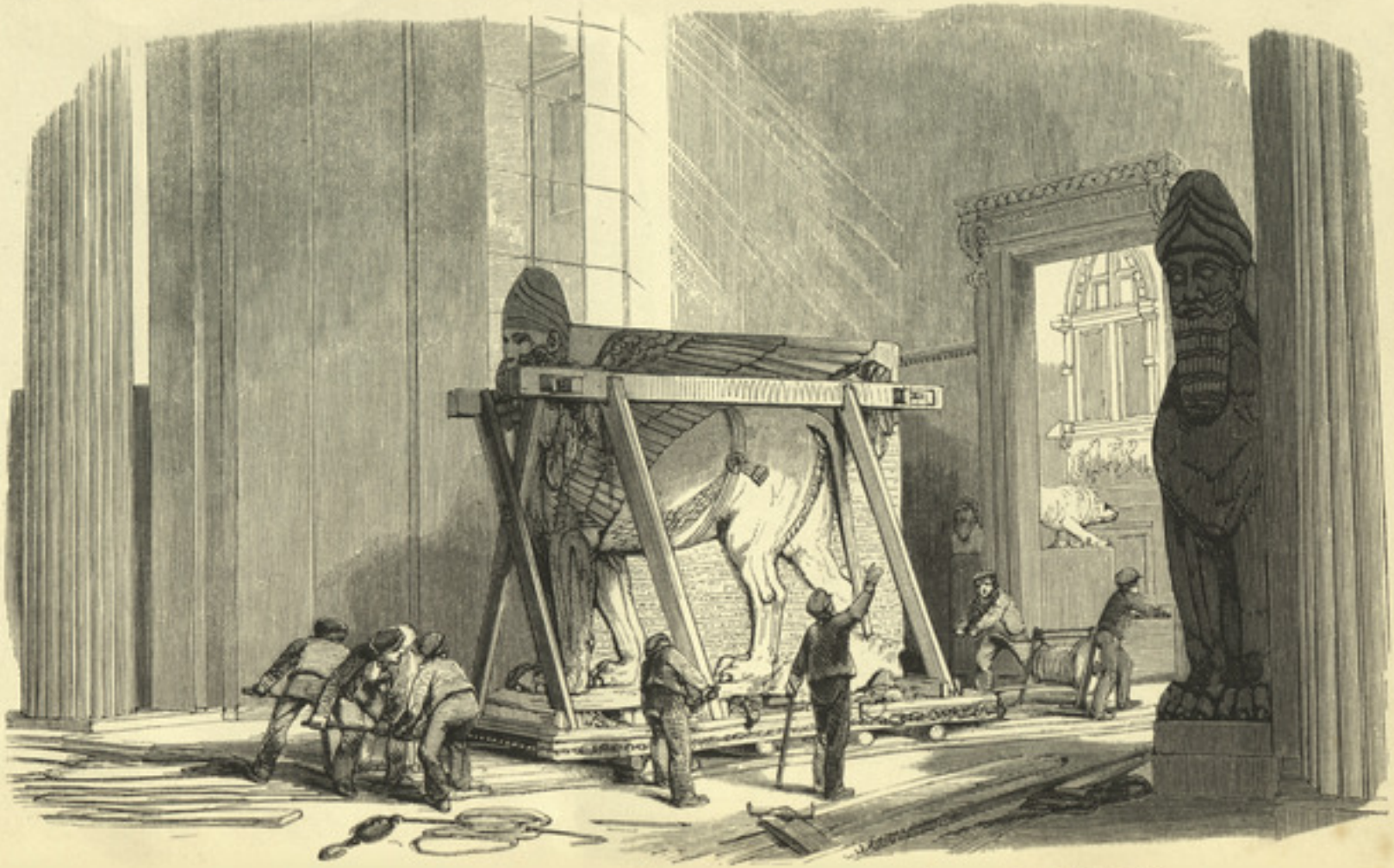

Moving one of the Lions from Nineveh, to the New room, British Museum.—Feb. 12th, 1852.

NINEVEH AND ITS PALACES.

THE

DISCOVERIES OF BOTTA AND LAYARD, APPLIED TO THE ELUCIDATION OF HOLY WRIT.

BY JOSEPH BONOMI, F.R.S.L.

"For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it."
HAB. ii. 11.

"The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings."—DAN. vii. 4.

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PREFACE.

In preparing the present volume, and treating of Nineveh and its palaces, I have endeavoured to follow a system of arrangement originated by the highly suggestive sculptures which have been discovered. Thus, after carefully examining the remains in our own Museum and in the Louvre, and studying the ground-plans of the respective structures with the original situations of the friezes; I selected a starting-point and pursued a regular and systematic course through the ruined chambers, reading the sculptures upon the walls together with the Scriptures as I progressed. Whether the line of reasoning adopted is erroneous or just, must be left to the decision of the reader, but though my inferences and conclusions may be questioned by many, it is hoped that the facts in the subject-matter will be interesting to all.

In conclusion I would wish to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments to the officers of the British Museum, for the uniform urbanity and liberal aid they have always afforded me: and likewise for the co-operation I have met with from many kind friends. To Mr. Samuel

Sharpe I am indebted for his valuable chapter on Assyrian History and Chronology; to Dr. Lepsius, for his prompt information respecting the Cyprus monument; to Dr. Lee, of Hartwell, for the papers of Dr. Grotefend; to Mr. Barker; to Mr. Romaine, for his recent sketches on the very spots whence the antiquities were derived: to each and all of these, as well as to other friends who have kindly promoted my labours, my heartfelt thanks are cordially returned.

JOSEPH BONOMI.

March 25th, 1852.

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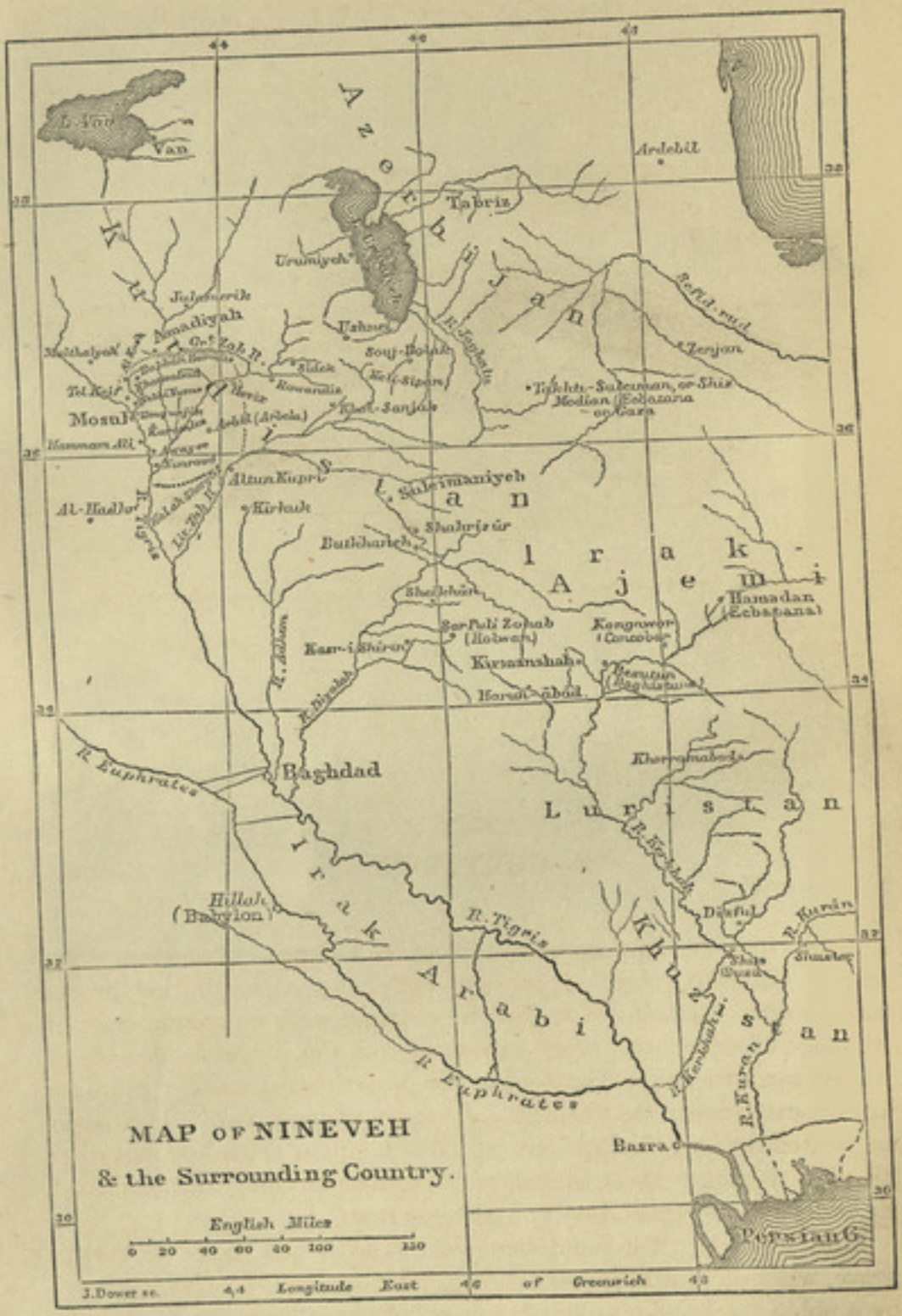
MAP OF NINEVEH
& the Surrounding Country.
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
Longitude East of Greenwich
J. Dower sc.
Van
Ardebil
Tabriz
Urumiyeh
Ushnu
Amadiyah
Mosul
Al-Hadha
Altun Kupri
Kirkuk
Suleimaniyeh
Shahrisur
Butkhaneh
Sheikhan
Sar Puli Zohab (Holwan)
Kasr-i Shirin
Kirmanshah
Harun-abad
Kangawar (Concobar)
Hamadan (Ecbatana)
Baghdad
Hillah (Babylon)
Khorramabad
Disful
Shaster
Basra
Persian G.
Irak Ajemi
Irak Arabi
Luristan
Khuzistan
Kurdistan
Azerbijan
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
R. Kurán
R. Kerkhah
R. Diyalah
R. Adhem
Sefid-rud
Zenjan
Takht-i-Suleiman, or Shiz Median (Ecbatana or Gaza)
Sidek
Rowandiz
Khol-Sanjak
Tel Keif
Hammam Ali
Arbil (Arbela)
Sauj-Bolak
Keli-Sipan
Gr. Zab R.
Lit. Zab R.
Tigris
Kerkhah
Shaster
Kurán

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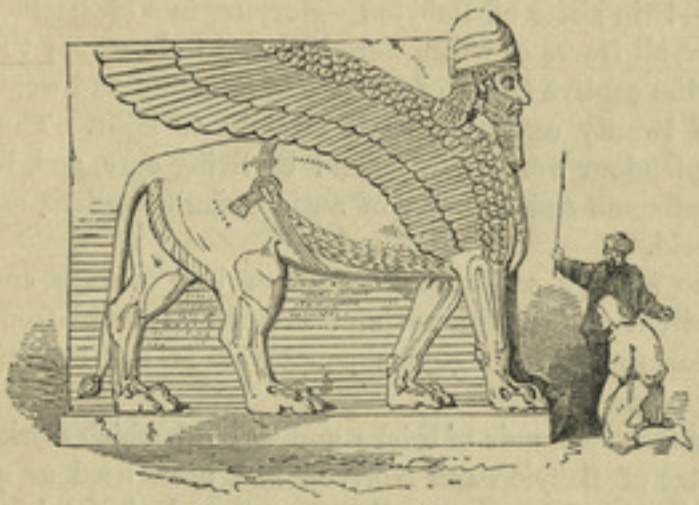


Fig. 3.—"THE FIRST WAS LIKE A LION AND HAD EAGLE'S WINGS."—*Daniel* vii. 4.

SECTION I.

THE BURIED CITY AND ITS DISCOVERERS.

CHAPTER I.

RICH.

FAR away—a thousand miles—from the highways of modern commerce, and the tracks of ordinary travel, lay a city buried in the sandy earth of a half-desert Turkish province, with no certain trace of its place of sepulchre. Vague tradition said that it was hidden somewhere near the river Tigris; but for above two thousand years its known existence in the world was as a mere name—a word. That name suggested the idea of an ancient capital of fabulous splendour and magnitude; a congregation of palaces and other dwellings, encompassed by walls and ramparts, vast but scarcely real.

More than two thousand years had it thus lain in its unknown grave, when a French *savant* and a wandering English scholar, urged by a noble inspiration, sought the seat of the once powerful empire, and, searching till they found the dead city, threw off its shroud of

sand and ruin, and revealed once more to an astonished and curious world the temples, the palaces, and the idols; the representations of war, and the triumphs of peaceful art of the ancient Assyrians. The Nineveh of Scripture, the Nineveh of the oldest historians; the Nineveh—twin sister of Babylon—glorying in a civilisation of pomp and power, all traces of which were believed to be gone; the Nineveh, in which the captive tribes of Israel had laboured and wept, was, after a sleep of twenty centuries, again brought to light. The proofs of ancient splendour were again beheld by living eyes, and, by the skill of the draftsman and the pen of antiquarian travellers, made known to the world.

And the strange and stirring story of how courage and learning, talent and enterprise, patience and industry, rescued from the earth these treasures of a long-gone people, it is the intention of the following pages to tell.

The immense mounds of bricks and rubbish which marked the presumed sites of Babylon and Nineveh had been used as quarries by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, during a long series of ages, without any of the monuments being disclosed that they must have served to support or cover. These two localities, when carefully explored by such observers as Niebuhr and Claudius James Rich, had not allowed them to distinguish any other traces of buildings than a few portions of different walls, of which they could not understand the plan; but though the investigations of the latter produced few immediate results, he yet has the merit of being the first to break the ground, and by his intelligence, to have awakened the enterprise of others. Rich, who was the East India Company's resident at Baghdad, most meritoriously employed his leisure in the investigation of the antiquities of Assyria; and all that he has left behind is in the highest degree valuable and suggestive. He gave his first attention to Babylon, on which he wrote a paper, originally published in Germany—his countrymen apparently taking less interest in such matters than did the scholars of Vienna. In a note to a second memoir on Babylon, printed in London in 1818, we find Nineveh thus alluded to by Rich, who speaks from then recent personal observation. He says, "Opposite the town of Mósul[1] is an inclosure of a rectangular form, corresponding with the cardinal points of the compass; the eastern and western sides being the longest, the latter facing the river. The area, which is now cultivated and offers no vestiges of building, is too small to have contained a town larger than Mósul: but it may be supposed to answer to the palace of Nineveh. The

[1] Correctly "El-Mósil."

boundary, which may be perfectly traced all round, now looks like an embankment of earth or rubbish, of small elevation; and has attached to it, and in its line, at several places, mounds of greater size and solidity. The first of these forms the south-west angle; and on it is built the village of Nebbi Younis, the prophet Jonah (described and delineated by Niebuhr as Nurica), where they show the tomb of the prophet Jonah, much revered by the Mohammedans. The next, and largest of all, is the one which may be supposed to be the monument of Ninus. It is situated near the centre of the western face of the enclosure, and is joined like the others by the boundary wall;—the natives call it Kouyunjik Tepè. Its form is that of a truncated pyramid, with regular steep sides and a flat top; it is composed, as I ascertained from some excavations, of stones and earth, the latter predominating sufficiently to admit of the summit being cultivated by the inhabitants of the village of Kouyunjik, which is built on it at the north-east extremity. The only means I had, at the time I visited it, of ascertaining its dimensions, was by a cord which I procured from Mósul. This gave 178 feet for the greatest height, 1850 feet the length of the summit east and west, and 1147 for its breadth north and south. In the measurement of the length I have less confidence than in the others, as I fear the straight line was not very correctly preserved; and the east side is in a less perfect condition than the others. The other mounds on the boundary wall offer nothing worthy of remark in this place. Out of one in the north face of the boundary was dug, a short time ago, an immense block of stone, on which were sculptured the figures of men and animals. So remarkable was this fragment of antiquity, that even Turkish apathy was roused, and the Pasha and most of the principal people of Mósul came out to see it. One of the spectators particularly recollected, among the sculptures of this stone, the figure of a man on horseback with a long lance in his hand, followed by a great many others on foot. The stone was soon afterwards cut into small pieces for repairing the buildings of Mósul, and this inestimable specimen of the arts and manners of the earliest ages irrecoverably lost. Cylinders, like those of Babylon, and some other antiques, are occasionally found here; but I have never seen or heard of inscriptions. From the assurances given me by the Pasha of Mósul, I entertain great hopes that any monument which may be hereafter discovered will be rescued from destruction.[1] A ruined city, as Major Rennel justly observes, is a

[1] Similar assurances had been given to the English and French Consuls of Egypt by Mohammed Ali; nevertheless, since that time, all the ruins that marked the site of Antinopolis, and some nearly perfect temples, have entirely disappeared.

quarry above ground. It is very likely that a considerable part of Mósul, at least of the public works, was constructed with the materials found at Nineveh.[1] Kouyunjik Tepè has been dug into in some places in search of them; and to this day stones of very large dimensions, which sufficiently attest their high antiquity, are found in or at the foot of the mound which forms the boundary. These the Turks break into small fragments, to employ in the construction of their edifices. The permanent part of the bridge of Mósul was built by a late Pasha wholly with stones found in the part of the boundary which connects the mound of Kouyunjik with the mound Nebbi Younis (the prophet Jonah), and which is the least considerable of all. The small river Khausar traverses the area above described from east to west, and divides it into two nearly equal parts; it makes a sweep round the east and south sides of Kouyunjik Tepè, and then discharges itself into the Tigris above the bridge of Mósul. It is almost superfluous to add that the mount of Kouyunjik Tepè is wholly artificial."

Rich remarks that the ramparts and hollows among the ruins of Nineveh, would seem to indicate that the city had a double wall; and farther, that the walls on the east side had become quite a concretion of pebbles, like the natural hills. The jealousy with which every motion was watched rendered actual surveys difficult; nevertheless, his examination of the buildings upon Nebbi Younis satisfied him that they were partly formed of ancient chambers. In the kitchen of a wretched house an inscribed piece of gypsum was found, which appeared to form part of the wall of a small passage, said to reach far into the mound. The passage itself had been dug into, but was subsequently closed up with rubbish, from an apprehension of undermining the houses above. In another small room, not far distant, an inscription was seen, which was the more curious, because it seemed to occupy its original position: for it was discovered on building the room, and left just where it was found. The situation is parallel with, and very near to the passage before mentioned. At Kouyunjik, Rich also saw a piece of coarse grey stone, shaped like the capital of a column, such as at this day surmounts the wooden pillars or posts of Turkish or Persian verandahs. On the south side, or face of the enclosure, and not far from Nebbi Younis, some people who had been digging for stones had turned up many large hewn stones, with bitumen adhering to them. The excavation was about ten feet deep, and consisted of huge stones laid in layers of bitumen and lime mortar; there were, also, some very thick layers of red clay, which had become as hard as

[1] This is partially contradicted by Botta.

burnt brick, but without any indication of reeds or straw having been used; sandstone cut into blocks; and large slabs of inscription with bitumen adhering to the under side. Rich's opinion was that all the vestiges of the building were of the same period; that they did not mark the entire extent of the great city itself; but that these mounds and ruins were either the citadel or royal precincts, as the practice of fortifying the residence of the sovereign is of ancient origin. He finally inferred that very few bricks were used in building Nineveh, but that the walls, &c., were formed of the rubbish of the country, well rammed down with a wash of lime poured upon it, which in a short time would convert the whole into a solid mass. At the present day the natives mix pebbles, lime, and red earth, or clay, together, and after exposure to water, they become like the solid rock.[1]

Rich made Nineveh the subject of a further paper, but all the results he arrived at were that a granite lion at Babylon, the fragment of a statue at Kalah Shergat on the banks of the Tigris, and a bas-relief at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beyrout, were productions of Assyrian art. Rich, as we just found him saying, had *heard* of an immense bas-relief which had been dug out of a mound situated near the village which still bears the name of Nineveh; but he had not seen it, and was only able to regret its destruction caused by Mussulman ignorance and fanaticism. In the various museums of Europe a small number of seals and cylinders covered with mythological emblems were carefully collected, which were believed to prove that the Assyrians were acquainted with the process of working the hardest materials, but, generally, little calculated to give us a just idea of the skill they had acquired in the art of representing objects. In a word, it may be said that though we had some belief in the existence of Assyrian art, Assyrian architecture and Assyrian sculpture were totally unknown to us.

As to inscriptions, we were no richer in them than in other Assyrian works. The chief were an inscription engraven on a stone sent to London by Sir Harford Jones, and preserved in the Museum of the East India Company; a circular-headed tablet, an egg-shaped stone, and the cast from the Nahr al Kelb monument, in the British Museum; and one in the *Cabinet des Antiques* of the National Library of Paris, known by the name of *Caillou de Michaud*. The mottoes of a few cylinders and some insignificant fragments completed all our riches in this department. Copies of inscriptions were more numerous, but they all came from

[1] Rich's "Residence in Koordistan."

monuments situated beyond the limits of Assyria, properly so called. M. Schulz had collected a considerable number on the banks of the lake of Van, and the Assyrian transcriptions of the inscriptions of Persepolis had also been more or less faithfully copied; but unfortunately, the writing found in different places was sufficiently different for us, with some reason, to doubt that they all belonged to the same people; they offered besides but limited means of comparison, and hence were little fitted to serve as materials for study; and, lastly, historical science would have gained but little if we had succeeded in deciphering them.

Thus although up to within a short time we possessed nothing which could add to what the ancient writers had handed down to us concerning the history and the arts of Assyria; yet all interested in the subjects anticipated far different results when favourable circumstances should allow the ground to be more attentively explored.

That these hopes were not disappointed is now a matter of history, and the two following chapters will, therefore, be devoted to a description of the labours of those whose exertions have revealed those monuments of ancient Assyrian civilisation, of which all trace seemed to be lost.

Fig. 4.—THE PLAINS OF ANCIENT NINEVEH.

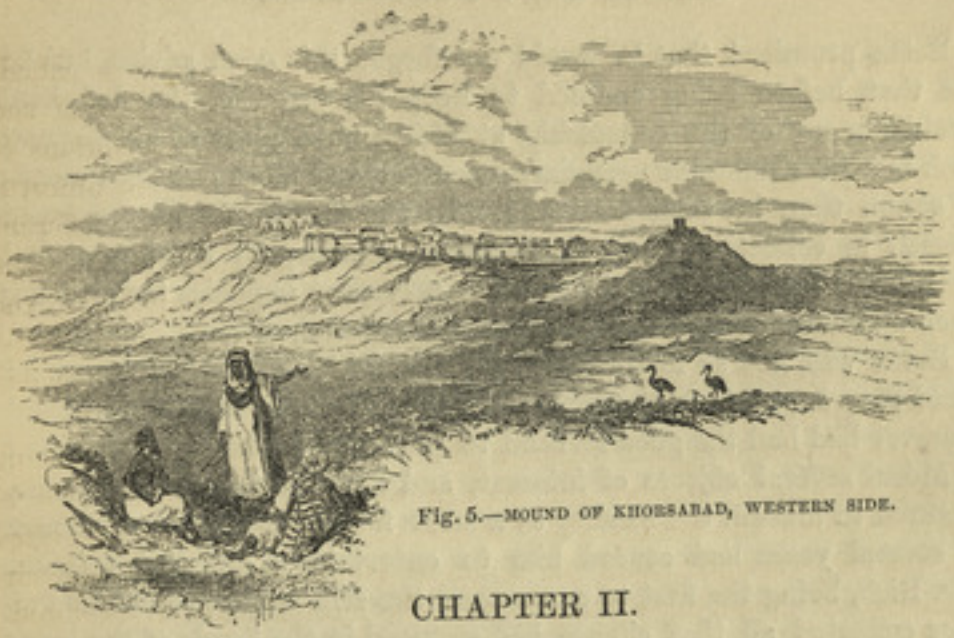


Fig. 5.—MOUND OF KHORSABAD, WESTERN SIDE.

CHAPTER II.

BOTTA.

BOTTA, in the narrative of his researches at Nineveh, which has been published in five handsome folio volumes through the liberality of the French government, after summing up the amount, or rather the deficiency, of our knowledge of the great Assyrian cities before the period of the recent excavations, prefaces his adventures at Khorsabad by an account of the circumstances that led him to the neighbourhood of that place.

The French government, it seems, having come to the conclusion that it was advisable to send a consular agent to Mósul, chose Botta to fulfil that office,—a selection that reflected the highest credit on its judgment. Botta, the nephew of the celebrated historian of Italy, was himself entirely devoted to science. His long residence in Egypt, Sennaar, El Yemen, and Syria, undertaken regardless of difficulties, or the dangers of climate, solely to further his scientific pursuits, had eminently adapted him for an appointment in the East. He could assimilate himself to the habits of the people; was conversant with their language; possessed energy of character; and was besides an intelligent and practised observer; with such qualifications it was obvious that his residence in the vicinity of a spot that history and tradition agreed in pointing out as the site of Nineveh could not but be productive of important results. Upon his departure for Mósul, in the beginning of the year 1842, his friend Monsieur J. Mohl, the accomplished translator of "Firdousi," called his attention to the archæological interest of the place, and strongly pressed him to make excavations in the neighbourhood.

Botta promised that he would not forget this good advice, but he felt that before being enabled to keep his promise, the definitive establishment of the consulship at Mósul must place at his disposal both more considerable pecuniary resources, and more powerful means of action than he then possessed. In the meanwhile he employed himself in collecting every small object of antiquity which appeared to be at all interesting, and made the necessary inquiries for pitching upon a favourable spot for really serious researches.

Botta was not so fortunate in his acquisition of antiquities as he could have hoped from the report of Rich. That accurate and learned observer had had the good fortune to purchase in the neighbourhood of Mósul several objects of interest, and Botta had, in consequence, pictured to himself the locality as a most fruitful mine. A residence of several years had caused him to entertain a different opinion. Mr. Rich, being the first to enter upon the still virgin ground, had at once collected all that chance had amassed in the hands of the inhabitants during a long series of years, and no conclusion as to the real abundance of objects of antiquity to be found in the neighbourhood of Mósul could properly be drawn from this fact. With the exception of a few fragments of bricks and pottery, Botta had never been able to collect anything in the way of antiquities which he could be sure were indigenous (so to speak), and as he spared neither time nor expense to procure them, he had good reason to believe that they were not common; the cylinders in particular, those relics of Assyria so curious on account of the emblems with which they are covered, were very rare at Mósul, and out of all those which fell into his hands, there was not one that he knew of which had been found upon the territory of Nineveh. All those which he could trace—and this was the case with the greater number—had been brought from Baghdad, and consequently from Babylon and its neighbourhood. The source of the others was unknown. The same held good with the Assyrian seals; almost all of them came from Baghdad; and in the following pages the reader will find that this rare occurrence of small objects of antiquity was confirmed by the researches made by Botta at Kouyunjik and Khorsabad; for during the whole period of the excavations not a single cylinder was discovered. Our antiquary draws attention to this fact, because it is one that was scarcely expected, and which will, perhaps, modify the received opinions regarding the real source of these engraved mythological stones.

The success of Botta's inquiries with a view to find a fitting spot for his researches was not more encouraging; and the reports of the inhabitants furnished him with nothing certain on this head. The

spot which appeared to offer the greatest chance of success, and to which he naturally first directed his attention, was the mound on which is built the village of Niniouah, then believed to be the last remnant of the immense city of which it preserves the name; for it was there that Mr. Rich had observed subterranean walls covered with cuneiform inscriptions—too valuable a sign to be overlooked. The number and importance, however, of the houses with which the mound was covered did not allow of Botta making any researches. Every attempt of the kind was repelled by the religious prejudices of the inhabitants, for it is there that the mosque of Nebbi Younis is built. According to the tradition of the place, this mosque, as its name implies, contains the tomb of the prophet Jonah, and the ground is regarded as sacred. He was thus obliged to look for some other spot, but in the vast space covered with the traces of ancient edifices which surrounds the village of Niniouah, there was nothing that could guide him with any degree of certainty. A great many erroneous opinions (according to Botta,) have been disseminated with regard to the actual condition of the ruins of Nineveh: they have been represented as a mine in constant requisition for supplying bricks and stones for the erection of the houses of Mósul, and thus assimilated to the ruins of Babylon, which have for ages furnished the necessary building materials for the surrounding towns. "Such, however," says Botta, "can scarcely have been the case at Nineveh at any period, and very certainly it is not so in the present day. The reason is plain: all that exists of the ruins of the ancient city, boundary walls, and mounds, is formed of bricks which were merely baked in the sun: these bricks have been reduced by age into an earthy state, and consequently cannot be used again." Botta goes on to say, "There can be no doubt but that in the construction of these ancient buildings more solid materials, such as stones and kiln-burnt bricks, were sometimes employed, and this accounts for their being accidentally discovered; but they were merely employed as accessories—the mass of the walls was composed of unburnt bricks. Thus, in this particular, there is not the least similarity between Nineveh and Babylon: the ruins of the latter city offer an immense quantity of excellent bricks; they have, consequently, been capable of being used as quarries, but the masses of earth, which are the only remains of Nineveh, could not be employed for a like purpose. It would, besides, be difficult to understand why people should trust to chance for obtaining a few raw materials, when quarries of gypsum, which are far less expensive to work than a series of uncertain excavations would be, are situated at the gates of Mósul."

This is the case now; but formerly, when those mounds of crude brick were incrusted with limestone and slabs of gypsum, it was otherwise, as the fact of the almost entire disappearance of this crust, or casing, abundantly testifies.

Botta further tells us that it was only in the immediate vicinity of Mósul, and very often within the city itself, that the inhabitants had sometimes looked for materials: they had found there, at the depth of a few feet, the remains of ancient buildings; but, in spite of all his researches, he could not observe a single sign which would allow of his assigning these remains to a period anterior to the foundation of the present town. Never, to his knowledge, had these operations brought to light ancient bricks or stones with cuneiform inscriptions, with both of which the inhabitants are at present well acquainted, and of which they would certainly have brought him the smallest remnant, had they found any; he was therefore convinced that the walls existing under the ground in the interior of Mósul, or near the city gates, were comparatively modern—either the foundations or the subterranean apartments[1] of the houses which were ruined at a time when the city, as was still the case but a few years ago, occupied a much more considerable space than it does at the present day.

As regarded the ruins situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, Botta says he never heard, in the course of a residence of several years, that any excavations were made there for the purpose of obtaining building materials; nor had he ever seen in the houses at Mósul the least trace of antique remains, although he took particular pains to discover them. The walls were not, as had been reported, built of brick and coated with gypsum, and he did not find a single instance where such was the case. The walls of all the houses are formed of gypseous or calcareous stone, rudely joined with plaster, and the same plan prevails in the vaults of the largest edifices. A few old mosques only are constructed of bricks, but their form, their size, and the absence of any cuneiform inscription, prove that those bricks do not come from the buildings of Nineveh. He mentions another fact, in order to show how little the inhabitants of Mósul are accustomed to look in the neighbouring ruins for the materials they

[1] In the houses of Mósul, as well as in those of Baghdad, there is always a subterranean apartment, called in those parts, *Serdáb;* the inhabitants retreat thither, in summer, to pass the hottest hours of the day. In order to be rendered inhabitable, these apartments have to be coated with thin slabs of Mósul gypsum, and the walls are, besides, constructed with the greatest solidity, since they have to support the whole weight of the superincumbent buildings. This fact may explain their preservation underground.

may require. The Pasha of Mósul, being desirous of constructing ovens for the use of the garrison of that town, hastened to Botta for the bricks which the works undertaken at Khorsabad had brought to light. It is very certain, argues the French antiquary, that if, as has been reported, the Pasha had possessed an abundant supply at the gates of the town, or if it had been easy to obtain them, he would not have sent a distance of four leagues for them.

Not having, therefore, any precedent to guide him in his researches, and not daring, he says, to open the mound of Nebbi Younis, Botta selected the mound of Kouyunjik as the spot for commencing operations. This mound is situated to the north of the village of Niniouah, to which it is joined by the remains of an ancient wall of unburnt bricks. It was evidently an artificial mass, and, to all appearance, formerly supported the principal palace of the kings of Assyria. On the western side, near the southern extremity of this hill, a few bricks of a large size, joined with bitumen, seemed to be the remains of some ancient building. It was at this spot that Botta commenced his researches, in the month of December, 1842.

The results of these first works were unimportant, but possessed considerable interest when connected with the discoveries subsequently made. The workmen brought to light numerous fragments of bas-reliefs and inscriptions, but nothing in a perfect state was obtained to reward the trouble and outlay, during the three months that the researches were continued.

Botta's proceedings had meanwhile attracted attention. Without exactly knowing what was their object, the inhabitants were aware that he was in quest of stones bearing inscriptions, and that he bought all that were offered. In consequence of this, and so early as the month of December, 1842, an inhabitant of Khorsabad had been induced to bring him two large bricks with cuneiform inscriptions, which had been found near the village, and offered to procure as many more as he wished. This man was a dyer, and built his ovens of the bricks obtained from the mound on which the village was built; but, reckoning on the success of the first excavations, Botta did not immediately follow up the faint and solitary hint. Three months later, however, about the 20th of March, 1843, being weary of finding in the mound of Kouyunjik nothing save small fragments without any value, he called to mind the bricks of Khorsabad, and sent a few workmen to sound the ground there. Such was the manner in which he was led to the discovery of an immense monument, to be compared, with regard to richness and ornament, to the most sumptuous productions bequeathed to us by Egypt.

Three days after the commencement of the works at Khorsabad, one of Botta's workmen brought the intelligence that some figures and inscriptions had been dug up; the description, however, which he gave was so confused, that the antiquary himself would not run the chance of making the journey for nothing; he did not, therefore, go to verify in person a fact of which he was yet incredulous, but contented himself with sending one of his servants, and ordering him to copy a few of the characters of the inscriptions. In this way he acquired the certainty that these inscriptions were cuneiform, and hesitated no longer to proceed personally to Khorsabad, where, with a feeling of pleasure which the reader will easily understand, he saw, for the first time, a new world of antiquities revealed.

His workmen had been fortunate enough to commence the excavations precisely in that part of the mound where the monument was in the most perfect state of preservation, so that he had only to follow the walls which had already been discovered, to succeed most certainly in laying bare the whole edifice. In a few days, all that remains of a chamber, with façade covered by bas-reliefs, had been discovered. On his arrival at the scene of action he immediately perceived that these remains could form but a very small portion of some considerable building buried in the mound, and, to assure himself of this, he had a well sunk a few paces further on, and instantly came upon other bas-reliefs, which offered to view the first perfect figures he had seen. He found, also, on his first visit, two altars, and those portions remaining of the façade which jutted out above ground at the other extremity of the mound; and finally his attention was drawn to a line of mounds which formed the grand enclosure.

In a letter dated the 5th of April, 1843, he hastened to announce the success of his first operations to Monsieur Mohl, and to send him a plan of all that had as yet been laid bare; adding some copies of different inscriptions, and some drawings. The letter was laid before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, in Paris, July 7th, 1843, and was subsequently printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of that city.

Notwithstanding some difficulty, occasioned by the unfavourable disposition of the Pasha of Mósul, and the fears of the inhabitants of the village, Botta caused the works to be continued with a degree of activity continually increased by the abundant harvest which they yielded; and on the 2nd of May, 1843, he was enabled to send to Monsieur Mohl a second letter, more important than the first, and accompanied with fresh inscriptions, drawings, and descriptions of

doors, chambers, and portions of another wall, ornamented with bas-reliefs, which the excavations had laid bare. Botta's second letter was, like the first, communicated to the Academy of Inscriptions, and inserted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Paris.

Up to this epoch the works at Khorsabad, as well as those in the mound of Kouyunjik, had been carried on at Botta's expense, and the smallness of his personal resources threatened soon to put an end to them, even though his learned friend had been kind enough to come to his assistance. But the attention of the learned world had, in the meantime, been greatly excited by the account of the first fruits of his labours, and they had obtained for him the means of continuing those researches, the subsequent success of which was certain. On the demand of Monsieur Mohl, whom Messrs. Vitel and Letronne kindly hastened to support with their influence, the French government decided on giving a fresh proof of that generosity with which it is always so ready to facilitate scientific researches. By a decision of the 24th of May, 1843, Duchâtel, Minister of the Interior, placed at Botta's disposal a sum of 3000 francs, that he might thenceforward carry on the works with more activity, and on a more extensive scale.

Botta had, however, to contend with fresh obstacles at every step. The marshy environs of the village of Khorsabad have a proverbial reputation for insalubrity—a reputation which was fully justified by his own personal experience, and by that of the workmen employed: for they all, in turns, felt its dangerous effects, and on one occasion the antiquary himself was very nearly falling a victim. But this was the least of his difficulties; the unfavourable disposition of the local authorities was one which caused even more uneasiness, and one which was most difficult to surmount. It is a well-known fact that the Moslems, too ignorant themselves to understand the real motives of scientific researches, always attribute them to cupidity, which is the only spring of their own actions. Not being able to comprehend that the sums laid out are for the purpose of obtaining ancient remains, they believed that the search was for treasures. The inscriptions, copied with so much care, are in their eyes the talismanic guardians of these treasures, or point out the spots where they are concealed. Others, who no doubt think themselves more cunning, fly for the explanation of these researches to a still more eccentric supposition; they imagine that their country formerly belonged to the Europeans, and that these latter search for their inscriptions in order to discover therein the title by which their rights are proved, and by the help of which they may one day or other lay claim to the Ottoman empire!

These absurd prejudices could not fail to influence the avaricious and suspicious mind of Mohammed Pasha, who was then governor of the province of Mósul, and it was not long ere he began to grow uneasy at the researches which he had at first authorised. Taken up with the idea of the treasures hidden in the ruins which were being brought to light, he at first confined himself to having the workmen watched by guards, and when the slightest object formed of metal was found in the course of the excavations, it was seized and carried to him. These relics he submitted to every possible kind of proof to convince himself that they were not gold; and then fancying that, despite this watching, the men who were employed might still succeed in keeping from him objects of value, he threatened them with the torture to make them reveal the existence of these imaginary treasures. Several of the workmen were, in consequence, on the point of leaving such service, notwithstanding all the assurances of protection Botta could give them, so well did they know the cruel disposition of Mohammed Pasha. Each day threatened some fresh combat, and Botta, who had continually to recommence his negotiations, would perhaps have been driven to throw the matter up in disgust, had he not been encouraged by the certainty of the extreme interest of his discovery. The works, however, although often interrupted by these petty annoyances, gradually advanced until about the commencement of the month of October, 1843, when the Pasha, in obedience perhaps to hints emanating from Constantinople, formally prohibited all further search. Some pretext or other was necessary, but a Turkish governor is never at fault in this respect, and the following is the one he invented: Botta had built, with his express permission, a small house at Khorsabad, in order that he might have a place in which to stop when he visited the ruins. The Pasha pretended that this house was a fortress erected to command the country; he informed his government of this grave fact, and the innocent researches of the zealous antiquary suddenly assumed the proportions of an international question!

Botta lost no time in taking measures to obtain the removal of this prohibition. On the 15th of October, 1843, he despatched a courier to the French ambassador at Constantinople, informing him of what had occurred, and begging him to apply to the Sultan for such orders as might be necessary to enable him to continue without impediment the works which were, at that period, being executed at the command and expense of the French government. While awaiting the result of the steps taken by the ambassador, he had the greatest difficulty in prevailing upon Mohammed Pasha not to pull down his house at

Khorsabad, nor fill up the excavations, which he affected to believe were the ditches of the pretended fortress. At last, however, he granted the persecuted *savant* a respite, in the hope that his falsehoods would gain credit at Constantinople, and that the Sultan would approve of his conduct. The means which he employed for this purpose were very curious, and afford an illustration of the way in which the Turkish government is continually being deceived as to what takes place in the provinces of the empire. The inhabitants of Mósul knew, from long experience, that Mohammed Pasha shrunk from no means by which he might attain his ends, and fear rendered them obedient to his will. He first obliged the Cadi of Mósul to go to Khorsabad and draw up a false account of the extent of the pretended fortress: this report was sent to Constantinople, accompanied by an imaginary plan, calculated to inspire the most horrible ideas of poor Botta's hut. He then had a petition against the continuation of the researches drawn up, which he compelled the inhabitants of Khorsabad to sign: this petition also was sent to Constantinople. During all this period Mohammed Pasha never desisted from his protestations of friendliness towards Botta; he assured him that he was a complete stranger to all the difficulties that impeded the scientific work, and gave him, in writing, the most favourable orders, while he immediately afterwards threatened the inhabitants with the bastinado in case they were unfortunate enough to obey him. One single trait in this long comedy will show the manner in which Mohammed Pasha played his part. "I told him one day," says Botta, "that the first rains of the season had caused a portion of the house erected at Khorsabad to fall down." "Can you imagine," said he, laughing in the most natural manner, and turning to the numerous officers by whom he was surrounded, "anything like the impudence of the inhabitants of Khorsabad? they pretend that the French consul has constructed a redoubtable fortress, and a little rain is sufficient to destroy it. I can assure you, sir, that were I not afraid of hurting your feelings, I would have them all bastinadoed till they were dead; they would richly deserve it, for having dared to accuse you." "It was in this manner," continues the justly indignant Frank, "that he spoke, while he himself was the author of the lie, and his menaces alone were the obstacle which prevented the inhabitants from exposing it."

At the expiration of a little time, however, Mohammed Pasha perceived that the shameful tricks he was carrying on did him more harm than good. His position was no longer sure, and as he desired a reconciliation, Botta was in full hope of obtaining permission to

continue his operations, when the Pasha's death, which took place in the interval, afforded him the wished-for opportunity. But by this time he knew the intentions of the French government, and was expecting that the draftsman he had asked for was on his way to Mósul. He had found how quickly the sculptures lost their freshness when once exposed to the air, and thought it better to await this gentleman's arrival, as he could then copy the bas-reliefs as they were dug out. Besides this, he had no doubt but the French ambassador would obtain such orders as would effectually prevent all future annoyance, and he, therefore, did not think it advisable to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the Pasha's demise. He was desirous not to commence until he had obtained the means of continuing the work without fear of interruption, and with every chance of turning it to account. During the interval of delay he finished the copies of the inscriptions already discovered, and conveyed into the court-yard of his house at Khorsabad all the bas-reliefs which he judged worthy of being sent to France.

Up to the period of his researches being interrupted, he had brought to light a large number of monuments. He had opened a door, and at the feet of one of the winged bulls which ornamented it, had found a bronze lion, the only one remaining of all which must formerly have ornamented the doors. While the workmen were digging to lay the foundations of his house, they had discovered the head of one of the bulls of another door; and this single fact would have convinced him, had he not been before satisfied, that the whole space was full of ancient remains. Lastly, the accounts received from the inhabitants of the town allowed no room for doubting that there were also ruins buried at the place where, at a later period, he found the small monument of basaltic stones. He possessed, therefore, the most unmistakeable signs of the existence of archæological treasures throughout the whole extent of the mound, and his conviction on this head was so great, that he invariably expressed it in his letters to his friend Mohl.

The Paris Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres had followed the progress of Botta's discoveries with the liveliest interest. The certainty there was of arriving at still greater results than those already obtained had induced them to second the demand he had made for an artist who was better qualified than himself to preserve, by an exact copy, those sculptures which it would be impossible to send to France. This demand had been granted, and by decisions of the 5th and 12th October, 1843, precisely at the period that the Pasha of Mósul was stopping his researches, the Ministers of the Interior and of Public Instruction had adopted measures for

furnishing him with means of terminating his undertaking in a manner worthy of the French government. A fresh sum of money was placed at his disposal for the continuation of the works, and, on the suggestion of the Academy, Monsieur E. Flandin, a young artist, who, conjointly with Monsieur Coste, had formerly been employed on a similar mission, was selected to proceed to Khorsabad to copy the sculptures already found, and which might yet be discovered. At the same time, the Ministers decided that all the sculptures which were in a state to admit of their removal should be conveyed to France, and that a publication, dedicated especially to the purpose, should make the world acquainted with Botta's discoveries.

But we must return to Khorsabad. Botta still had to obtain the consent of the Porte: and those who are ignorant of the resources which Ottoman diplomacy derives from falsehood, would hardly imagine all the difficulties that the French Embassy had to overcome in order to prevail upon the Divan no longer to feign a pretence of a belief in those phantom fortifications, said to have been erected by the Consul of France at Mósul. Some more real obstacles, however, founded upon certain peculiarities of the Mahometan law, were added to this ridiculous pretext. The village of Khorsabad was built over the monument it was desirable to lay bare. To do this, it was necessary that the inhabitants should remove to some other spot, and pull down their old houses. But the law permits no encroachment upon lands suitable for cultivation, and, consequently, the space destined for the new village could not be taken from the grounds of this description around the mound.

But the perseverance of the French Ambassador, Baron de Bourqueny, finally triumphed over the reluctance of the Porte. By virtue of a special agreement, the inhabitants of Khorsabad were authorised

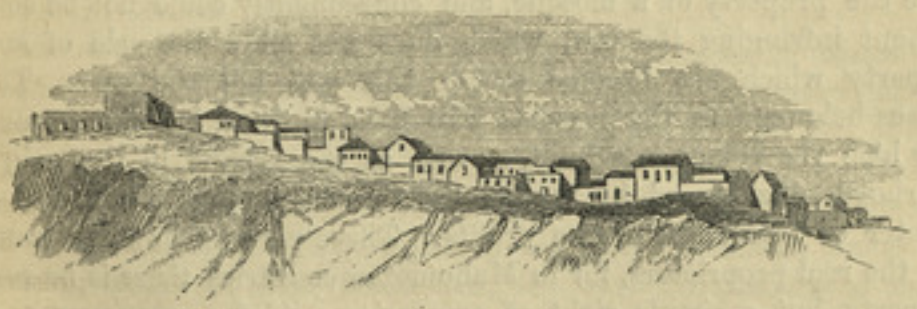


Fig. 6.—VILLAGE OF KHORSABAD.

to sell their houses and to locate themselves temporarily at the foot of the mound. Botta's house, which had been the cause of so many disputes, he was allowed to retain until the conclusion of the works.

The researches were permitted on condition that the ground should be restored to the state in which Botta found it, in order that the village might be rebuilt on its former site, and a commissioner was sent to Khorsabad from the Porte in order to avoid any fresh difficulties. This arrangement, however, rendered almost interminable by the unwillingness of the Divan, had taken up several months, and it was not before the 4th of May, 1844, that Monsieur Flandin could reach Mósul, bringing with him the firmans which had been asked for seven or eight months previously.

Nothing now prevented the resumption of the excavations. Botta had at his disposal funds sufficient for clearing the whole building; the artist Flandin had arrived to copy the bas-reliefs, besides affording other active and cordial co-operation. The necessary measures for immediately commencing the works were taken, and they were pushed on briskly. In the first place, it was necessary to clear the ground of the houses upon it; this was an easy task, and there was little difficulty in satisfying the humble proprietors, who themselves desired the removal of the village, and were but too happy to effect it at the expense of the stranger antiquary. But Botta had likewise to indemnify the proprietors, or rather the tenants of the ground on which the new village was to be built, and their expectations were so exorbitant that they would have swallowed up a great part of the sum placed at his disposal, if the new Pasha, by accidentally reminding him of one of the peculiarities of the Mahometan law, had not himself supplied the means of obliging them to moderate their demands. A short digression on this curious subject will afford an interesting and exact idea of the difficulties with which the purchaser of the village of Khorsabad had to contend before he could commence his operations.

It had been said that the village and the surrounding grounds were the property of a mosque, and consequently could not be sold without infringing the law, which does not allow the sale of any property which has become *wakf:* this was not the case. The houses belonged to the peasants who lived in them, but the ground on which the village was built, as well as the ground in the neighbourhood, was owned by several individuals, each of whom had a greater or less share of the profits. These persons, however, were not the real proprietors, for in Mahometan countries there is no real property, but a simple right of possession paid for every year by a ground-rent. All the soil intended for cultivation, with the exception of the gardens and orchards, belongs to an abstract being, the Imaum, who represents the Mahometan community, and is himself represented by the sovereign. The latter being, as it were, nothing more

than a guardian, disposes of the ground in favour of the interests of the community which he represents, but cannot alienate it by a complete sale. He can never concede more than a temporary grant in return for an annual rent or service. Sometimes, it is true, these grants were transmitted by means of inheritance or sales; but this was an abuse, a real infringement of the law. In this manner the Viceroy of Egpyt, Mohammed Ali, was able to recover, without difficulty, from the usurpers of the public domain, the possession which long abuse had perpetuated in their families; and during Botta's residence at Mósul this example was followed, without any more ado, by the Turkish government. In 1845 the Porte revoked all the old grants of land in this province, and commanded that for the future they should be annual, and sold by public auction.

Such was the state of matters at Khorsabad. The seven individuals who owned the ground between them—the principal of whom was Yahia Pasha, a former governor of Mósul—had no right of real property, but merely a right of possession perpetuated by abuse in their families; this furnished a weapon against their cupidity. When Botta was treating before the Pasha for the purchase of the house, the accredited agent of these persons had the imprudence to claim an indemnity for the land they stood on. The Pasha replied that they had no right to any, because the Sultan alone was lord of the soil, and disposed of it as he chose. This was a hint for the plundered antiquary. Relying upon this argument, he easily prevailed upon the proprietors to accept with gratitude a reasonable indemnity which he could, had he chosen, have had the right to refuse. They themselves, however, felt so clearly how little their demand was really founded on right, that they refused to give him a receipt, and begged him to be silent on the matter, for fear their conduct should reach the Pasha's ears.

To return to Botta's narration. The misfortunes of others now placed at his disposal the number of workmen necessary for the speedy clearance of the rest of the monuments. A few months previously the fanaticism of the Kurds had finished by triumphing over the resistance which the courage of the Nestorians had for ages made against them. Intrenched in the lofty mountains where the Zab takes its rise, these Christians, who were the remains of one of the most ancient sects that separated from the Catholic church, had been, up to that time, enabled to escape from the Mahometan yoke; but in 1843 their own internal divisions weakened them so much as to incapacitate them from contending longer against the continually increasing power of their enemies. After a courageous but useless

resistance, some Nestorian tribes were destroyed by the Kurds: and in order to escape a general massacre, a great number of these Christians, following the example of their patriarch, Mar-Shimoun, took refuge either at Mósul, or in some of the villages of the neighbourhood, where they could at least be certain of safety in exchange for their independence. Previous to this event, Botta had been charged with distributing among these unhappy Christians the direct assistance of the French government,—not the first relief afforded by that power to the victims of fanaticism in the East. The continuation of the researches at Khorsabad placed at their author's disposal new means of alleviating the misery of these Christian refugees; whilst he turned their work to account, and found among them a whole population of workmen at once robust and docile. Their assistance was the more useful, as it was almost impossible to procure the requisite number of workmen among the inhabitants of the environs. Being employed in their habitual occupations, they could not come and work at the diggings; or if they had consented to do so, they would have made their employer pay too dearly for their services. Besides their demand for high wages, the natives had certain singular superstitions which inspired them with repugnance for this kind of work, and this influence was trebly powerful when it was proposed to interfere with the village of Khorsabad itself. They said that they were afraid it would bring misfortune upon themselves and their families. As regards the Nestorians, although they suffer a great deal from the climate of the plain, so different from that of the high mountains they had inhabited until then, they worked with great spirit, and many of them were enabled to return to their own country, carrying with them savings which made them much richer than they had ever been before.

All obstacles having been removed about the middle of the month of May, 1844, Botta once more proceeded with his researches, so long interrupted by the circumstances just related; nor did he pause in his labours before the end of the month of October in the same year. As Monsieur Flandin was first obliged to copy the bas-reliefs discovered before his arrival, the works progressed, in the beginning, but slowly; but the scientific labourers were able gradually to increase their scale of operations, until at last they had almost three hundred workmen in full employment. During these six months each had but one thought, which was to unite every effort to turn Botta's discovery to the best possible account. Accordingly, they worked together with the most cordial understanding. Monsieur Flandin used to copy, with the greatest care, the bas-reliefs as fast as they

were uncovered: to measure the building and draw up a definite plan of it; while Botta, on his side, was occupied not less actively, in transcribing the numerous inscriptions which covered a part of the walls. It is true that both had to suffer much, but they were amply recompensed for it by the results and the nature of the work; for the reader will easily believe that it was not without a feeling of delight that they were able, from hour to hour, to go and observe what the pickaxe of the workmen had uncovered, and to endeavour to guess the direction of the walls which were still buried, to realise the scenes they would offer to view, and even to divine the signification of the bas-reliefs as they were successively brought to light.

A detailed account of the difficulties as well as pleasures of these searchers into the secrets of a buried city would interest the reader but little, even had we space for it; we abstain, therefore, from giving a minute description of the progress made, day by day, in the works, of which we wish to show the ultimate result. Botta, however, finds space to acknowledge the zeal with which Flandin joined him in completing the exhumation of the monument he had discovered. Being less accustomed than the consul himself to the miseries of eastern life, Flandin felt more keenly the inconveniences of a prolonged stay in a miserable village, beneath a burning sky: and his health suffered more than once in consequence. But his courage never failed him, not even at a most serious conjuncture, when the consulate of Mósul, and the existence of the whole Christian population, were for a moment endangered.[1] His share in the undertaking was not limited to the execution of the artistic portions with which he was more especially charged. Botta's official duties not allowing him to remain constantly at Khorsabad, he relied upon Flandin to superintend and employ the work-people; and the artist, thus left in charge discovered certain objects which would otherwise, perhaps, have escaped notice,—such, for instance, as the little statues in terra-cotta, hidden under the pavement, and the sepulchral urns. Thus these two Frenchmen worked in concert with each other, and, if there is any merit in the operations which led to the complete

[1] In the month of July, 1844, the Dominican Missionaries settled at Mósul, having had a house repaired in order to add it to their original monastery, were, as Botta had formerly been himself, accused of wishing to erect a fortress. The weakness of the new Pasha, who had just succeeded Mohammed Pasha, having encouraged the populace, this ridiculous accusation occasioned a serious riot, during which the monastery was destroyed, the church pillaged, and one of the missionaries assassinated. This circumstance, as he could easily foresee, produced similar feelings in the inhabitants of Khorsabad; and it was only the firmness of Monsieur Flandin which could keep them in check, until such time as the assistance, which he had hastened to send him, arrived.

exhumation of the monument of Khorsabad, Monsieur Flandin can with justice lay claim to a part of it.

At the period when Botta was obliged by Mohammed Pasha to suspend the works, he had only to follow into the interior of the mound the walls already laid bare. The work then completed naturally pointed out the direction their further labours should be made to take, and they pursued this indication until all traces of construction disappeared. The monument, however, had formerly extended further, and for some time they still followed the brick walls, but the coverings of sculptured slabs no longer existed; and various signs clearly proved that, even in the most ancient times, a part of the monument had been intentionally destroyed, and the solid materials carried off, to be employed somewhere else for other purposes. In anticipation of still meeting with the lost trace, trenches were opened at various points of the mound; but it was in vain, and they were at last obliged to renounce the hope of seeing a new store of riches added to those they had already found. At the end of the month of October, 1844, Botta considered that the exhumation of all that remained of the palace of Khorsabad was complete, and therefore put a stop to the works.

By this time Monsieur Flandin had finished his drawings, or at least those which it was indispensably necessary to finish on the spot, and he was enabled to quit Mósul on the 9th of November, and to proceed to Paris to submit his work to the Academy there, and to the admiration of the public at large. Arrived there, a commission was named by the Academy to draw up a report upon Monsieur Flandin's drawings. Through the medium of its reporter, Monsieur Raoul Rochette, the commission rendered a tribute of deserved praise to the labours of the artist, and suggested the propriety of issuing, in a special publication, Flandin's drawings, as well as the explanatory matter Botta might bring with him, for the study of scholars and artists. In a meeting of the 16th of May, 1845, the Academy adopted the conclusions of the commission, ordered the report to be printed, and thus gave both Botta and his artistic coadjutor the first reward of their labours by publishing the results of them in a series of magnificent folio volumes, with the public approval, and at the public expense.

Flandin, as we have seen, had been enabled, in the beginning of the month of November, 1844, to leave Khorsabad and return to France, in order to enjoy that repose of which he stood so much in need, after six months of suffering and fatigue. But Botta's own task was not so soon ended. In the first place he had to complete

his copies of the inscriptions—a work that had been commenced a year before Monsieur Flandin's arrival at Mósul; was continued during the whole period of his stay, and which occupied several months after his departure. Besides this, in conformity with the orders of the government, Botta and Flandin had chosen together the most remarkable and best-preserved pieces of sculpture to send to France; and after Flandin's departure Botta was left alone to prepare and pack these precious relics, to get them conveyed to Mósul, and thence to send them to Baghdad. All the difficulties which had stood in the way of this had been overcome. The Porte had at first imposed certain restrictions on the removal of the sculptures, but had ended by yielding to the persevering efforts of the French Ambassador, Baron de Bourqueny, who had shown the most unceasing and lively interest in the exhumation of Nineveh. He obtained the necessary orders, and Botta was at liberty to remove all objects he deemed most worthy to France.

Now a new species of difficulties arose. Neither the needful machinery nor workmen accustomed to the kind of operations were to be had. The object was to convey, for a distance of four leagues, a number of blocks, some of which weighed as much as two or three tons. Botta had to invent everything, to teach everything—and, above all, not to despair of success after many fruitless attempts. Much against his will, he was obliged to saw up into a number of pieces several blocks, the weight and size of which would have rendered the carriage, if not impossible, at least too dear. As regards the packing, it was so impossible to procure cases sufficiently strong, that he was obliged to adopt the most simple plan, and contented himself with covering the sculptured surfaces of the bas-reliefs with beams, which were fastened by screws to corresponding pieces of wood placed upon the opposite side of the stone. These means of protection fortunately proved to be sufficient.

The most difficult part of the whole affair was the conveyance of the blocks. Great trouble had to be taken to get a car built of sufficient strength, and Botta was even under the necessity of erecting a forge in order to construct axle-trees strong enough to support so heavy a load. The reader may fancy the kind of workmen available for the task by one fact—these axle-trees took six weeks to make!

Patient perseverance secured at last the necessary car, but then an almost equal amount of trouble had to be taken for finding the means of dragging it. The Pasha of Mósul had at first lent some buffaloes used to work of this description, but, from some inexplicable whim or other, he took them back again. Botta then endeavoured, but in

vain, to employ oxen, and at last was forced to have recourse to the thews and sinews of the Nestorians themselves. In addition to all this, the road from Khorsabad to Mósul being soaked through with continual rain, had no firmness, so that the wheels of the car, although they were made very broad, sank into the mud up to their axles. In several places it was necessary to pave the road, or to cover it over with planks. Two hundred men were scarcely sufficient to draw along some of the blocks. "The difficulties were indeed so great, that more than once," says Botta, "I feared I should not be able to transport, that year, the most interesting blocks, because they happened to be also the heaviest. I had no time to lose: although a great amount of rain obstructed my operations at Mósul, by a most unfortunate contrast very little snow had fallen in the mountains during the winter of 1844-45, so that not only was the Tigris far from attaining its usual height, but it began to decrease much before the accustomed time. It was necessary, however, to avail myself of its rise, in order to send to Baghdad the objects which I had determined to transport to France, for the carriage of the sculptures required rafts of unusual dimensions, and a delay of a few days might oblige me to wait until the next year. By dint of great exertions, I succeeded in surmounting the obstacles and terminating these wearisome operations before the Tigris had finished falling. In the month of June, 1845, eight months after my researches were ended, all the sculptures had been removed to the side of the river, and, by means of an inclined plane formed in the bank, embarked on the rafts. This last part of my task was, unfortunately, attended by a sad accident. The men were employed in embarking the last block, and had already placed it upon the inclined plane: in order to move it, one of the Nestorians, in spite of my reiterated warnings, persisted in pulling it from the front; it was impossible to stop the course of the ponderous mass already in motion, and the miserable workman was crushed between it and the blocks previously on the raft. This was the only accident I had to regret during the whole duration of the works."

The Tigris is navigated by means of rafts constructed of pieces of wood, which are supported by inflated skins; the largest can carry great weights. These rafts (which are called by the natives *kalek*) are well adapted for descending the stream, which in summer is very shallow; but they are of no use for going up. When the rafts have arrived at Baghdad, they are broken up, the wood sold, and often at a profit, and the skins brought back to Mósul, to serve again for the same purpose. Such were the means that Botta successfully employed for transporting the sculptures down the river towards the sea—the

rafts of the required solidity being secured by the use of timber of a large size cut in the mountains, and a number of skins proportioned to the dimensions of the raft.

Not content with giving to his countryman, Flandin, all the credit due for the assistance he rendered on the works of Khorsabad, we find in Botta's book a paragraph of grateful praise awarded to a more humble, yet scarcely less valuable assistant whom he found on the scene of operations. "As my principal object," says the savan, "in writing my introductory chapter, was to do justice to those who assisted me in my labours, the reader will, I hope, pardon me for naming the chief of the workmen, Naaman ebn Naouch (Naaman the son of Naouch), who, from the commencement of my researches in the mound of Kouyunjik up to the termination of the works, never failed to give me convincing proofs of two qualities which are very rare in his country—namely, intelligence and probity. It was he whom I charged to go and explore Khorsabad, and it was he who discovered its hidden treasures. Since that time his activity and his spirit of invention were of the greatest assistance to me when in a difficult position; and it is certainly to him that I owe the fact of my having been able to surmount the difficulties I met with during the removal of the sculptures."

Some time elapsed before all the sculptures obtained from the mound at Khorsabad had been successfully landed at Baghdad, and confided to the care and intelligence of the French Consul-General there who was charged to forward them to their ultimate destination. For several months he had them, so to speak, under his protection; for the wants of the service did not allow a ship of war being sent earlier, and the few merchantmen visiting the Persian Gulf could not have taken charge of such a cargo. It was only in the month of March, 1846, that the wished-for vessel, the *Cormorant*, could reach Bassora. The consul then experienced as much difficulty in shipping these ponderous masses on board the boats of that part of the country, as had before been felt in sending them as far as Baghdad; but he eventually succeeded, and had them carried down the Tigris to the place where the vessel awaited them. In the beginning of June, Lieutenant Cabaret shipped them without accident, and setting sail from Bassora, arrived in December, 1846, after a favourable passage, at Havre; where at the close of the year was landed the first collection of Assyrian antiquities that had ever been brought to Europe. They now form one of the greatest attractions in the noble museum in the Louvre.

Fig. 7.—THE MOUND AT NIMROUD.

CHAPTER III.

LAYARD.

THE last and most important of the labourers in the field of Assyrian antiquities, is our own countryman, Austen Henry Layard; and to him, therefore, the following chapter is dedicated.

Layard commenced his career, as a traveller, in the summer of 1839, when he visited Russia and other northern countries. Without any very definite plans, he journeyed in succession through various states in Germany, paying special attention to those on the Danube, mastering not only the German language itself, but several of the dialects of Transylvania, in Montenegro. From Montenegro, he travelled through Albania and Roumelia, and not without perilous and troublesome adventures made his way to Constantinople, which he reached about the latter part of the year.

Having by this time seen all that was most remarkable in Europe, a new field seemed opening upon him, full of interest, in Asia. His experience as a traveller had rendered him hardy, and equal to the emergencies of European journeyings; but new languages and new habits—a more perfect reliance upon himself—were requisite before he could plunge into the half-wild life led in Asia Minor and other countries of the East. But the true spirit of the traveller and investigator was in him; and, undaunted by difficulties, he went to work to learn the languages of Turkey and Arabia. He studied the manners—adopted the costume—and was before long able to lead the life of an Arab of the Desert.

Some records of these wanderings found place in the Journals of the London Geographical Society, through either incidental mention, or direct communication. In one number of the Society's transactions, we find a paper by Mr. William Francis Ainsworth, in which he gives notes of an excursion in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and Nineveh—Layard being one of the party. The travellers started from Mósul, April 18th, 1840, and made their way down the stream to Kalah Shergat, where the ruins of an ancient Persian city are still visible. In this excursion Layard passed the spot where his future excavations were to be made, and where he was to unveil Nimroud, and so raise a lasting monument to his own fame. Mr. Ainsworth thus speaks of the circumstances under which Layard joined the party:—

"The accidental arrival of two English travellers, Messrs. Mitford and Layard, at Mósul, enabled us to make up a strong party to visit the sites of the ruined cities of Kalah Shergat and Al Hadhr.

"The party consisted of the above-mentioned gentlemen, Mr. Rassám, and myself; and we were accompanied by an Arab of Tunis, of whose courage we had had proof in crossing Northern Mesopotamia, when he was in the service of Mohammed 'Alí; but being worsted in an engagement between the Shammár Arabs (the men 'without bondage') and the irregular troops of Ibráhím Páshá, which had recently taken place, he had abandoned his horse to save his life, and sought refuge at Mósul. We had also with us a khawáss from Mohammed Páshá of Mósul."

As, however, we intend availing ourselves of Mr. Ainsworth's interesting paper in a subsequent chapter, we shall now limit ourselves to scenes in which Layard took a more prominent part. From one of his communications, dated Karak, December 31st, 1840, we gather that, after visiting Ispahan, he crossed the highest part of the great chain of Mungasht, on his way to Kala Tul; examined the ancient mound and Sassanian ruin in the plain of Mel Amir; the sculptures and cuneiform inscriptions of the Shikajti Salman; besides observing in the same plain, and on the road to Súsan, numerous other sculptures and inscriptions. After encountering many difficulties and dangers in his journey, he at length reached Susan, believed by Colonel Rawlinson to mark the site of the Susa of the ancient geographers. Layard expresses himself satisfied that a large city did once exist on the spot, although at the present day there are neither mounds of any size, nor columns, nor hewn stones, nor bricks to mark the site. The ruins that are found are entirely confined to the left bank of the Kárún, but on either side there are the remains

of ancient roads, and the river was formerly spanned by a bridge, four buttresses of which still attest the stupendous nature of the building. He adds that the so-called tomb of Daniel is a comparatively modern building of rough stones, containing two apartments. It is, however, regarded with great veneration, and is always known by the name of Gebr Daniel Akbar, or the greater Daniel, in contradistinction to the one at Shus. During two visits to Susan he searched and inquired in vain after inscriptions; and was, therefore, inclined to doubt the existence of the sculptures which he was informed were to be found in a cave at a place called Páirah (the first of the road).

These excursions, sketches of sculptures, and copies of various inscriptions, seem only to have whetted Layard's appetite for further adventures and discoveries. In 1842 and 1843 we find him busy at Khúzistán, and of his adventures there he sent a lengthy description through Lord Aberdeen to the Geographical Society.

This paper gives glimpses of the history of an interesting portion of our traveller's life, while to the geographer it has especial value from the exactness of its details relative to a country previously but vaguely understood. Among the more dry and scientific details, we find little illustrations of the character of the tribes he sojourned with. He lived with those he met just as they lived, and seems to have adapted himself to surrounding circumstances with great readiness. With all his experience, and with all his hardihood, he had, however, difficulties to overcome that would have conquered many less hardy, and risks to run that might have intimidated the most brave. His companions were often the most lawless of the desert tribes; men owning no absolute authority, and restrained by no sufficient law either of society or honour. He considered this country as very difficult of access, particularly to a European; and although he twice succeeded in traversing it, partly in disguise, he was plundered by those who were sent to protect him, and narrowly escaped on several occasions with his life. This was the more remarkable, as the Sheikh had frequently courted the friendship of the English engaged in navigating the Tigris, and it was under his protection that he entered his territories. But there were some spots safer and more pleasant than others. It would seem that one Mohammed Takí Khán then exercised a wide authority in the province of Khúzistán. Sober and abstemious, and never indulging in many vices prevalent in Persia—he was affable, and mixed with his people as though on an equality with, rather than above them. Layard says, that during a year's residence with him he never saw an individual receive chastisement, nor did a case of robbery or violence come under his notice; yet, nevertheless, Layard

appears to have been a victim to partial violence at the hands of another tribe, for he says: "I was attacked and robbed, but by a tribe of Dínárúnés, which even Mohammed Takí Khán could never control. He, however, sent to the chief, and insisted that every missing article should be immediately returned; and I received back the whole of my property. It was my habit to traverse these wild mountains perfectly alone, and never was I attacked or insulted, except on the occasion mentioned, when the country was in a state of war."

In the province of Khúzistán, Layard visited the most important of the rivers—the Kárún, which he tells us he examined in the "Assyria," accompanied by Lieut. Selby, whose survey of this river, the Bahmah-Shir, the Kerkhah, and the Hai, are, he says, "some of the most interesting and useful results of the Euphrates expedition."

The most painful story in the description of this portion of his experience relates to an act of curious barbarity committed by the eunuch Mo'tammid upon the followers of Wali Khan, the legitimate chief of the Mamesseni:—"He built a lofty tower of living men; they were placed horizontally one above another, and closely united together with mortar and cement, their heads being left exposed. Some of these unfortunate beings lived several days, and I have been informed that a negro did not die till the tenth day. Those who could eat were supplied with bread and water by the inhabitants of Shiraz, at the gate of which this tower was built. *It still exists*, an evidence of the utter callousness to cruelty of a Persian invested with power."

In the summer of 1842, we find Layard again at Mósul, in the neighbourhood of the spot which now formed the one chief object of his thoughts. It was during this visit that he met with Botta, who was then engaged in excavating the great mound of Kouyunjik, on which was supposed to have been built the palace of Nineveh. The success attending the subsequent researches at Khorsabad still further strengthened Layard's desire to follow out his scheme of investigations on the Tigris, and he departed for Constantinople, intent upon obtaining means for realising his views. Botta's excavations were encouraged by his countrymen, and upon the first appearance of success, the French government supported him with money, artists, and diplomatic influence; in England, however, science meets but little sympathy from those in power, and the government leaves to individuals what ought to be the duty of the nation. Layard sought help in vain, until Sir Stratford Canning nobly volunteered to bear for a while, out of his private purse, the cost of the excavations. To Sir Stratford Canning we already owed the marbles from

Halicarnassus, and to his generous offer, as Layard observes, "are we mainly indebted for the collection of Assyrian antiquities with which the British Museum will be enriched; as, without his liberality and public spirit, the treasures of Nimroud would have been reserved for the enterprise of those who have appreciated the value and importance of the discoveries at Khorsabad." Thus prepared, by private munificence with means for commencing his long-desired labours, Layard quitted Constantinople for Assyria, in the autumn of 1845. We can, however, only slightly sketch the progress of his labours, and must refer to his own volumes for his personal narrative and experiences; which none can peruse without admiring the bold and enterprising spirit he has displayed, and the earnest consciousness he felt of the importance of his work: his book is, indeed, equally interesting to the sober and patient antiquary, as glowing to the eager reader who seeks but for fresh excitement.

When Layard arrived at Mósul, with the intention of commencing his excavations, he found the province under the rule of Mohammed Pasha, a man notorious for his rapacity and atrocious cruelties. The Pasha was the last man likely to comprehend the traveller's object; and was, therefore, certain to offer every open and vexatious opposition in his power to whatever works might be commenced. To avoid this, Layard, with hunting weapons ostentatiously displayed, but with a few mason's tools secreted in his valise, quietly floated down the Tigris on a small raft, with no other companions than Mr. Ross, a British merchant, a khawáss, and a servant. He established himself for a time at Naifa; but subsequently, for greater security, removed to Selamiyah, a village near the Tigris, well known to the early Arab geographers. Whilst at Naifa, the excavations at Nimroud were commenced; and some fragments of inscriptions, slabs which had evidently been exposed to intense heat, a great accumulation of charcoal, and many fragments of ivory, gilt pottery, bricks, &c., were discovered. Ere long, however, as in the case of Botta, reports that Layard was extracting gold from the ruins, reached the town, and excited the cupidity and jealousy of the principal inhabitants so far, that he began to apprehend a formidable opposition to his labours. The excavations at Nimroud had been entered upon not only without the permission, but without the knowledge, of the local authorities; and as the supplies of money which were to sustain the undertaking were only guaranteed for a limited period, their continuance was contingent on a fair prospect of success. As yet no sculptures had been discovered; nevertheless, Layard did not slacken the ardour of his application. As a first step he proceeded to Mósul to acquaint the Pasha with the doings at

Nimroud, but the wily ruler, with true oriental duplicity, affected ignorance of the works, though he had had a spy watching them from day to day; he forbore, however, either to sanction or object to the continuance of the excavations, and Layard consequently felt convinced that he would seek an opportunity for obstructing his proceedings.

After a short sojourn in Mósul, Layard returned to Nimroud, having hired a number of Nestorian Christians to proceed thither, to join his gang of workers. He began to examine the south-west ruins, with the view to discover their plan, but the soil offered such resistance to the tools of the workmen, that the labour was immense. The Arabs were not sufficiently robust to be trusted with the pickaxe, and no spade could be thrust into the heterogeneous rubbish, which the Arabs were obliged, therefore, to collect as they could into baskets for removal; and by such a wearisome process, were the remains of Assyrian art at length brought into the light of day.

Layard was working in the rain with his men on the 28th November, when the first of the long wished for bas-reliefs was suddenly disclosed to view. At this critical and exciting stage of the proceedings, orders were privately issued from Mósul to stop the works. Layard hastened to remonstrate with the governor, who pretended to be surprised, and disclaimed the orders; but, on returning to the village, he found that even more positive commands had been issued, on the ground, as was subsequently declared, that the mound which he was digging had been a Mussulman burying place. Remonstrance was useless; there was no resource but to acquiesce and rest satisfied with the permission to draw the sculptures and copy the inscriptions, under the inspection of an officer, who Layard specially requested might accompany him to Nimroud. The presence of this officer relieved Layard from the interference of the local authorities, as he was easily induced to countenance the employment of a few workmen, ostensibly to guard the sculptures, but actually for the purpose of opening a few trenches and ascertaining the existence of further remains. Fortunately, at this juncture the Pasha Mohammed was supplanted by Ismael Pasha, who was favourably reported, and whose conciliatory acts towards the people of Mósul produced a change as sudden as great. Layard was received by the Pasha with affability, and consequently, in January, 1846, was enabled to take up his quarters at the village of Nimroud, and to resume his excavations. A ravine, apparently formed by the winter rains, which ran far into the mound, attracted Layard's attention, and he formed the fortunate resolution of opening a trench in its centre. In two days this

measure was rewarded by the discovery of several additional bas-reliefs, and of a gigantic human head, much to the terror of the Arabs, who hurried to communicate the intelligence that Nimroud himself had been found. The excitement produced by this discovery set the whole of Mósul into commotion; and the result was a message from the governor to the effect that "the remains should be treated with respect, and be by no means farther disturbed!" The operations at Nimroud having been thus, for the third time, suspended, Layard had no alternative but to await the arrival of a vizirial order from Constantinople: but in the meantime he visited the Tunnel of Negoub, or the hole, on the outskirts of Nimroud, the inscriptions in which led him to infer that it was contemporary with the Kouyounjik palace; and occupied himself in receiving visits from, and in visiting various Arab tribes, and in studying their manners and customs, with a view to securing the friendship of Sheikhs, and thus checking the thievish propensities of their followers. During his excursion, Ismael Pasha had been superseded in the Government of Mósul by Tahyar Pasha, who enjoyed a reputation for liberality, kindness, and intelligence. Under his auspices the excavations were resumed; and though the progress was slow, fresh sculptures and rilievi, of increasing value and interest, were disclosed. At length, through the instrumentality of Sir Stratford Canning, Layard received the order from the Turkish government, authorising him to continue his operations, and to remove any objects he might discover. The opposition of subordinates being thus overcome, Layard determined to open trenches in the southern face of the great mound of Kouyounjik, and a rich collection of sculptures, in an excellent state of preservation, soon rewarded his exertions. Kings, priests, griffins, eunuchs, and the symbolic tree, were among the figures, which excited feelings of amazement in the Arabs, and of rapturous delight in their employer.

Among the remarkable discoveries made by Layard at Nimroud, was a vaulted chamber, built in the centre of a wall, nearly 50 feet in thickness, and about 15 feet beneath the surface of the mound. The dimensions of this vault were 10 feet in height by 10 feet in width, and the arch over it was formed of kiln-burnt bricks; but there was no apparent entrance, nor could Layard divine to what purpose it had been applied. The discovery, however, of so large an arch, turned in baked bricks, and built into the solid mass of the mound, is a convincing proof that the ancient Assyrians, like the ancient Egyptians, were acquainted with the principle of the arch, although they both evidently refrained from using it in their larger structures, or where the abutments were not secure, from a knowledge, as we are assured

by this discreet use of it, of the inherent self-destroying principle of the arch. We could have wished that the discoverer had informed us whether the bricks were of the usual form, whether they were wedge-shaped, or whether, as in some Egyptian brick arches, pieces of tile were inserted to keep the bricks apart at the top.

Another curious discovery was that tubular drain-tiles were used in removing the rain-water that fell through the openings in the roofs on to the pavements of the several apartments, and that there was under the pavement of the mound a main drain, the invert formed of kiln-burnt bricks, and the upper part covered with slabs and tiles.

He noticed also, that a thin layer of bitumen passed under all the floors and slabs, to preserve them doubtless from the damp which would otherwise have risen from the earth beneath.

As it was in vain to think of moving the gigantic lions, or other larger sculptures with the means then at command, Layard proceeded to take steps for the embarkation of such as could be moved. The difficulties that Botta had had to overcome were repeated in his case, but ultimately the sculptures were removed from the trenches with levers and native ropes, packed in rough cases, conveyed to the Tigris in buffalo carts, and transported by raft to Baghdad preparatory to their removal to Bombay.

After despatching these first fruits of his discoveries, Layard undertook a short excursion in pursuit of health, to the country of the devil-worshippers, and upon his return to Mósul, he found letters apprising him that the British Museum had received a grant of funds for the continuation of the Assyrian researches. Notwithstanding the inadequacy of the sum, which was to include all expenses, private and otherwise, Layard determined on directing the excavations, and economising to the utmost, in order to secure as complete a collection as such small means would allow. Many of the sculptures were far too dilapidated to admit of removal, and, as others were likely to fall to pieces as soon as uncovered, there was no alternative but to make drawings of them, or the records they afforded would be for ever lost. As no artist had been sent to assist him, Layard was obliged to do his best to copy what he saw, and his drawings were very creditable to him. He had thus, he tells us, to superintend the excavations, to draw all the bas-reliefs, to copy, compare, and take casts of the inscriptions, to direct the moving and packing of the sculptures, to be continually present at the works, and frequently to remove the earth with his own hands from the face of the slabs,—labours sufficiently various and onerous. At the end of October, he was again among the ruins of Nimroud, and in November,

the excavations were proceeding on a large scale. New chambers were explored, battles, sieges, victories, triumphs, banquetings, and sacrifices were daily discovered, and besides these an obelisk of black marble, which was instantly packed for transport. The large band now at work rapidly uncovered the buried treasures, and by the end of the second month a sufficient number of bas-reliefs were collected to despatch to Baghdad. Layard proceeded to Mósul, bought the necessary materials for a raft, and for packing the sculptures, and returned to Nimroud, leaving the raftsmen to bring the purchases by water. On their way, having found it necessary to halt for the night, they were plundered by Arabs; and the mats, felts, and cordage were carried off. This was a proceeding which Layard was determined should not become a precedent. He applied, in the first place, to the authorities, and was put off, no doubt, with the Turkish phrase *Bakkalum* (we will see), the equivalent of the Arabic *Boukkara* (to-morrow). In three or four days he learned who were the robbers, and determined to make them feel that they were not to carry their incursions into his quarters with impunity. Taking with him two trusty Arabs, expert at their weapons, he came upon the guilty sheikh in the midst of his followers, and politely asked for the missing articles, some of which were hanging up in his sight. When the sheikh and his party had stoutly denied the possession of the goods in question, one of Layard's two attendants handcuffed the old man in a moment, and, jumping on his horse, dragged him out of the encampment at a most uncomfortable pace. The suddenness of the performance paralysed the by-standers, who were well supplied with arms. The sheikh was carried to Nimroud, where he thought it wiser to make a full confession, than journey to Mósul and confront the Pasha. Next morning the missing property, with the addition of a kid and a lamb, as a peace-offering, made their appearance, the shiekh was liberated; and Layard had no subsequent reason to complain of him or his tribe.

In the first four months of the New Year Layard explored almost the entire north-west palace, opened twenty new chambers and discovered numerous sculptures of considerable interest and importance. The means at his disposal did not warrant him in searching for objects which he could not hope to carry away. He therefore spent the greater portion of his time in exposing the monuments previously discovered. An opportunity now offered of examining the mounds of Káláh Shergat, ruins rivalling those of Nimroud in extent, but which the reputation of the vicinity as a rendezvous for plundering parties had preserved from the spoliation of the traveller. The long drought at Mósul had now, however, driven many of the

Jebour tribe, friends of Layard, towards those ruins, and he resolved to profit by the circumstance, to visit them under that protection. Layard remained at Káláh Shergat but a few days, and returned to Nimroud, having left a superintendent to continue excavations at the former place. The position of the workmen, however, shortly became so insecure, that he was reluctantly compelled to recal them, but not without satisfying himself that the mounds contained many objects of interest, if not sculptured slabs. A sitting figure, discovered there, has since been added to the Nimroud sculptures in the British Museum.

Having decided to attempt the removal of the lion and bull, two of the best preserved of the various sculptures that lay around, Layard formed different plans for dragging them to the river, and placing them upon the rafts. He at length resolved to build a cart of the best materials attainable. A carpenter was dispatched to the mountains, to fell mulberry timber, and convey it to Mósul. A framework of strong beams was formed, and laid over two strong iron axles, fortunately found in the town (those made by Botta). Each wheel was made of three solid pieces of wood, nearly a foot thick, bound together by an iron hoop: a pole was finally added, furnished with rings, to admit a rope, by which the carriage might be drawn. In order to raise the bull, and place it on the carriage which stood in the plain below, a distance of 200 feet, it was necessary to make a road through the mound, 15 feet wide, and in some places 20 feet deep. Around the bull a large open space was formed, so that the energies of the workmen might have free scope. The figure was to be lowered from its pedestal on its back, a work of no small difficulty; for during its descent, ropes, which were the only means of supporting it, might break, and involve the destruction of the whole. Although ropes had been sent for from Aleppo across the desert, the best of them were too small to be relied on. A stout palm-fibre hawser had been obtained from Baghdad, and two pairs of blocks, and a pair of jack-screws had been borrowed from the stores of the Euphrates expedition. These were all the resources available for removing the bull and lion.

By the middle of March the earth and rubbish had been cleared away from the bull, which was now retained in its place only by beams which sprang from the opposite side of the excavation. Well-greased sleepers of poplar were laid down on the ground parallel to the sculpture, and over these several thick rollers on which the object was to be lowered. A deep trench had been cut in the solid mass of the unburnt brick wall at some distance behind and above the bull,

and the square block, thus exposed, formed a sort of column, round which the ropes used for lowering the bull might be run during the operation. Two of the pulleys were secured to this mass of earth by a coil of ropes, and two others to the bull and between these two points the tackle worked. On each side of the bull, stood a large party of Arabs, holding the ends of the ropes, and some powerful Chaldeans were directed to hold strong beams which they were to remove gradually, so as to take the strain off the ropes as far as possible.

All being ready, Layard ordered the men to strike out the supporting wedges. Still the bull remained erect, until at last five or six men tilted it over. The Baghdad hawser almost broke with the strain, and wore its way into the block of earth around which it was carried, but the smaller ropes did their work well, and the bull began to descend slowly towards the rollers. The critical moment would arrive as soon as the mass should be half lowered. As the bull neared the rollers, the beams could no longer be used, and the entire strain was thrown on the ropes, which stretched and creaked more than ever; at length the ropes all broke together, and the bull fell forward to the ground. A silent moment of suspense followed. Layard leaped into the trenches, expecting to see the bull in fragments. It was entire and uninjured! A sort of tram-way was laid down to the end of the track, over which the bull was to be drawn on rollers to the edge of the mound; and thus the journey to the end of the trench was speedily accomplished. When the bull arrived at the sloping edge of the mound, it was lowered into the cart by digging away the soil. All was now ready for proceeding to the river, and the buffaloes which were at first procured refusing to pull at the weight, the Arabs and Chaldeans, assisted by the villagers, in all 300 men, drew the cart.

On reaching the village of Nimroud, the procession was brought to a sudden halt. Two wheels of the cart were seen buried in the ground; and the ropes were broken in the attempt to extricate the vehicle. The wheels had sunk in a concealed corn-pit, in which some villager had formerly stored his grain. Layard was compelled to leave the sculpture on the spot for the night, with a guard. In the course of the night some adventurous Bedouins, attracted by the packing materials around the sculptures, had fallen on the workmen. They were beaten off, but left their mark; for a ball indented the side of the bull. Next morning the wheels were raised, the procession was again in motion, and, after some temporary obstructions, the bull was placed on the platform from which it was to slide to the raft. Here a small camp of Arabs was formed to guard the bull until its

companion the lion, should be in like manner brought down, and the two embarked together for Baghdad.

By the middle of April, this second sculpture had been brought down to the river, and both lion and bull were ready for shipment as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. On the 20th of the month, Layard determined to attempt the embarkation of his treasures. The raft lay alongside the platform: and the two sculptures were so placed on beams, that on the withdrawal of the wedges they would slide into the centre of the raft.

An inclined plane, reaching from the figures to the river, was formed of beams of poplar wood, which were well greased. The large raft, supported by six hundred skins, was brought close to the bank; the wedges were removed, and the bull was slowly lowered into its place. The lion was next placed on board a second similar raft. In a few hours the two sculptures were properly secured, and by nightfall they were ready to set out on their long journey. The working party was now disbanded, and by the middle of May, 1847, the excavations at Nimroud was finished. Layard took a parting glance at the ruins and, on the 24th of June, he bade farewell to the Arabs, and departed on his journey to Constantinople.

It now becomes necessary to inquire what biblical and classical writers, had been thinking and saying about the buried cities in the East, and to examine also in detail the discoveries of Botta, at Khorsabad.

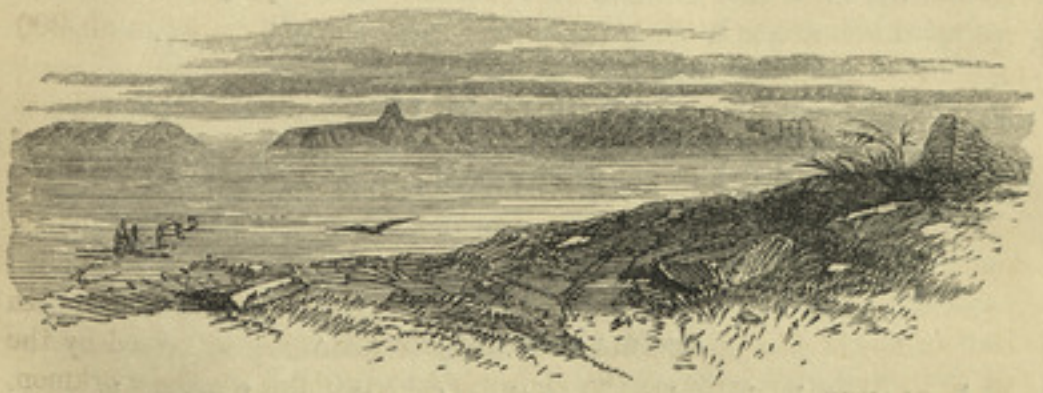


Fig. 8.—PLAIN AND MOUNDS OF NIMROUD

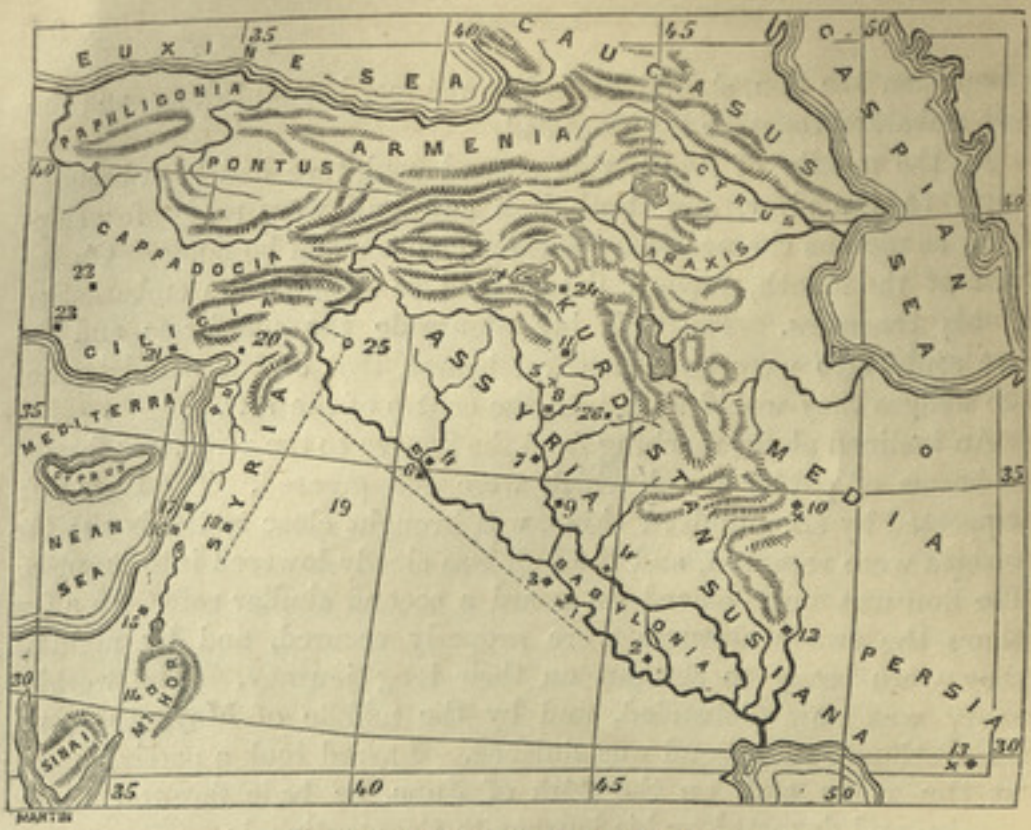


Fig. 9.—MAP OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

1. Babel.	8. Resen.	15. Jerusalem.	22. Iconium.
2 Erech.	9. Dura.	16. Tyre.	23. Perge.
3. Accad.	10. Ecbatana.	17. Sidon.	24. Van.
4. Calneh.	11. Ecbatana.	18. Damascus.	25. Ur.
5. Nineveh.	12. Susa.	19. Palmyra.	26. Arbela.
6. Rehoboth.	13. Persepolis.	20. Issus.	27. Rhagae.
7. Calah.	14. Petra.	21. Tarsus.	28. Cyropolis.

N.B.—The first eight numbers refer to the cities in the order they occur in the tenth chapter of Genesis.

SECTION II.

HISTORICAL.

CHAPTER I.

ASSYRIA AND MESOPOTAMIA.

A GLANCE backwards—more than two thousand years—becomes necessary, when we ask what Nineveh was understood to be before the excavations of Botta and Layard. We have two sources of information on the subject; the sacred writers and the ancient Greek and Roman historians. Let us examine first, then, the Nineveh of the Bible.

From the sacred writings we learn that the long foreborne vengeance of Heaven, overtaking the impious pride of the antediluvian world, had swept from the face of the earth the numerous tribes of Adam, reserving only the family of Noah, to make him the second progenitor of the human race. The three sons of the Patriarch, conscious of the dignity of their relation to the new world, had gone forth to assume other new sovereignties and to people the earth. At this period, within a century after the flood, and while Noah was in the full vigour of his power, his great-grandson, the founder of the earliest post-diluvian cities, is introduced on the historic page.

"And Cush begat Nimrod; he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."[1]

Although the scriptural account of Nimrod, the first monarch on record, is short, yet so much more is said of him than of any other of the immediate posterity of Noah, as to afford ample testimony to his strength of character and superior natural endowments. The Hebrew word גבר Gibbor, which the Vulgate renders "mighty one" is by the Septuagint translated "giant;" but the subsequent "mighty hunter" would intimate that he not only sought to hunt wild beasts, but to subdue men also; and Ezekiel is understood by some commentators to give the name of hunters to all tyrants.[2] Nevertheless, some think that the words "before the Lord," may be taken in a favourable sense, and Calmet admits that they are commonly understood as heightening the good qualities of any one. It must be allowed that there is nothing in the history of Nimrod which carries an air of reproach excepting his name, which signifies "rebellion of him that rules," or according to Gesenius, "extremely impious rebel;" but it is this name which has caused commentators to represent him as a usurper and oppressor, and as instigating the descendants of Noah to build the Tower of Babel. The qualifications ascribed to Nimrod as "a mighty hunter" sufficiently fix his character; and after the separation of mankind he is supposed to have become the head of those who remained at Shinar. He united the people into companies, and by exercising them in the chase, he gradually led them to a social defence of one another, laying the foundations of this authority and dominion in the same way that the Persians to a much later day prepared their kings for war and government by hunting.[3] His kingdom began at Babel, but it seems

[1] Genesis, x. 8—10. [2] Ezekiel, xxxii. 30.

[3] Xenoph. Cyrop., lib. i. See also Bochart, Phaleg., lib. iv. c. 12, pp. 227, 228.

doubtful whether he actually founded the city, and was arrested in his work by the destruction of the tower; or whether the city and tower were commenced by others of the human family, and that, after the abandonment of the place, he and his followers completed the unfinished city, and established themselves in it. There can, however, be little doubt that as his first seat of power became too populous to be regulated by his inspection, and governed by his influence, he laid the foundation of other cities, and by this means dispersed his people under the direction of such deputies as he deemed prudent. That he was aided in establishing his power by his brothers Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah,[1] who were all settled in Arabia, may readily be believed, for without such aid he could scarcely have built cities, and united his people with others under a common form of government. The four cities which are recorded in Scripture to have been founded by Nimrod, Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, were all in the land of Shinar, the southern part of Mesopotamia. That Babel was the original of the subsequently imperial city of Babylon, the identity of name sufficiently proves, the latter being the same with a Greek ending. The ruins near Hillah are still by the Arabs designated Babel. According to Chesney, "four miles and a quarter north, and twenty miles west of the bridge of Hillah is the Mujellibeh, near which are the remains of the Kasr, and the hanging gardens; and at rather more than six miles from Hillah, standing amidst, and crowning the summit of, extensive masses of ruin, is the 'Birs Nimroud,' supposed by Niebuhr, Rich, and others, to be the temple of Belus, which Herodotus tells us was separated from the palace by the river."[2]

Erech, Accad, and Calneh, having probably grown up around the frontier fortresses of Nimrod's first realm, the identification of their sites would serve to define its limits as they existed before the conquest of Assyria had merged the mother country in a superior kingdom. Herodotus, Ptolemy, and Ammianus Marcellinus, speak of cities, the names of which, like the *Irak* of the modern Arabs, are clearly derivable from the *Erech* of Scripture; but do not precisely indicate their position.

Colonel Taylor, the late British resident at Baghdad, who devoted great skill and distinguished abilities to the geography of the Babylonian region, satisfied himself that the place formerly called *Orchoe* by the Greeks, and now known as Werka, is the true site of the ancient city. Werka is situated on the Euphrates, 82 miles south,

[1] Genesis, x. 7.

[2] Chesney, Survey of the Euphrates.

43 east from Babylon, and is celebrated for the immense mounds of El Assayah, the Place of Pebbles, which bear also the names of 'Irka and Irak, and are believed to be the ruins of Erech.[1]

The site of Accad—or Accur, as the best scholars agree to write it—is assigned to the Sittace of the Greeks, the Akkerkuf, Akari Nimroud, or Akari Babel, of the present day. It is distant about 55 miles north, 13 miles west of Babel. A primitive monument found here is still called by the Arabs "Tel Nimrûd," and by the Turks, "Nimrûd Tepassé," both designations signifying the hill of Nimrod. It consists of a mound, surmounted by a mass of building which looks like a tower, or an irregular pyramid, according to the point from which it is viewed: it is about 400 feet in circumference at the bottom, and rises to the height of 125 feet above the elevation on which it stands.[2] The mound which seems to form the foundation of the pile, is a mass of rubbish, accumulated from the decay of the superincumbent structure.

Calneh, or Chalnah, is fixed by the concurrence of a great mass of authority, ancient and modern, oriental and European, at what was the ancient Ctesiphon, on the banks of the Tigris, about eighteen miles below Baghdad, the district surrounding which was called by the Greeks Chalonitis. The site of Calnah was afterwards occupied by El Madair, among the remains of which travellers find the ruins of an ancient palace called Tauk-Kesra, believed to have been the White Palace of the Persian kings, the magnificence of which struck the barbarian conquerors from Arabia with amazement and delight.

This site does not agree with that mentioned by Colonel Chesney, who says, "At the extremity of the plain of Shinar, and near the foot of the Sinjar mountains, we find on the banks of the Khabur, near its confluence with the Euphrates, two extensive heaps of ruins, partaking of the same characters as those which appertained to the preceding cities. That on the right bank (the presumed Kerkisyah) is crowned with the modern town, Abú Serai (father of palaces), whilst that on the opposite, or left bank, may, from its name Calneh, or Chalanne, and the more modern Charchemish, be the fourth city of Nimroud." This surmise is supported by the learned annotator on Calmet, who suspects, as it stands the *last* city in the order of those built by Nimrod, that this circumstance is denoted in its name *Cala*, "the completion," *nuch* "of settled habitations;" as if it were "last built town." Or it might be at the *extremity*, last district of his dominions; "border-town."

[1] Chesney. [2] Ainsworth's Researches in Assyria.

The prophet Amos[1] speaks of Calnah as forming, in his time, an independent principality; but shortly afterwards it became, with the greater part of Western Asia, a prey to the Assyrians.

If Nimrod's chief towns are thus correctly localised, his first kingdom—resting on the Euphrates, stretching from Erech on the south to Accad in the north, and guarded in front by the Tigris—must have extended towards the tribes of the east a frontier of about 130 miles. To the sons of Shem, occupying the other bank of the river, the seizure of the plains of Shinar by the Hametic chieftain would be a just cause for apprehension; but, with the setting-up of Nimrod's kingdom, the entire ancient world entered a new historical phase. The oriental tradition, which makes that warrior the first man who wore a kingly crown, points to a fact more significant than the assumption of a new ornament of dress, or even the conquest of a province. His reign introduced to the world a new system of relations between the governor and the governed. The authority of former rulers had rested upon the feeling of kindred: and the ascendancy of the chief was an image of parental control. Nimrod, on the contrary, was a sovereign of territory and of men, just so far as they were its inhabitants, and irrespective of personal ties. Hitherto there had been tribes, enlarged families—Society; now there was a nation, a political community—the State. The political and social history of the world henceforth are distinct, if not divergent. The diadem of tradition may have been only a figure of speech; it betrays, however, the feeling that a natural relation, universally and promptly recognised, had given place to a fortuitous sovereignty which stood in need of an external mark or symbol to denote its possessor.

"Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city."[2]

Of the sons of Shem, Scripture has recorded nothing, except of Asshur; but of him the record is of the highest importance, as it fixes the epoch of the kingdom of Assyria. It may be inferred from the verses in Genesis, that Asshur had originally dwelt in the plains of Shinar, from whence he may probably have been driven by the grasping ambition of Nimrod. At all events, we gather that at some period of Nimrod's reign, Asshur led a company or tribe from Babel; that he travelled up the Tigris, and settled in the land to which he gave his name, Assyria being the Greek derivative from the Hebrew Asshur: and farther, it may be deduced that he followed the system

[1] Amos, vi. 12, B.C. 803.

[2] Genesis, x. 11, 12. Aspin. Anal. Un. Hist., vol. i. p. 297.

of government adopted by Nimrod; dispersing his people over the country as they increased, and employing them in establishing adjacent cities. Others explain the text differently; adopting the marginal reading, "he went out into Assyria," which they understand to speak of Nimrod, who left his own country to attack Assyria. The verse in Micah, however, strongly corroborates our view of the question:—"And they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof;"[1]—a passage which certainly implies distinct founders for the separate kingdoms of Nineveh and Babylon, which were both united in the Assyrian monarchy about the time of this prophecy. As to the silence of history respecting Asshur, the argument tells with equal force against Nimrod, who is nowhere mentioned but in Scripture, or by writers who have copied Holy Writ; but apart from this, neither Nineveh nor the kingdom of Assyria could, for obvious reasons, have attained any grandeur under their first founder; the glory of Nineveh, and the increase of the empire, being the work of subsequent kings. Asshur only planted the original people, and founded the cities; but the retention of his name as the name of the country marks the importance attached to him. How long Asshur lived, or how far he established his power, are not to be learned from the sacred narrative; nor has Assyria, like Babylonia, any great natural frontiers to determine its extent. The site of Rehoboth is so uncertain, that it has been shifted everywhere; but we learn from Chesney, that "on the right bank of the Euphrates, at the north-western extremity of the plain of Shinar, and three-and-a-half miles south-west of the town of Mayadin, are extensive ruins, around a castle, still bearing the name of Rehoboth." Of the ruins of Káláh Shergat, which have been, with great probability, identified with the ancient Calah; of Nimroud, which competent judges have satisfied themselves is the ancient Resen; and of Nineveh itself, we shall treat more at length in the next section of our work.

After the foundation of the kingdoms of Nimrod and Asshur, we meet with no direct mention, in the sacred writing, of Nineveh or its king, for a period of fifteen hundred years. This is no proof that the city or empire remained unimportant, since the Bible does not profess to contain a systematic history of the world. In the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, one "Amraphel, king of *Shinar*," is mentioned, of whom the Jewish archæologist, Josephus, says he was a commander in the Assyrian army.[2] Likewise Arioch king of Ellasar, El-Asar: may not this be "The Assyrians"? At all events, it is probable that they

[1] Micah, v. 6.

[2] Ant., lib. i. cap. ix.

were Assyrian satraps or viceroys, according to the subsequent Assyrian boast, "Are not my princes altogether kings?"[1] At the closing period of the age of Moses, we again meet with traces of Assyria as an independent and formidable state. Balaam, the seer, addressing the Kenites, a tribe of highlanders on the east of the Jordan, "took up his parable,"—"Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted until Asshur shall carry thee away captive."[2] We also find, that, shortly after the death of Joshua, the Israelites submitted to the arms of Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, which was then a separate government from Assyria. "Therefore the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia: and the children of Israel served Chushan-rishathaim eight years."[3]

Although the Assyrian kings or their country are not expressly mentioned until the reign of Jeroboam (825 B.C.), we are not left without indications of the state of the kingdom during the latter part of this period. It is a striking proof of the imbecility or sloth of the kings of Nineveh, that they made no attempt to resist the rise of the Jewish power under David and his son Solomon, whose sovereignty extended to the very banks of the Euphrates, so as to form, at that period, if not the greatest, at least the most brilliant kingdom of Western Asia.[4]

The first returning mention of Assyria or Nineveh in the Bible is in the book of Jonah. The name of the monarch then reigning is not given, but it is supposed that he was the father of that "Phul," whose invasion of Israel is subsequently recorded, and the commencement of whose reign is dated B.C. 821. In the history of Jonah's visit, Nineveh is twice described as "that great city," and again as an "exceeding great city of three days' journey." It had by this time evidently recovered from the blow inflicted by political misfortunes, and was flourishing under regal government.

The measurement assigned to Nineveh by the sacred writer applies, without doubt, to its circuit, and gives a circumference of about sixty miles.

The twelfth verse of the fourth chapter of Jonah furnishes us with the means of estimating approximately the population of the ancient city when visited by the prophet. It is there stated to have contained 120,000 persons who "could not discern between their right hand

[1] Isaiah, x. 8. [2] Numbers, xxiv. 21, 22. [3] Judges, iii. 7—10.
[4] Gen., xv. 18; Exod., xxiii. 31; 1 Kings, iv. 21, 24; 1 Chron., xviii. 3; Psalm, lxxii. 8.

and their left,"—a figurative expression usually understood of young children. As these are, in any place, commonly reckoned to form one-fifth of the population, Nineveh must have contained 600,000 inhabitants.

The following diagram shows the relative proportions of Nineveh, Babylon, and London, by which it will be seen that the area of Babylon was 225 square miles, that of Nineveh 216 square miles, while that of London and its environs is but 114 square miles; so that with an area of little more than half that of Nineveh, the population of the latter is nearly four times greater. This may at first sight appear a disappointing calculation, considering the unanimous testimony of antiquity to the greatness of "Imperial Nineveh, the earthly queen;" but we are not to frame our ideas of the eastern and ancient, from the western and modern, or look to our crowded towns and high streets as types of those arrangements which 3,000 years ago prevailed in Asia.

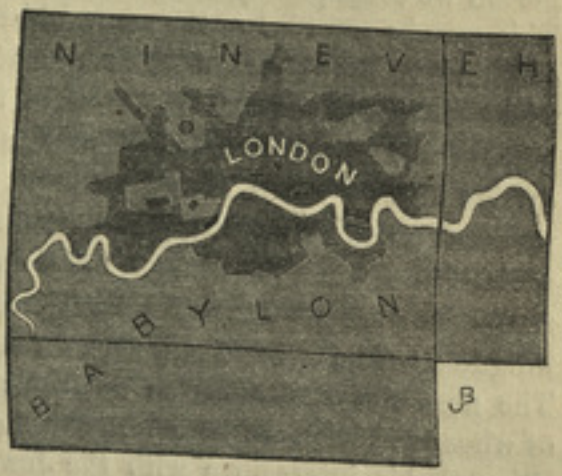


Fig. 10.—COMPARATIVE SIZE OF CITIES.

Babylon, we know, contained within its walls not only gardens and large open spaces for purposes of pleasure, but a sufficient quantity of land left for tillage to support the inhabitants in the event of a siege. It may be that the majority of the houses of Nineveh, like those of many eastern cities of the present day, consisted but of one story, so that the number of people spread over a much wider area than in our western towns, where tenements are carried to a considerable height, and one house is often made to accommodate several families; but to enable masses to provide themselves with the necessaries of life, there must be ten thousand centres instead of one, and immense independence of individual action; this can only be the offspring of freedom through long ages, and no one of these conditions ever existed in Assyria.

None of the historical books of the Old Testament give any details respecting Nineveh, although, as we shall see, its existence is more than once referred to. The Prophets, however, make frequent incidental allusion to its magnificence, to the "fenced place," the "stronghold," the "valiant men and chariots," the "silver and

gold," the "pleasant furniture," "carved lintels and cedar work." Zephaniah, who wrote about twenty-four years before the fall of Nineveh, says of it—

> "This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly;
> That said in her heart, 'I am, and there is none beside me.'"[1]

For a long series of years the foreign relations of the Jewish kingdom turned upon Assyria, and from the commencement of that period we consequently meet with its empire in the sacred writings. This may be regarded as the second historical period of the Assyrian empire. The first king of Assyria named in Scripture is Pul or Phul, who appeared in the countries west of the Euphrates, in the days of Menahem, king of Israel (772 B.C.), upon whom he made war, and carried off two tribes of his subjects, finally exacting from the weak monarch a tribute of a thousand talents of silver as the price of his maintenance on the throne.[2] We find the prophet Hosea making frequent allusions to the practice common to both the Hebrew kingdoms of throwing themselves for support on the kings of Assyria. The next Assyrian monarch mentioned by name is Tiglath-Pileser,[3] of whose accession we have not the means of determining the date, although his intercourse with the Jewish nation is repeatedly mentioned.[4] The usurper Pekah, who, by the murder of the hereditary monarch, had established himself as ruler of ten revolted tribes composing the kingdom of Israel, entered into treaty with Rezin king of Syria, with the object of expelling the race of David from the throne of Judah, and to place upon it a tributary of his own. If, as is probable, he hoped hereby to strengthen his power against that of Assyria, he signally failed. Ahaz, king of Jerusalem, whose throne was menaced by the movements of the confederates, called upon Tiglath-Pileser to advance to his assistance, offering him feudal allegiance and the temple treasures as the price of that service. "So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria."[5] Naturally willing to interfere in the disputes of his weaker neighbours, the king of Assyria advanced at the request of Ahaz, and laid siege to

[1] Zephaniah, ii. 15.

[2] Chron., v. 26; 2 Kings, xv. 19, 20.

[3] Diglath-pul-Assur, great Lord of the Tigris, called in Aelian "Thilgamus."

[4] Kings, xv. 29; xvi. 5—10; 1 Chron., v. 26; 2 Chron., xxviii. 16; Isaiah, vii. 1—11.

[5] 2 Kings, xvi. 7—9.

Damascus, subdued Syria, Galilee, and all the country east of Jordan, and sent the chief inhabitants of Syria to the banks of the Kir or Kúr,—a river which, uniting its stream with the Aras or Araxes, flows into the Caspian in N. lat. 390,—while those of Galilee were transferred to Assyria. This deportation of the Trans-Jordanic tribes was a forestalment of the captivity into which the entire kingdom of Israel was shortly to enter. Tiglath-Pileser soon proved not less dangerous as an ally than he could have been in the character of an enemy. The accumulated wealth of three centuries of prosperous trade was exposed to the view of the wily Assyrian, and with it the weakness of its possessors. The Syrians were subdued; but Tiglath-Pileser, instead of retiring to his own dominions, hovered dubiously about Jerusalem, as if in the hope of exacting a larger recompence.

From this point it would have been easy for him, had he been so disposed, to move against the Philistines and Edomites, who during the Syrian war had invaded the south and western frontiers of Judah, and made themselves masters of its strong cities; but it is said that "Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, came unto the king of Israel and distressed him, but strengthened him not; for Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of the Lord, and out of the house of the king and of the princes, and gave it unto the king of Assyria; but he helped him not."[1] Ahaz and his successors had now to contend alone with the whole force of the king of Assyria, instead of with that of two petty princes.

The successor of Tiglath-Pileser was Shalmaneser, called in the apocryphal book of Tobit, Enemessar, who ascended the throne about 729 B.C. Ahaz still occupied the throne of David, and Hoshea was king of Israel. Shalmaneser now resolved to complete the subjugation of Israel begun by his predecessor. He commenced by exacting of Hoshea a tributary acknowledgment of subjection—"Hoshea became his servant, and rendered him presents."[2] Growing weary of this dependence, the king of Israel attempted to negotiate a defensive alliance with So, at that time king of Egypt, then the only power that could pretend to rival the Assyrian, and proceeded so far as to withhold the annual tribute. Upon this rebellion Shalmaneser advanced into Samaria, where he carried on a campaign of three years, finally imprisoned its king, and carried away the Ten Tribes into his own country. The captive Israelites were sent to Halah and Habor, two cities by the river of Gozan, and into the cities of the Medes, a fact which shows that Media was not yet separated from Assyria. In

[1] 2 Chron., xxviii. 16—21. [2] 2 Kings, xvii. 3—6.

their stead a number of Assyrian families from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, and Sepharvaim, were settled in Samaria, and, mingling with the few remaining Israelites, formed the Samaritan people whom we subsequently meet in the New Testament.

Mr. Dickenson[1] remarks upon the foregoing passage in 2 Kings, that the interpretation cannot with propriety be other than this: "To the Habor the river of Gozan," as the particle "by" has been interpolated without authority. As regards Halah, there are no means of ascertaining precisely whether this is the name of a river or of a town; but he surmises it to be a river. The Greek translation of the Septuagint renders the passage "about the Halah, and about the Habor, rivers of Gozan."—In substantiation of this view, Mr. Dickenson quotes Edrisi, "and from Al Habor to Karkasíah is two marches; and Karkasíah is a town on the East side of the Euphrates, and under it flows the Hermas, commonly called Al Habor." This Al Habor is 250 miles west of Baghdad, near the left bank of the river Euphrates; and the name is extended to the district, stretching for miles along the banks of the river. Not many miles west of the source of this stream, stands the ruined, but well-known town of Haran, or Hara, the Charræ of the ancient geographers. About fifty miles from Karkasíah, up the Habor, at its junction with another stream, stands the town of Naharaim, or the "Town of the two Rivers." The one is the Habor, which flows down to Naharaim from a westerly direction; the other is called Al Hálih and Halah by the Arabs, and the country on its banks is called by Ptolemy, Gauzanitis: when, therefore, Mr. Dickenson observes, "in the very places where it is most probable that the Israelites were deposited, we find every name recorded in Scripture so little changed in the lapse of centuries," it is reasonable to believe that we have ascertained the locality in which the captives from Samaria were placed. Another argument in support of this theory, is, the probability that the conqueror would exchange the captives for people of his own country, as he would thus have vassals on whom he could rely, at distant points of his empire, while the malcontent foreigners would be more immediately under his own eye, and more likely to become incorporated with the Assyrians.

Sennacherib, the Assyrian king who succeeded Shalmaneser, appears in Scripture as a worthy follower of his warlike predecessor.

Since the inglorious reign of Ahaz, the kingdom of Judah had been numbered with the many states which confessed the superior lordship of Assyria. Hezekiah was the first king of Judah in whose patriotic

[1] Article on the fate of the Ten Tribes of Israel, in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. iv., p. 217.

judgment the risks of resistance were preferable to the ignominy of tame and spiritless servitude: "he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not."[1] For fourteen years the prudence or disdain of the Assyrian withheld his arm from chastising this presumption; but in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, Sennacherib advanced—probably in the course of that expedition to Egypt, of which Herodotus has preserved the tradition—against the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. The approach of the eastern conqueror having opened Hezekiah's eyes to the consequences of the quarrel he had provoked; while the Assyrian camp was yet at Lachish, he sent thither messengers bearing a most full and complete submission. "I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me I will bear,"[2] was the brief but expressive supplication of the revolted, but now penitent, king. Sennacherib received the submission thus tendered, but paid no regard to the conditions by which it was accompanied. In the exercise of his now re-acknowledged power, he appointed to Hezekiah a tribute or indemnification of thirty talents of gold and three hundred talents of silver—a weight of bullion which, if found to be of standard fineness, would exchange in "the City" for about 266,850*l*. When, to raise this large sum, Hezekiah had drained his own treasury, borrowed all the money of the Temple, and even stripped off the golden ornaments, with which, in more auspicious days, he had overlaid its doors and pillars, to send them to the invader, Sennacherib resumed the campaign, and sent his lieutenants with a large force to require the surrender of the king with his capital. The gasconading communications of these commissioners, as preserved by Isaiah, mark the arrogant and boastful character of the Assyrian people, and agree remarkably with the tone of the inscriptions lately brought to light at Nimroud. Rabshakeh pretends that his master is the especial messenger of God, deputed to subjugate the earth: he is the Great King, the King of Assyria, and is ready not only to conquer the Jewish army, but, in pity to its weakness, to lend Hezekiah two thousand horses, &c.

"Now therefore, I pray thee, give pledges to my lord the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them."[3]

The signal catastrophe which cut short these insolent boastings, destroyed the Assyrian army, and with it the prestige of the empire, is described with beautiful simplicity by Isaiah. "Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a

[1] 2 Kings, xviii. 7. [2] 2 Kings, xviii. 14. [3] 2 Kings, xviii. 23.

hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses."[1]

Thus in one night perished 185,000 fighting men, a number which, considered as forming but one division of the invading forces, gives an exalted idea of the military power of Assyria at this time. The prophet, in the elevated style of his age and country, states that the enemy were smitten by an "angel of the Lord," an assertion which by no means precludes the operation of a second cause. The piety of the Jewish prophets was accustomed to acknowledge the divine hand in whatever was greatly beneficial, whether effected by direct interposition or the familiar agencies of nature. Isaiah's words threaten the insolent conqueror with a "hot blast," and Jeremiah speaks of them as being cut off by a "destroying wind," or more literally, "a hot pestilential wind:" words which favour the probability that Sennacherib's army was destroyed by one of those hot winds which to this day sometimes envelope and destroy whole caravans.

A tradition preserved by Herodotus, who received it from his favourite authorities, the Egyptian priests, is too curious in resemblance to the Bible narrative to pass unnoticed. The priests, transferring the entire event with admirable patriotism and devotion to their own country, and the empire of their own deities, related that after the reign of Anysis, there succeeded to the throne a priest of Vulcan, named Setho, who "treated the military caste of Egypt with extreme contempt; and as if he had no occasion for their services, among other indignities, he deprived them of their aruræ, or fields of fifty feet square, which, by way of reward, his predecessors had given to each soldier. The result was, that when Sennacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria, attacked Egypt with a mighty army, the warriors whom he had thus treated refused to assist him. In this perplexity, the priest retired to the shrine of his god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes: here he sunk into a profound sleep, and his deity promised him in a dream, that, if he marched to meet the Assyrians, he should experience no injury, for that he would furnish him with assistance. The vision inspired him with confidence; he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched to Pelusium, the entrance of Egypt. Not a soldier accompanied the party, which was entirely composed of tradesmen and artisans. On their arrival at Pelusium, so immense a number of mice infested by night the enemy's camp, that their quivers and bows, together with what secured their shields to their arms, were gnawed in pieces. In the morning the Arabians, finding themselves without arms, fled in confusion, and

[1] Isaiah, xxxvii. 36.

lost great numbers of their men. There is now to be seen in the temple of Vulcan a marble statue of this king, having a mouse in his hand, and with this inscription :—'Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods.'"[1]

Such is the narrative of Herodotus, which, confused as it is, and evidently made up by the priests, is yet obviously connected with the true story. The visit to the temple, the prayer, the vision and deliverance are, as nearly as possible, alike in both versions, and grammarians have discovered that the title under which the Egyptian god who interposed on this occasion, was worshipped, was also ascribed to the Supreme Deity of the Jews.

The catastrophe which suddenly terminated the Jewish campaign, paralysed Sennacherib's forces just as a report reached him that Tirhakah, king of Cush, one of the greatest heroes of antiquity, was on his march to attack the Assyrian territory; this determined the king to lose no time in hastening back to his capital. "So Sennacherib, king of Assyria, departed, and went, and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh." "And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead."[2]

The death of Sennacherib, added by the sacred writer immediately after the flight from Judea, for the sake of dismissing the subject, did not actually take place until some time after that event. Such at least is the inference from a curious relic of antiquity which, for another reason, demands notice. In the Armenian version of Eusebius a fragment of Alexander Polyhistor is preserved. This ancient fragment states that "after the reign of the brother of Senecherib, Acises reigned over the Babylonians, and when he had governed for the space of thirty days, he was slain by Marodach Baladanus (Baaladon? the sovereign lord)[3] who held the empire by force during six months: and he was slain and succeeded by a person named Elibus. But in the third year of his reign, Senecherib, king of the Assyrians, levied an army against the Babylonians; and, in a battle in which they were engaged, routed, and took him prisoner with his adherents, and commanded them to be carried into the land of the Assyrians. Having taken upon himself the government of the Babylonians, he appointed his son, Asordanius, their king, and he himself retired again into Assyria."[4] This fragment of history explains how there could be

[1] Euterpe, cxli. [2] Isaiah, xxxvii. 37, 38. [3] Isaiah, xxxix. 1. 2 Kings, xx. 13.
[4] Cory's "Fragments."

in Hezekiah's time a king in Babylon to send him presents and letters, although both before and after Sennacherib that city was the capital of an Assyrian province. Berodach-Baladan was one of those three *de facto* kings; and it may be that the misfortunes of the Assyrian campaign in Judea had tempted the Babylonian revolt, as it most likely did that of the Medes, which happened about this period. In any case, however, common hostility to Assyria would form a natural basis of alliance and friendship between the successful Hezekiah and the aspiring monarch of Babylon. The flight of Sennacherib's murderers, who were at the same time the natural heirs of his crown, left the path to the throne open to Esarhaddon, his faithful son. Little is recorded of this monarch in the Bible. His great concern seems to have been to restore to his empire its lost military sway, in which he was highly successful. One of his first enterprises was to recover the sovereignty of Syria and Palestine, which seems to have been in the hands of the Egyptians from the time of Hezekiah. His general advanced into Judah, defeated Manasseh, its king, overtook him in flight, and removed him into captivity. "Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon."[1] After two years' duresse, Manasseh was permitted to return to Jerusalem, and to pass the remainder of his life as an Assyrian vassal.

The empire of Assyria now fades away from the page of canonical Scripture, and is only to be traced on the transitional ground of the apocryphal writings. The author of the book of Judith preserves the memory of Nebuchodonosor, who ruled at Nineveh in the forty-eighth year of Manasseh, or B.C. 632. This king, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and fifty-seven years after the loss of Sennacherib's army, determined to attempt the reconquest of Media, then governed by Arphaxad. Previous to his taking the field he called upon his allies and tributaries, Persia, Cilicia, Samaria, Damascus, &c., to join him with their forces. An unwillingness to increase the power of their mighty neighbour, the remembrance of Sennacherib's reverses, and probably a confidence in the success of Arphaxad, induced every one of them to avoid compliance with the request. Nebuchodonosor advanced with his own unaided army, gave battle to Arphaxad on the plain of Ragau, overthrew his power, secured Ecbatana, his capital, took him prisoner, and put him to death.

Returning from Ecbatana, Nebuchodonosor celebrated his victory by a feast at Nineveh, which lasted one hundred and twenty days,

[1] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

and then prepared to chastise the countries which had refused their assistance while his success was doubtful.

"And thou shalt go against all the west country, because they disobeyed my commandment.

"And thou shalt declare unto them, that they prepare for me earth and water: for I will go forth in my wrath against them, and will cover the whole face of the earth with the feet of mine army, and I will give them for a spoil unto them:

"So that their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks, and the river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow:

"And I will lead them captives to the utmost parts of the earth."[1]

The power of Nineveh was now in its zenith, and to this period the graphic description of the prophet applies:—

"Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of a high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs.

"The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field.

"Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of waters when he shot forth.

"All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations.

"Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters.

"The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him: the fir trees were not like his boughs, and the chestnut trees were not like his branches: nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty.

"I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God envied him."[2]

From this hour, however, the glory of Assyria began to decline. The invasion of Judea by Holofernes, the Assyrian general, followed immediately upon the subjugation of Media. After long marches and numerous conquests, that commander was disastrously beaten and slain, and his army put to the rout. How long Nebuchodonosor maintained himself on the throne is not known, but the effect of his military misfortunes on the renown of the Assyrian name is not doubtful, for the empire, surrounded by younger and ambitious

[1] Judith, ii. 6—9.

[2] Ezekiel, xxxi. 3, 9.

kingdoms, stood in need of all its ancient influence to secure it against aggression, and its main army being now disorganised and conquered, it no longer possessed the power of resistance.

The alliance of Cyaxares, son of Arphaxad, with Nabopolassar, the revolted satrap of Babylon, and their combined attack upon Assyria, will be noticed with the testimony of secular history in the succeeding chapter. The fall of Nineveh, which took place twenty-eight years after the rout of Holofernes' army, was anticipated by the Jewish captive Tobit, long a resident of that capital. Some of his latest instructions to his family are: "Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which the prophet Jonas spake of Nineveh, that it shall be overthrown." "And now, my son, depart out of Nineveh: bury me decently, and thy mother with me, but tarry no longer in Nineveh."[1]

While reading the details of the destruction of Nineveh, preserved by the secular historians, the predictions of the Hebrew prophets are forcibly suggested. An inundation of the Tigris swept away twenty furlongs of the city wall: "With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof, and darkness shall pursue his enemies. The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved. Nineveh is of old like a pool of water."[2]

The despairing monarch perished in the conflagration of the imperial residence: "The fire shall devour thy bars. There shall the fire devour thee."[3]

The spoil was divided between the conquerors: "Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is none end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture."[4]

Her images shall be destroyed: "And the Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee, that no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image: I will make thy grave; for thou art vile."[5]

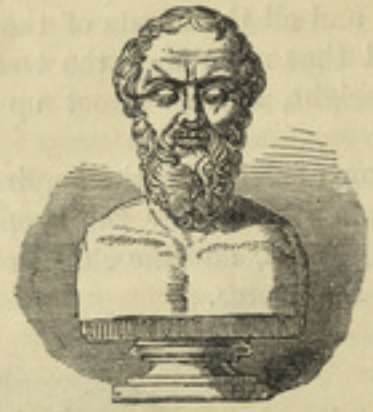
The ruin of the proud city, long the terror of nations, is celebrated by the prophet Ezekiel in bold and striking language:[6] "Thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in its height; I have, therefore, delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen, he shall surely deal with him: I have driven him out for his wickedness. And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the mountains and in the valleys his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all

[1] Tobit, xiv. 4, 10, 15. [2] Nahum, i. 8; ii. 6, 8. [3] Nahum, iii. 13, 15.
[4] Nahum, ii. 9. [5] Nahum, i. 14. [6] Ezekiel, xxxi. 10, 14.

the rivers of the land; and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches: To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top among the thick boughs."

With the destruction of Nineveh the empire of Assyria fell, pursuant to what had been foretold by the Prophets; henceforward it merged in that of Babylonia, and the charm of power passed finally from the Tigris to the Euphrates.

Fig. 11.—NIMROD.



HERODOTUS.

SECTION II.

HISTORICAL.

CHAPTER II.

THE ASSYRIA AND MESOPOTAMIA OF CLASSICAL WRITERS.

THE object of this chapter is to sketch out all that can be gathered of the history of Nineveh and its empire from the "classical" writers, not, however, despising the aid of those historians of antiquity whose testimony is trustworthy, even though they may not usually be honoured with that distinctive epithet. A brief glance at the subsequent fate of the country, will appropriately bring us to the examination of existing ruins.

The story of Assyria, as collected from uninspired testimony, has been often told, and generally with success, as long as one or two authorities only have been consulted; it is when we come to compare and attempt to harmonise the scattered and often incidental notices of many ancient writers, that the difficulty commences. The causes of the vagueness and discrepancy which mark the statements which have come down to us are obvious. The ruins of Nineveh were virtually unknown to the ancient classical writers, though we gather from all of them that it was one of the oldest, most powerful, and most splendid cities in the world; that it perished utterly many hundred years before the Christian Era; and that after its fall Babylon became

the capital of the Assyrian empire. On examining their details, we find names confounded, incidents transposed, and chronology by turns confused, extended, or inverted. Difficulties of another and more peculiar kind beset this path of inquiry, of which it will suffice to instance one illustration—proper names, those fixed points in history, around which the achievements or sufferings of its heroes cluster, are constantly shifting in the Assyrian nomenclature; both men and gods being designated, not by a word composed of certain fixed sounds or signs, but by all the various expressions equivalent to it in meaning, whether consisting of a synonyme or a phrase. Hence we find that the names furnished by classic authors generally have no Assyrian analogy, as the Greeks usually construed the proper names of other countries according to the genius of their own language, and not unfrequently translated the original name into it. Herodotus, however, though he mentions but one Assyrian king, gives him his true name, Sennacherib.

After this premonition, we shall trouble the reader no further with technical considerations, but at once set out to track the stream of history, grateful even for the starlight in which much of the journey is to be accomplished.

Ancient Assyria, or Athur,[1] from Asshur, Shem's son, was originally of but small extent, its limits being partly determined by the sites of the cities founded by Asshur. It is stated to have been "bounded on the north by Mount Niphates and part of Armenia; on the east, by that part of Media which lies towards Mounts Chaboras and Zagros; on the south, by Susiana as well as part of Babylonia; and, finally, on the west by the river Tigris."[2]

Strabo[3] and Pliny[4] inform us that Mesopotamia or Naharaim, is bounded by the Tigris on the east, the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates on the south, the Euphrates on the west, and Mount Taurus on the north; the length being 800 miles and the breadth 360 miles.

Babylonia was situated in lower Mesopotamia, between the estuary of the Shatt-el-Arab, the Euphrates, and the western extremity of the river Khâbur, and adjoining this lay the monarchy of Assyria.[5]

"Near the commencement of the Dujeil, or little Tigris, is one extremity of the Median wall, which proceeds from thence S.S.W ¼ W. towards the Euphrates, a few miles westward of the Saklawiyah canal. It is from 35 to 40 feet high, with towers at intervals of 55 paces from each other along its western side, and there is a ditch

[1] Dion. Cassius, lib. lxviii. [2] Chesney, vol. i. [3] Book, xvi. p. 746.
[4] Lib. vi. c. 27. [5] Chesney.

towards the exterior 27 paces broad. It is called Chalu, or Sid Nimrûd, and is built of the small pebbles of the country, embedded in lime of great tenacity."[1] The natives say that the Median wall was built by Nimrod to keep off the people of Nineveh, with whom he had an implacable feud. The bed of the Dujeil is cut from 50 to 60 feet deep, through ground apparently as hard as iron, in many parts exposing sections of ancient brick walls.

According to Scripture, Nineveh was founded by Asshur about 2230 B.C., but according to Diodorus Siculus, quoting Ctesias, it was founded by Ninus 2183 B.C. Herodotus is silent upon this point, but Africanus, quoted by Syncellus, states that the foundation of the Assyrian monarchy took place 2284 B.C. The Armenian historian Eusebius places it 1300 years before the fortieth year before the first Olympiad, or 2116 B.C. Æmilius Sura, quoted by V. Paterculus, says, it was 2145 B.C. By far the most distinct evidence is contained in the extract from Polyhistor, found in the Armenian Chronicle, which is, with good reason, believed to be an extract from the work of Berosus the ancient native historian, of which we shall have more to say. This Chronicle contains a table from the dynasties of the old Assyrian empire, assigning the date to each, and the addition of the figures gives the epoch 2317 B.C. as that of the foundation of the first monarchy. He thus attains a date fixed within certain limits, and differing so immaterially from that of the Biblical Chronology, that it would not be unreasonable to suppose Ninus to have been the great grandson, or, at all events, no very remote descendant of Asshur. Abydenus,[2] in the Armenian edition of Eusebius' Chronicle, places him sixth in descent from the first king of the Assyrians, who he calls Belus, and the editor, in a note, produces some passages from Moses Choronensis and others to show that such was the general opinion among the Armenians.[3] This account, which makes Ninus contemporary with Abraham,[4] the tenth generation from Shem, perfectly accords with the duration of the Assyrian empire, which all agree did not exceed 1300 years from its rise to the fall of Sardanapalus. Sardanapalus died 743 B.C., and if we reckon backwards 1300 years, we shall find that the reign of Ninus commenced 200 years after Nimrod began to be mighty on earth, so that he could neither have been Nimrod himself, nor the son of Nimrod, as some have inferred from the statement of Berosus. In our view the evidence is very satis-

[1] Chesney's Survey of the Euphrates.

[2] A disciple of Aristotle, and a copyist of Berosus. [3] Cory's "Fragments," p. 69.

[4] Idem., p. 36. Petavius says Abraham was born in the twenty-fourth year of Semiramis' reign, lib. i. c. 2.

factory, for while it is highly corroborative of the hypothesis that Babylonia and Assyria were originally two distinct kingdoms, it is, likewise, perfectly consistent with the authorities who ascribe the foundation of the Assyrian empire to Ninus. Asshur was the founder of the *monarchy* only of Assyria, but the beginning of the *empire*,[1] we consider, may be justly computed from the time of his descendant Ninus, who was king of both Assyria and Babylonia, which were for the first time united in his reign.

Justin, the Roman historian, who abridged the History of Trogus Pompeius in the second century, in the reign of Antoninus, gives a little account of him in the commencement of his work. He says, that, at the beginning, the sole object of the early kings had been to guard their own confines; but "first of all, Ninus, king of the Assyrians, changed this old, and, as it were, hereditary custom of these nations, by his lust of empire. He first brought wars against his neighbours, and conquered the people, as yet unused to resistance, to the very boundaries of Libya"—which name was anciently applied, by-the-by, to all Africa. "There were, indeed (adds he), more ancient than he, Sesostris in Egypt, and Tanaus, king of Scythia; of whom one brought war into Pontus, the other even to Egypt. But they brought distant wars, not neighbouring ones; they sought not empire for themselves, but glory for their people; and, content with victory, abstained from government: Ninus confirmed the magnitude of his domination by continual possession. His neighbours, therefore, being subdued; when, by accession of strength, he was stronger, he passed to others; and, every new victory being the instrument of the next one, he subdued the whole of the East." His last war was with Oxyartes, or Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians.[2] Here he met with a more powerful resistance than he had yet experienced; but after several fruitless attempts upon the chief city, he at last conquered it by the contrivance and conduct of Semiramis, wife to Menon, president of the King's council, and chief governor of Assyria. Semiramis was born at Ascalon, and said to be the daughter of Dercetis, the Assyrian Venus; but the story of her birth, as related by Diodorus,[3] is so well known, that it is unnecessary to recapitulate it here. The ability, courage and beauty of Semiramis so captivated Ninus, that he used every imaginable persuasion and threat, to induce her husband to bestow his wife upon him. Menon, however, would not consent, but in a fit of distraction he destroyed himself, and Semiramis was advanced to the regal state and dignity. Ninus had a son by Semiramis, named

[1] Ezekiel, xxiii. 23. Jer. l. 17, 18.

[2] Justin, lib. i. c. 1.

[3] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. c. 1.

Ninyas, and died after a reign of fifty-two years,[1] leaving her the government of his kingdom. In honour of his memory, she erected in the royal palace a monument, which remained till long after the ruin of Nineveh. Diodorus describes it as a mound of earth, one mile and two hundred yards high, by one mile and a quarter in breadth. Semiramis had had so large a share in the administration of affairs during the reign of Ninus, that she was the fittest person to succeed him, especially as her son was a minor; she accordingly continued the policy that had prevailed in the latter part of the reign of her predecessor, and set herself earnestly to settle and establish the empire. Shortly after her accession, she removed her court from Nineveh to Babylon, which she enlarged, embellished with magnificent buildings, and surrounded with walls; so that, if not the actual founder of the city, she rendered it the "mighty Babylon" so renowned in history.[2] After this, she settled all the neighbouring kingdoms under her authority; and wherever she went, left useful and magnificent monuments of her progress: many of her aqueducts, and highways cut through mountains, or formed by the filling up of valleys, still existed when Diodorus wrote. She is said to have conquered great part of Ethiopia, and to have consulted the oracle at Jupiter Ammon; but her greatest and last expedition was against India. Justin says that she was the only monarch who ever penetrated to India before the time of Alexander. Diodorus says, that, having resolved to conquer India, she ordered her troops to rendezvous in Bactria (the ancient name of part of Persia). "She there," says he, "found herself in want of elephants, on which occasion she hit on an ingenious expedient." She resolved, it would seem, to make some "sham" elephants. To this end she provided "three hundred thousand black oxen;" distributed the flesh among an enormous number of mechanics, and ordered them to sew up straw in the skins, in an elephantine form. In each of these she put a man to govern it, and a camel to carry it, by which means the deception was complete. She, however, was defeated by the Indian king, and had to return with scarcely a third of her army. Nevertheless, in the course of a reign of forty-two[3] years, this queen, the first on record, helped to consolidate the oldest empire named in history.

Ninyas the son of Ninus and Semiramis was the next king of the Assyrian empire. As he appears to have cultivated the arts of peace, he is generally described by historians as a weak and effeminate

[1] Africanus and Eusebius. See Cory's "Fragments."

[2] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. c. 1. Herod. Clio, c. 178, 180, 184. Q. Curt., lib. v. c. 1.

[3] Africanus and Eusebius. See Cory's "Fragments."

prince. He made no wars, nor used any endeavours to enlarge his empire; but he took measures to establish his authority over the dominions acquired by his parents, and by a judicious contrivance of governing his provinces, by means of deputies on whom he could depend, with a number of regular troops changed annually, he prevented the many revolts of distant countries which might otherwise have happened.[1] Shuckford in his "Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected," has supposed that in the time of Abraham, the seat of the Assyrian government was in Persia, one of the Asiatic nations subjected by Ninus, and that the Chedorlaomer, king of Elam of Moses, was identical with Ninyas. In support of this conjecture he cites the coincidence of localities and offices, observing that Amraphel was his deputy in Shinar (probably at Babylon); Arioch at Ellasar (Assyria?); and Tidal his deputy over other adjacent countries,[2] verifying the Assyrian boast that its deputy princes or chiefs, were "altogether kings." After showing that Chedorlaomer had nations subject to his service eight or nine hundred miles distant from the city of his residence, for so far were Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other three cities whose kings paid him tribute, he concludes that no power east of Assyria would be likely to possess dominion west of the Euphrates, and consequently that Chedorlaomer, could be no other than the head of the Assyrian empire.[3] We venture no opinion upon these speculations, but insert them as curious and interesting at the present time when the field of Assyrian research is so much enlarged. Ninyas is reported to have commenced that state which oriental sovereigns subsequently improved; maintaining himself within his palace in mysterious secresy, in order to excite the veneration of his subjects. He died after a reign of thirty-eight years,[4] transmitting to his successors an empire so well constituted, as to remain in the hands of a series of kings for thirty generations[5]. Although we have no direct history of the acts of any of these sovereigns, beyond those sure indications of their rule afforded by the sculptures and inscriptions which have been found in Persia, Media, Armenia, Cœlo-Syria, and Cyprus; the records of other nations furnish occasional gleams of information connected with Assyria.

Scripture tells us of Jacob's visit to his uncle Laban in Mesopotamia,[6] and of the servitude of the Israelites, under Cushan-Rishathaim which occurred about 1409 B.C.[7]

[1] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. c. 2.
[2] Genesis, xiv. 1, 4, 5, 9. Isaiah, x. 8.
[3] Shuckford's "Sac. and Prof. Hist. Con." bk. vi.
[4] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. c. 2.
[5] Assyrian Dyn. Cory's "Fragments," pp. 70, 71. 76.
[6] Genesis, xxix. 1—14.
[7] Judges, iii. 1—9.

Heykab, king of Armenia, appears to have maintained a protracted contest with Amyntas,[1] seventeenth king of Assyria, who was at length subdued and compelled to do homage to the Armenian king. His successor Belochus,[2] however, recovered his territory, and killed Heykab; and finally the most interesting revelations are likely to result from the readings of Egyptian monuments, some of which leave it beyond doubt that Mesopotamia was conquered, and siege laid to Nineveh and Babylon, by the Egyptians between 1400 and 1300 B.C. In Mr. Birch's "Observations on the Hieroglyphical Inscription of the Obelisk of the At Meidan at Constantinople;" and on the "Statistical Tablet of Karnak,"[3] he shows us the names of Saenkara, Singara, or the Mesopotamian Sennaar, and Naharaina, Mesopotamia, the נהרים Neharjim of the Bible;[4] besides many other names on which he most ingeniously speculates, and numerous allusions to Asiatic customs, and to articles of tribute, to which we shall have occasion to refer in a subsequent section. The period of the Obelisk is the reign of Thothmes III. (Menophra Thothmosis III.), 1341 B.C., as we gather from Theon, the Alexandrian mathematician, who says that the cycle of 1460 years, which terminated A.D. 140 was named the era of Menophres.[5] "The tablet of Karnak records the tributes and exploits of the same king from his twenty-fifth to his thirty-fourth year,"[6] and the following reading of one line is especially worthy of note, "*Nenjiu, in stopping—when his Majesty came he set up his tablet to enlarge,* (or, *on account of having enlarged*) *the confines of Kam* (Egypt)."

Mr. Birch remarks, that though the identification of the word Nineveh is not perfectly satisfactory, yet the mention of tablets as land-marks of the empire is most important;[7] and the great historical interest of both records is, that they are among the earliest which mention Mesopotamia as the frontier of the Egyptian monarchy. The first notice of its being attacked by the Egyptians is in the reign of Thothmes I.[8] In the reign of Amenophis the second son, the son of Thothmes III., the officer who had been directing fresh works at Tourah,[9] states, "*that he had set up tablets for his Majesty as far north as Naharaina, and southwards to Kara* (Kalaa)," and under Thothmes IV. the chiefs of Mesopotamia are seen humbly prostrated

[1] Africanus, Dyn. Ass. and Eusebius, Arm. Chron. Cory's "Fragments," pp. 72, 73, 77.
[2] Ibid. [3] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., Second Series, vol. ii., pp. 218, 317.
[4] Dr. Hinck's "Letters of Ancient Alphabets."
[5] Sharpe's "Chronology and Geography of Ancient Egypt," p. 6.
[6] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., p. 220. [7] Idem, p. 345.
[8] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., p. 223, and Lepsius Auswahl, T. xiv.
[9] Vyse's Journal, vol. iii. Tourah quarries, pl. 2.

and presenting tribute to that monarch.[1] The Egyptian monuments do not, as yet, furnish us with later data connected with Assyria, but it was under the reign of its early kings that Rhamses the Great (the Sesostris of the Greeks) pursued his conquests in the East, far beyond Assyria. Plato makes the kingdom of Troy in the time of Priam 1184 B.C., a dependant on the Assyrian empire;[2] and Diodorus[3] says, that Teutamus the twentieth from Ninyas, sent 20,000 troops and 200 chariots to the assistance of the Trojans, whose king Priam was a prince under the Assyrian empire, which had then existed above a thousand years.

The above is almost all we know concerning the warlike kings who extended their sway over Western Asia, until the revolt of Media, which is believed to have taken place about 700 B.C. Herodotus says nothing of Assyria, until he begins to relate how Media became a nation. Thus, he says, when speaking of an event which happened 711 B.C.—that the Assyrians had ruled Upper Asia 520 years before that;[4] a discrepancy from the statements of other historians to be easily reconciled by the supposition that Ctesias dated from the earliest establishment of the monarchy, while Herodotus confines himself to the establishment of the great empire over central Asia.

Further on, he speaks casually of the "Tigris which flows near Nineveh."[5] This little mention, we see, at once establishes its locality and great antiquity. For Herodotus wrote B.C. 455, and had travelled in Asia. He mentions his intention of relating the particulars of the taking of Nineveh "hereafter,"[6] but it is uncertain whether he ever executed the intention at all. Herodotus seems to have had no knowledge of the existence of the Assyrian state before the extension of its dominion over Upper Asia. That the Assyrian kingdom may not have been known much beyond its limits, until the time of its greatest prosperity, is highly probable, and this may account for the silence of ancient history, as well as that of the Jewish writers. The books of the Old Testament, however, being chiefly confined to the history of the Jews, we have little mention in them of any other nations farther than the Jews chanced to be concerned with them; but, so far as the Scripture accounts go, there seems to be nothing irreconcileable with the statements of profane writers.

The historical period, properly so called, of Assyrian history, begins with the revolt of the Medes and the fall of the first empire. Of this event we have two accounts from Greek authors; that of Ctesias,

[1] Eighth Tomb at Gournah, Champ. Mon. Egypt, vol. ii. p. 160.
[2] De Leg. lib. iii. 685. See Rollin, vol. ii. [3] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. c. 2; after Ctesias, lib. ii.
[4] Clio, xcv. [5] Euterpe, cl. [6] Clio, cvi.

as quoted by Diodorus, is in substance as follows:—"Sardanapalus, the thirtieth from Ninus, and the last king of the Assyrians, exceeded all his predecessors in sloth and luxury; for, besides that he was seen of none out of his family, he led a most effeminate life, and proceeded to such a degree of voluptuousness," as showed him to be utterly shameless. "Being thus corrupt in his morals, he not only came to a miserable end himself, but utterly overturned the Assyrian monarchy, which had continued longer than any we read of."

"For Arbaces, a Mede, a valiant and prudent man, and general of the forces which were sent every year out of Media to Nineveh, was stirred up by the governor of Babylon, to overthrow the Assyrian empire. This governor's name was Belesis, a most famous Babylonian priest, one of those called Chaldæans, expert in astrology and divination. * * * And now the year's attendance being at an end, new troops succeeded and came into their place, and the former were sent away, one here and there, into their several countries. Hereupon Arbaces prevailed with the Medes to invade the Assyrian empire, and drew the Persians, in hopes of liberty, to join in the confederacy. Belesis, in like manner, persuaded the Babylonians to stand up for their liberties. He sent messengers into Arabia, and gained that prince for a confederate.

"Sardanapalus, being informed of the revolt, led forth the forces of the rest of the provinces against them; whereupon, a battle being fought, the rebels were totally routed, and with a great slaughter were forced to the mountains, seventy furlongs from Nineveh.

"Being drawn up a second time in battalia, he fought them again, and destroyed many of the rebels, and forced them to fly to their camp upon the hills. * * * Another battle was fought, wherein the king gained a great victory, and pursued the revolters as far as the mountains of Babylon."

While Sardanapalus was rejoicing at these victories and feasting his army, Arbaces induced the Bactrians to revolt, fell suddenly upon the king's camp, and made a great slaughter of some, forcing the rest into the city.

"Hereupon Sardanapalus committed the charge of the whole army to Salamenes, the queen's brother, and took upon himself the defence of the city. But the rebels twice defeated the king's forces, and the king being afterwards besieged, many of the nations revolted to the confederates, so that Sardanapalus, now perceiving that the kingdom was like to be lost, sent post into all the provinces of the kingdom, in order to raise soldiers, and make all other preparations necessary to endure a siege. And he was the more encouraged to this, for that

he was acquainted with an ancient prophecy, *that Nineveh could never be taken by force till the river became the city's enemy.* * * * The siege continued two years. The third year, it happened that the river, overflowing with continual rains, came up into a part of the city, and tore down the wall twenty furlongs in length. The king hereupon conceiving that the oracle was accomplished, in that the river was an apparent enemy to the city, utterly despaired; and, therefore, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies, he caused a huge pile of wood to be made in his palace court, and heaped together upon it all his gold, silver, and royal apparel, and enclosing his eunuchs and his concubines in an apartment within the pile, caused it to be set on fire, and burnt himself and them together; which, when the revolters came to understand, they entered through the breach in the walls, and took the city, and clothed Arbaces with a royal robe, and committed to him the sole authority, proclaiming him king."[1]

The account of Herodotus is, that "The Medes first of all revolted from their authority, and contended with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom. Other nations soon followed their example, who, after living for a time under the protection of their own laws, were again deprived of their freedom"[2] by Deioces, a Mede, who collected the Medes into one nation, over which he ruled. After a reign of fifty-three years, he was succeeded by his son, Phraortes, who reduced the Persians under the dominion of the Medes. "Supreme of these two great and powerful nations, he overran Asia, alternately subduing the people of whom it was composed. He came at length to the Assyrians, and proceeded to attack that part of them which inhabited Nineveh. These were formerly the most powerful nation in Asia: their allies at this period had separated from them; but they were still, with regard to their internal strength, respectable. In the twenty-second year of his reign, Phraortes, in an excursion against this people, perished, with the greater part of his army."[3] He was succeeded by his son, Cyaxares, who "proceeded with all his forces to the attack of Nineveh, being equally desirous of avenging his father and becoming master of the city. He vanquished the Assyrians in battle; but when he was engaged in the siege of Nineveh, he was surprised by an army of Scythians," who beat him in a fixed battle, gaining not only the victory, but the empire of Asia.[4]

After a space of twenty-eight years, "The Medes recovered their

[1] Diod. Sic. b. ii. c. 2. [2] Clio, 96. [3] Idem, 101, 102.
[4] Idem, 103, 104.

possessions and all their ancient importance; after which they took Nineveh. They moreover subdued the Assyrians, those only excepted which inhabited the Babylonian district." [1]

Thus far Herodotus, who, instead of contradicting Ctesias, confirms and completes his statement, provided we bear in mind that Ctesias speaks of the advance and victory of Arbaces, and his establishment on the throne of Nineveh, and Herodotus of another Median, who, more than a hundred years after gathered strength sufficient to overthrow the elder race.

The warlike character of the four kings, whose victories are recounted in Scripture, has led to the exceedingly probable opinion that they were not predecessors of Sardanapalus, but monarchs of the dynasty formed by Arbaces. The Median king Phraortes is the Arphaxad slain by Nebuchodonosor, as related in the previous chapter. Herodotus states that Cyaxares, his son, was assisted in the expedition which destroyed Nineveh by Labynitus, king of Babylon, probably Nabopolassar, the Ahasuerus of Tobit.

From this time we hear no more of Nineveh nor of the Assyrian state, and Babylon became the seat of the imperial power. The grand era of Babylonian greatness commences with Nebuchadnezzar, who succeeded his father shortly after the overthrow of Nineveh. Most of the great works for which his capital became famous are due to him or to Nitocris, his queen. It is under this monarch that the Chaldeans, an old but hitherto powerless race, appeared in the scene as a great and warlike nation. It was they who invaded Judea, and carried away its people into captivity.[2] Under Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon became the mistress of the East, and its vast power caused the jealousy of surrounding nations. Pharaoh-Necho was the first to take up arms against him; and after meeting with a rebuff in the kingdom of Judah, joined battle with the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish, was defeated, and driven out of Asia. It was immediately after this that the Chaldeans marched upon Jerusalem, dethroned the king whom the Egyptians had set up, and carried away a great number of prisoners, among whom were Daniel and his three friends, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. The conquest of Egypt seems to have been the crowning work of Nebuchadnezzar's active life; and on his return to Babylon, that monarch appears to have spent the remainder of his reign in improving and beautifying the city. Of the story of the Hanging Gardens, familar to every reader, it is unnecessary to speak; the grandeur of the city has been a constant theme for poets.

[1] Clio, 106.

[2] Jer. xxiv. 5; xxv. 12. Ezekiel xii. 13. Dan. i. 1, 2. Diod. Sic. b. ii. c. 12. Ptol. v. Joseph. i. Euseb. ix.

The Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, comprehending all Western Asia, as far as the Mediterranean, never exceeded the limits it attained under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar, and on the death of its founder it began to decline. The book of Daniel relates how it fell under his third or fourth successor, before the assault of Cyrus the Mede. Xenophon gives us the military details:—

"He came at last to Babylon" (Institution, Book VII.), "bringing with him a mighty multitude of horse, a mighty multitude of archers and javelin men, but slingers innumerable!" He made preparations as if to blockade it, and the "people," says the historian, "laughed," for they knew that they had provisions for twenty years. It was then that Cyrus discovered, that great plan of ruining them which has always been so celebrated.

"He, Cyrus, dug round the wall on every side a very great ditch, and they threw up the earth towards themselves. In the first place, he built the turrets on the river, laying their foundations on palm trees that were not less than a hundred feet in length; for there are some of them that grow to a yet greater length than that; and palm trees that are pressed bend up under their weight as asses do that are used to the pack-saddle. He placed the turrets on these for this reason, *that it might carry the stronger appearance of his preparing to block up the city.*"

Of course this stratagem diverted the minds of the citizens from his real design. They laughed louder than ever—but—"*the ditches were now finished,*" says Xenophon.

The ditches lying there—gaping, as it were, like graves for the town—the Babylonians had a great festival. Cyrus, then, when it grew dark, "took a number of men with him, and opened the ditches into the river. When this was done, the water ran off in the night by the ditches, *and the passage of the city through the river became passable.*"

Cyrus marched in—gained possession—and thus Babylon was taken, B.C. 538.

Babylon now remained subject to the Persian power, which dated from this period a vast predominance in Asia. The army assembled in that city, at the close of the year in which it was taken, consisted, according to Xenophon, of "120,000 horses; 2000 chariots armed with scythes; and 60,000 foot." Cyrus's empire at this period of glory was "bounded to the east," to quote the same writer, "by the Red Sea: to the north by the Euxine (Black) Sea; to the west by Cyprus and Egypt; to the south by Æthiopia."

During the two centuries which had elapsed since the taking of the

city by Cyrus, the Persian power had fluctuated, and soon after his death there began dissension and degeneracy. Under Xerxes the Persians invaded Greece in the most famous expedition of all antiquity, and were defeated and destroyed by land and sea—so that the attempt of their monarch became a proverbial illustration of the insanity of ambition.

Babylon of course fell under the sway of the all-conquering Alexander. "He traversed the whole province of Babylon," says Plutarch, "which immediately made its submission. It was in this famous city that the great hero died of a fever, brought on by eastern habits."

The Seleucidæ for a time made Babylon the seat of an empire, which succumbed in power to the Romans, never having played a conspicuous part in the world's affairs. After this time, Babylon was of course only a distant and insignificant fragment of the Roman empire growing dimmer and dimmer in fame and importance, until it eventually shared the fate of its sister Nineveh, and sunk beneath the very surface of the earth.

The foregoing historical abstract has been drawn up without any attempt to analyse the dynastic lists found in Greek and Armenian historians, because we strongly felt the difficulty of arriving at any just conclusions from the data they have handed down to us. Nevertheless, chronology is so essential a part of our history, that its omission might be esteemed a mark of carelessness; and with a view, therefore, to obtaining the best possible information on this branch of our subject, we applied to our valued friend Mr. Samuel Sharpe, the learned author of "The History of Egypt," &c., for assistance. He at once acceded to our request, and we take this opportunity of expressing our warm acknowledgments for his liberality in placing at our disposal the results of his diligent researches, which appear in the important chronological table and historical sketch forming the following chapter.

Fig. 12.—COLOSSAL LION FROM KOUYUNJIK.

CHAPTER III.

A SKETCH OF ASSYRIAN HISTORY.

BY SAMUEL SHARPE.

THE Assyrian records have saved for us the names of thirty-six kings who reigned in Nineveh, on the banks of the Tigris, before what we must now consider the beginning of Assyrian history. The last of these was Sardanapalus, whose true name was, perhaps, Asser-Hadan-Pul, syllables which we shall find used in the names of many of the later kings. His throne was overturned by an invasion of the Medes, a people who dwelt on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and who were separated from the kingdom of Nineveh by the mountains of Kurdistan. Arbaces, king of the Medes, led his army across these mountains, and made himself king of Assyria in about B.C. 804.

After the death of Arbaces the Mede, the Assyrians were able to make themselves again independent. The first of the new line of kings was Pul. In his reign, Menahem, king of Israel, was wise

enough to provoke a war with these neighbours. Tempted by the disturbed state of Assyria, in the year B.C. 773, he led his army 300 miles northward, either conquering or passing by the kingdom of Syria; and then about 100 miles eastward to Tipsah or Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, one of the nearest cities on that side of Assyria. He was able to conquer the place, and he put the inhabitants to death with great cruelty.[1] But this was an unfortunate victory for the Israelites. In the next year Pul marched in his turn into Samaria. The frightened Israelites could make no sufficient resistance, and they purchased a peace at the price of 1000 talents of silver. With this booty Pul returned home. He reigned twenty-one years.

[B.C. 753.] Tiglath Pileser, or Tiglath Pul Asser, the next king of Assyria, also found an excuse for invading Samaria. In the civil war between Israel and Judah, when the Israelites called to their help the king of Syria, whose capital was Damascus, Ahaz, king of Judah, sent a large sum of money to purchase the help of the Assyrians from Nineveh. Tiglath accordingly led the Assyrian army against Syria; he overran that country, and conquered Damascus, and slew Rezin, the king. He invaded the country of the Israelites, and so entirely routed them, that he took from them the larger part of the kingdom. He then added to the Assyrian empire, not only Syria, but Gilead and Napthali on the east of the Jordan, and Galilee to the north. He left to the Israelites only the province of Samaria. He carried his prisoners to the furthest end of his own kingdom, and placed them on the banks of the river Kir, which flows into the Caspian Sea in latitude 39°. Ahaz, king of Judah, went in person to Damascus to pay his homage to the Assyrian conqueror and thank him for his help.[2]

By this time we are able to mark the limits of the great Assyrian empire. Nineveh, the capital, was situated on the east bank of the Tigris, a little above the point where the greater Zab falls into that river, and opposite to the modern city of Mósul. Near it were the cities of Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen.[3] These cities together formed the capital of the upper part of the valley watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. At this time the king of Nineveh held also, first, the mountains of Kurdistan, the country of the hardy Kurds; and, secondly, the country between Kurdistan and the Caucasus, being the valley of the rivers Kiri and Araxes, which rise in the mountains of Armenia and flow into the Caspian Sea. Tiglath was

[1] 2 Kings, xv. 16. [2] 2 Kings, xv. 29; xvi. 9. [3] Genesis, x. 11, 12.

also master of the kingdom of Media, between Kurdistan and the southern end of the Caspian Sea, of the kingdom of Syria, which contained the sources of the Euphrates and the valley of the Orontes, and of the northern part of Palestine.

[B. C. 734.] Shalmaneser, the next king of Assyria, is also called Shalman by the prophet Hosea. In the ninth year of his reign (B. C. 725), he led an army against the little kingdom of Israel, which was now reduced within the limits of Samaria. At the end of three years (B. C. 722), he wholly conquered this unfortunate people, and carried away into captivity the chief men of the ten tribes. He placed them at Halah near Nineveh, at Gabor on the river Gozan, and in some of the cities of the Medes.[1] He also conquered Sidon and Acre, and the island of Cyprus; Tyre alone held out against a siege.[2] Shalmaneser reigned fourteen years, and died before this removal of the Israelites into captivity was completed. The prisoners were sent home, says the prophet Hosea,[3] as a present to his successor.

[B. C. 720.] Sennacherib, called Jareb by Hosea, succeeded Shalmaneser. He followed up the successes of the last two kings. He completed the carrying away of the Israelites, and then invaded Judea, in the fourteenth year of the reign of king Hezekiah (B. C. 714). He marched without interruption through Galilee and Samaria, which were now provinces of Assyria. His troops entered the country of Benjamin at Aiath and Migron. He laid up his carriages at Michmash as he came upon the hill country around Jerusalem. The people fled at his approach, and all resistance seemed hopeless. While Sennacherib was near Lachish, besieging that city in person, Hezekiah sent messengers to beg for peace and to make terms of submission. The haughty conqueror demanded 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold, a sum so large that Hezekiah had to take the treasures from the temple to enable him to pay it.[4]

In the meantime, Sennacherib sent forward part of his army southward, under the command of Tartan, against the cities of the coast. In passing by Jerusalem, Tartan endeavoured to persuade the people to open the gates, and assured them that it was in vain to look for help from Egypt. But he made no attempt to storm the place; he moved forward and laid siege to Azotus in due form, and soon made himself master of the place.[5]

When Sennacherib had made terms with Hezekiah, he led his army against Egypt, provoked by the news that Tirhakah, the Ethiopian

[1] 2 Kings, xviii. 11.
[2] Menander, in Josephus.
[3] Chap. x. 6.
[4] 2 Kings, xviii. 14. 2 Chron., xxxii.
[5] Isaiah, xxxvi, xxxvii.

sovereign of that country, was marching to the relief of the Jews. He passed through the desert, along the coast, and arrived at Pelusium, the frontier town on the most easterly branch of the Nile. Here he was met by an Egyptian army, under the command of Sethos, a priest of Memphis. But before any battle took place some unknown cause had scattered and routed the Assyrians; and while the Jews gave glory and thanks to Jehovah for their deliverance, the Egyptians set up a statue in the temple of their god Pthah in Memphis.[1]

Sennacherib himself escaped alive and returned home to Nineveh, but he was probably at the end of his reign less powerful than at the beginning; and Merodach-baladan, who was then reigning at Babylon, may have felt himself too strong to be treated as the vassal of Nineveh. Merodach made a treaty with Hezekiah, king of Judah,[2] which could hardly have been agreeable to Sennacherib. The latter years of Sennacherib's reign were probably employed in wars with Babylon against Merodach and his successors; till, when old, as he was worshipping in the temple of the Assyrian god Nisroch, he was murdered by two of his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer. But they gained nothing by their crime. They had to flee from punishment, and they escaped over the northern frontier into Armenia, a mountainous country that had been able to hold itself independent of Assyria. Esarhaddon, his third son, then gained the throne of Nineveh.[3] Sennacherib had reigned for perhaps thirty-seven years over Assyria, Media, Galilee, and Samaria, and probably held Babylon as a dependent province, governed by a tributary monarch.

[B.C. 683.] The date of Esarhaddon's gaining the throne of Nineveh is uncertain, but the time that he became king of Babylon is better known, for in the year B.C. 680, he put an end to a line of kings who had reigned there for sixty-seven years.[4] Towards the end of his reign, he had occasion to punish some act of disobedience on the part of Manasseh, king of Judah. He sent an army against him, and carried him prisoner to Babylon; but, after a short time, he released him, and again seated him on the throne of Jerusalem.[5] Esarhaddon reigned perhaps sixteen years.

[B.C. 667.] Sardochæus, the next king, reigned over Nineveh, Babylon, and Israel for twenty years; and over Media also, till that country revolted in the thirteenth year of his reign, B.C. 665. Media, under Phraortes and his successors, remained independent for one

1 2 Kings, xix. 35. Herodotus, ii. 141. 2 Ibid., xx. 12.
3 2 Kings, xix. 37. 4 Ptolemy's Canon, and that of Syncellus, in Cory's "Fragments."
5 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

hundred and twenty-eight years. The bright days of Nineveh's glory were already past.

[B.C. 647.] Chyniladan reigned twenty-two years; but, during this latter reign, Assyria was still further weakened by the loss of Babylon, which then fell into the hands of the Chaldees.

The Kurds, a hardy race who inhabit the mountains of Kurdistan, between Nineveh and Media, are thought with some probability to be the people who, under the name of Chaldees, now made themselves masters of Babylon. In the year B.C. 625, their leader, Nabopolassar, was king of that city, and of the lower half of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Two years later, he marched northward against Nineveh. The prophet Nahum describes his storming and sacking that famous capital. Nineveh fell before the rising wealth of Babylon, a city three hundred miles nearer the sea, as Egyptian Thebes had already sunk under the cities of the Delta.[1]

In this falling state of the country, while Media was independent, and civil war was raging between Nineveh and Babylon, Assyria was further weakened by an inroad of the Scythians. These roving Tartars, passing the Caspian sea, whether on the west side or east side is doubtful, first came upon the Medes, and wholly routed the army which Cyaxares, the king, sent against them. They then crossed Mesopotamia, laying waste the country as they passed. They met with no resistance in Judea; but their numbers lessened under the hardships of their march. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, was able to turn them aside from entering that country, and those that remained perished, as they marched northward, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean.[2]

On the conquest of Nineveh by Nabopolassar, the city was by no means destroyed. It probably shared, with the rising Babylon, the favour of the sovereign, who is still sometimes styled the king of Assyria.[3] It was probably then that the Book of Jonah was written. The Jews had expected that Nineveh, the great enemy of their nation, would have been wholly and for ever destroyed; but Assyria is no longer unfriendly to them, and the purport of the book of Jonah is to explain the justice of God's government in sparing that great city, which had repented of its enmity, and should now find favour in their sight. Josiah, king of Judah, finds a friend and protector in Nabopolassar, King of Assyria.

Modern research has not yet helped us to understand the ancient authors in their description of Nineveh. Its walls surrounded a

[1] C. Ptolemy, in Cory's "Fragments."

[2] Herodotus, i. 103.

[3] 2 Kings, xxiii. 29.

large space of cultivated land, and probably embraced what we may call several towns within their circuit. Diodorus Siculus (ii. 3) says that it was 480 stadia, or 48 English miles round. The Book of Jonah tells us that it was a great city of three days journey, by which the writer seems to mean that it was a journey of three days to pass through the city; but he adds rather more exactly, that it held within its walls cattle for its maintenance, and a population of more than 120,000 persons, who, in their heathen ignorance, he said, did not know their right hand from their left. Its palaces were, no doubt, chiefly built in the reigns of Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon; but it is not impossible that it may have been further ornamented with buildings and sculptures by Nabopolassar. The walls were covered with the Cuneiform writing, in which every character, whether it is a letter or a syllable, is formed of several straight lines, each headed like a nail.

These civil wars between Nineveh and Babylon may have given encouragement to Necho, king of Egypt, to push his arms eastward, and to claim authority over Samaria and Judea. But Josiah, king of Judah, was true to the Babylonians. When Necho landed on the coast, and marched northwards towards the Euphrates, Josiah led an army against him. But the Egyptians were victorious; Josiah was slain at Megiddo, and Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine was in the power of the Egyptians, who set up a new king over Judah. A few years later, however, Nabopolassar again reduced the Jews to their former state of vassalage under Babylon.[1]

Nabopolassar was now old, and his son Nebuchadnezzar commanded for him as general, and carried on the war against the Egyptians on the debateable ground of Palestine. After three years Necho again entered the country, and marched as far as Carchemish, on the Euphrates. Here he was wholly defeated by the Babylonian army under Nebuchadnezzar.[2] By this great battle the Babylonians regained their power over Jerusalem, and drove the Egyptians out of the country. Nebuchadnezzar carried captive to Babylon the Jewish nobles, and Judea remained a province of that great monarchy.

In B.C. 605, Nebuchadnezzar succeeded to his father, and governed that large kingdom in his own name, which he had hitherto been enlarging as a general. He fixed his seat of government at Babylon, a city which soon became as large as Nineveh, which it had overthrown. Jerusalem twice rebelled against him, but he easily reduced it to obedience, although on the second rebellion Hophra, king of Egypt,

[1] 2 Kings, xxiii. 29.

[2] 2 Kings, xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20; xxxvi. 1. Berosus in Josephus.

came up to help the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar defeated the Egyptians, and took away from them every possession that they had held in Palestine, Arabia, or the island of Cyprus. He died in the forty-third year of his reign.[1]

[B.C. 562.] After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, four other kings of less note reigned over Babylon, and held Nineveh. But the Median power was now rising. The Medes were in close alliance with the Persians, and the young Cyrus, at the head of the united armies, routed the Babylonians in several battles, and at last conquered Babylon and put an end to the monarchy. After a few years Cyrus united the kingdoms of Media and Persia, by right of inheritance; and he thus (B.C. 536) added to the land of his birth the whole of the possessions which had been held by Sennacherib, and more than those of Nebuchadnezzar.

Notwithstanding its conquest by Persia, Babylon continued a large city, being still the capital of the plain watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. Though no longer the seat of government, it was still the seat of trade, and of great importance when visited by Alexander, on his overthrow of the Persian monarchy in the year B.C. 324. Alexander died there, and on the division of his wide conquests among his generals, Babylon in a few years became the kingdom of Seleucus and his successors. This city of Nebuchadnezzar was now to fall yet lower. It was governed by Greeks, and Seleucus found Syria the most suitable province in his empire for the capital. Accordingly he built Antioch, on the Orontes, for the seat of his government, and Seleucia, on the Mediterranean, as the port of that new city, and Babylon never rose again to be a place of importance.

The chronology of the times that we have been describing, from Pul, king of Assyria, to Cyrus, king of Persia, will be better understood by the help of the following table. By the side are written the years before our era; at the top are the names of the countries; and from the whole we are enabled to see at a glance the width of kingdom under each sovereign. When the wedge-shaped characters shall have been more certainly read by the able decipherers now engaged on them, we shall no longer be required or at liberty to guess by what kings the palaces of Nineveh were built and ornamented. But in the mean time, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was during those years when the nation's energy was shown in its width of empire, that it was also engaged on its largest, most costly, and most lasting buildings. Success in arms is usually followed by success in arts;

[1] Berosus in Josephus. 2 Kings, xxv. 8.

	PERSIA.	MEDIA.	BABYLON.	NINEVEH.	ISRAEL.	JUDAH.	CYPRUS.	
		Arbaces.		Acrapazus. Sardanapalus.	Joash. Jeroboam II.	Amaziah. Uzziah.		
800				*MEDIA.*				800
				Pul. Tiglath-Pileser.	Zachariah. Menahem. Pekahiah.	Jotham.		
		Dejoces.	Nabonassar. Nadius. Mardoch-Empadus.	Shalmaneser.	Pekah. Hosea.	Ahaz. Hezekiah.		
700		*NINEVEH.*	Arkianus. Belibus. Rigebelus.	Sennacherib.		Manasseh.	*NINEVEH.*	700
		Phraortes.	*NINEVEH.*	Esarhaddon. Sardochæus.	*NINEVEH.*	Amon. Josiah.		
		Cyaxares I.		Chyniladan.				
600		Astyages.	Nabopolassar. Nebochadnessar.	*BABYLON.*	*BABYLON.*	Jehoahaz. Jehoachin. Zedechiah. *BABYLON.*	*BABYLON.*	600
		Cyaxares II.	Evil-Merodach. Nabboned.					
500	Cyrus. Cambyses. Darius. Xerxes.	*PERSIA.*	*PERSIA.*	*PERSIA.*	*PERSIA.*	*PERSIA.*	*PERSIA.*	500

and the size of the palace bears some proportion to the size of the kingdom.

Among the Assyrian sculptured monuments there has been found a small ivory slab, or lid of a box, ornamented with Egyptian sculpture and rudely carved hieroglyphics. This naturally leads us to inquire when and how far one of these nations was indebted to the other for its knowledge of art.

The first trace of Egyptian fashion in Nineveh is in the name of King Tiglath Pileser. Of this, the latter half is formed of the Assyrian words Pul and Asser; but the first half is borrowed from the name of King Tacelothe, who reigned in Bubastis one hundred and fifty years earlier. In the same way the first half of the names of Nebo-pulassar, and Nebo-chednezzar, is perhaps from the Egyptian word Neb, *lord;* which is also seen in the name of the Babylonian god Nebo. Again, when Rameses II. marched through Palestine, he left behind him sculptured monuments in boast of his victories. One of these is still remaining in Syria, near Beyrout; and when the Assyrian conqueror (perhaps Sennacherib, or perhaps the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar) afterwards marched through the same country, he carved a yet larger monument, on the face of the rock beside that of Rameses, and in imitation of the Egyptian in such less convenient place as was left for him. (See woodcut, Nahr al Kelb monument.) Again, on a monument at Persepolis, the sculptured figure of Cyrus, the Persian king, bears an Egyptian head-dress. It has horns copied from those of the god Knef, and above the horns are two basilisks or sacred serpents.

Fig. 13.—NAME ON IVORY BOX.

Fig. 14.—HEAD OF CYRUS.

These instances, taken together, are enough to prove that Egyptian fashion and Egyptian art were copied by their eastern neighbours; and this is yet further shown in more modern cases. The names of Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes, when used by kings in Asia, had always been already used by kings of Egypt. The Egyptians seem in every case to have set the fashion to their neighbours, and were far before the Assyrians in skill as artists.

Fig. 15.—NAME OBENRA.

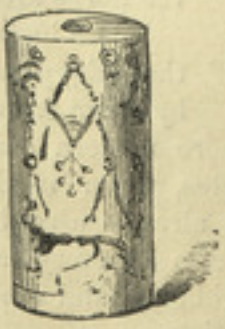
This ivory slab, of which we have been speaking, bears the name of Aobeno Ra, written in hieroglyphics, within a ring or oval, in the usual style of an Egyptian king's name.

This is, however, not a king's name, but only the eastern way of pronouncing the name of the god Amun Ra. On a mummy-case, in Dr. Lee's museum at Hartwell, the name of the god is written Oben-Ra, under a large disc or figure of the sun, as the head of the inscription. The style of this mummy-case makes it probable that it was made at Memphis, under the rule of the Persians, and no doubt at a time when those conquerors had introduced their own sun-worship and pronunciation. On the sarcophagus of Amytœus, one of the Egyptian kings who rebelled successfully against the Persians, the name of the god is also spelt Oben-Ra. (See Egyptian Inscriptions, plate 30.) These two cases of the use of this name, prove its meaning on the ivory slab from Nineveh, while the last, which was sculptured about B.C. 450, would lead us to think the ivory slab not much older.

16.—AMMUN.

Tradition tells us that the city of Balbec, near Damascus, was ornamented with a temple to the Sun by a king of Assyria who held Syria, and was friendly to Egypt, from which country he was willing to copy his customs and religion. In Egyptian Heliopolis he found a god so like his own that he copied his statue for his own temple in Syria.[1] The city received an Egyptian name, Balbec, *the city of Baal*, from Baki, the Egyptian for *city*, and was by the Greeks afterwards called Heliopolis, when the later temple was there built. The builder of this earlier temple can be no other than Tiglath Pileser.

[1] Macrobius, lib. i. 23.



Figs. 17 and 18.—BABYLONIAN CYLINDRICAL SEALS.

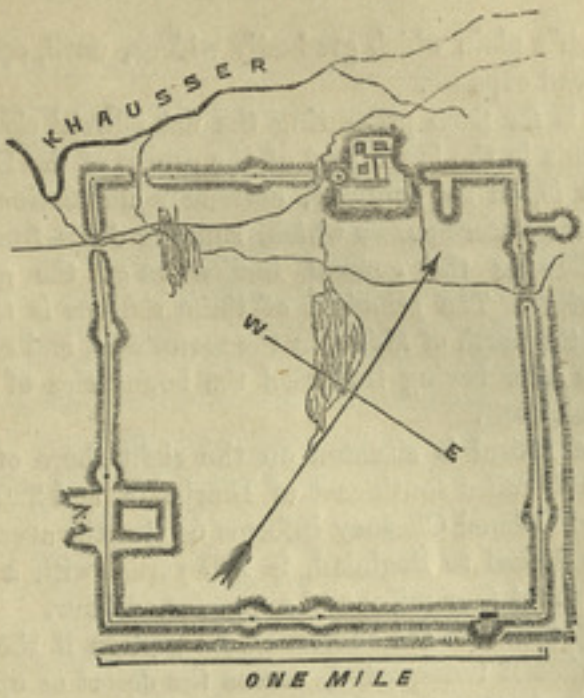


Fig. 19.—PLAN OF MOUND OF KHORSABAD.

SECTION III.

TOPOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

BANKS OF THE TIGRIS AND SITES OF THE ASSYRIAN PALACES. KHORSABAD.

HAVING in the previous sections sketched the labours of Rich, Botta, and Layard, and gone over what records, scriptural and classical, are left to us of the early history of the Assyrian empire, it may now be desirable to trace the general topographical features of the locality where the modern searches have been made for the discovery of the buried city—Nineveh.

Flowing down the sides of the mountains in which it takes its rise, the Tigris still for a while meanders at their base, and then being enlarged by the tributary waters of the Peechabeur, it washes the western extremity of the mountain of Gakô. From this point it stretches away from the hills in which it had its birth, leaving between

them and itself a plain which gradually widens, until, opposite Mósul, it shows a broad expanse.

This plain is far from presenting the flat alluvial character offered by Mesopotamia in the lower part of the course of the Euphrates and the Tigris; it is, on the contrary, extremely undulating, and deeply furrowed by the water-courses which, running down from the mountains and following the general inclination of the ground, flow towards the river. The principal of these streams is the Khauser, which rises to the north of Mósul in the mountains, and empties itself into the Tigris after having traversed the boundaries of the ancient walls of Nineveh itself.

The town of Mósul is situated on the right shore of the Tigris, being distant 190 miles south-east of Diarbekir, and 220 W. N. W. of Baghdad, and Colonel Chesney informs us that the average width of the river, from Mósul to Baghdad, is 200 yards, with a current, in high season, of about four miles and a quarter an hour.

It will greatly facilitate the subjoined description if the reader will at once fancy himself transported, across the desert or up the Tigris, as he may please, to the city of Mósul. He is invited thither, not to gaze on its old walls, which withstood the fierce Saladin's hosts; or its streets, which Genghis Khan once deluged with blood, nor to watch the many caravans which enter and emerge by its eight gates; nor to mark the manners of its large and motley population. Mósul is the starting point of Assyrian research; we will therefore at once cross the Tigris, here 400 feet wide, by the ricketty bridge of boats, and thus gain the eastern side of the river.

Arrived here, the first objects that strike us are two shapeless mounds, standing due north and south of each other, on a level tract, and separated by the Khauser, a mere rivulet. They are the mounds of Kouyounjik and Nebbi Yunis: these two eminences being connected on the side nearest the Tigris by a rampart and fosse, which run beyond them, turn to the east, and circumscribe an area having the form of an oblong square. The rampart consists of sun-dried brick and earth. It varies in height from ten to twenty feet, has here and there been broken through, but continuous traces remain, the whole bearing a striking resemblance to the Roman entrenchments still extant in our own country.

The mound of Khorsabad is situated about 14 miles N. E. of Mosul,[1] on the left bank of the little river Khauser, and about 8 miles S. S. E. of Mósul lies the mound of Nimroud, both mounds being visible, through a telescope, from the loftiest houses in Mósul.

[1] Botta's Letters on Nineveh.

A fourth mound, Karamles, is as far north from Nimroud as Khorsabad is from Mósul; but although Assyrian remains are known to exist there, the mound has hitherto been but slightly examined.

We will now proceed to the mound of Khorsabad, distinguished as that in which the first Assyrian building was discovered. Lying some distance on one side of the principal route which leads from Mósul to Diarbekir, it is not surprising that the village of Khorsabad, from its situation and slight importance, had received but little notice from European investigators. Chance seems to have conducted Mr. Rich there, during a journey which he made from Mósul to the convent of Rabban-Ormuzd; and after visiting the ruined convent of Mar-Matteh, he regained the plain by traversing the first chain of hills which separate the waters of the Gomel from those of the Khauser. Following the base of the hills, he says that he saw several mounds situate near each other, and particularly one of considerable size with a flat top. There is little doubt but this was the mound of Khorsabad, for the village called by Mr. Rich, Iman-Fadla, is certainly the village of Fadlieh, situated at the foot of the mountain at half a league from Khorsabad; the position of the place, the mention made of gardens in this locality, and still more, a comparison of the names, all concur in confirming the surmise.

Niebuhr, also, followed the route of the Desert to the west of the Tigris, on his way from Mósul to Mardin; he, consequently, did not pass near Khorsabad; nevertheless the name of this village did not escape his researches, which were always so precise and exact: in his list of the villages situated to the north of Mósul and to the east of the river, is found the name of *Khastabad*, one of the variants still in use for *Khorsabad*. This latter name, in fact, not being Arabic, and suggesting no meaning to the inhabitants, is written and pronounced by them very variously.[1] According to them, the word means *dwelling of the sick*, a term which perfectly agrees with the insalubrity of the neighbourhood.

[1] Botta says it ought to be spelt and pronounced "Khouroustâbâz, with a *dhamma* on the *kha* and the *ra*, a *sekoun* on the *sin*, and the two points on the *ta*." Yacouti, in his *Turkish Geographical Dictionary*, says, "This is a village to the east of the Tigris, forming a portion of the district of Ninioua. Water is plentiful there, and there are numerous gardens watered with the surplus of the waters of the Ras-el-Na'our, which are called Jarâ'at. In this neighbourhood there is a ruined ancient city called Saro'ûn." With regard to this city of Saro'ûn, Yacouti speaks of it in the same dictionary as follows:—"Saro'ûn, with a *fatha* on the *sad* and a *sekoun* on the *ra*, was an ancient city in the district of Ninioua, and the best of the district of Mósul. It is ruined; ancient treasures are believed to exist there, and some individuals are said to have found sufficient to satisfy them. There is a story on the subject of this town mentioned in the ancient chronicles." It was Rawlinson who pointed out this curious citation, which is all the more interesting because, while fixing the real

Two roads lead from Mósul to Khorsabad, passing north and south of Kouyounjik. In following the northern route, it is necessary to traverse the Khauser near its mouth, and then to recross it a little distance from Khorsabad. This passage, which is not always easily effected during the floods, is avoided by keeping on the left bank of the Khauser, to the south of Kouyounjik; and this route was that which Botta generally took. The traveller enters the boundaries of old Nineveh by one of the cuttings made through the wall between the village of Niniouah and the mound of Kouyunjik, and emerges from thence at the very point where the river, turning round the mound, cuts the eastern rampart to penetrate the enclosed space: a few remains of masonry in the bed of the river at this spot would seem to indicate the ancient existence of a bridge, or rather of some work destined to support the continuation of the wall, but allowing at the same time a free passage for the water. From this point the road turns gradually to the north, parallel with the left bank of the Khauser, and then, after having traversed a deep ravine, which ultimately joins the river, it separates from the road to Bachika, at the foot of the eminence on which the ruined village of Hachemich is situated.

At the base of the elevations by which the road is bounded on the east, are remarked those masses of concretions considered by Mr. Rich to be the remains of ancient masonry. On the way from Mósul to Zakho masses of conglomerations precisely similar are found in the ravines which cut the plain transversely as they descend from the mountains; and there is no reason for believing that the origin of those which border the valley of the Khauser is different.

From the village of Hachemich up to Khorsabad, the road presents nothing remarkable; it gradually nears the chain of the mountains, by traversing a vast undulated plain. The soil of this plain is capable of cultivation, but not a single tree breaks the monotony of it; and as soon as the sun, whose power is in this country felt at a very early period of the year, has dried up the vegetation, nothing can be more mournful to behold or more wearisome to traverse, than this long succession of fields lying fallow or despoiled of their crops.

The road, after having traversed the bed of a torrent, rises gradually by a gentle undulation. On arriving at the highest point, the

orthography of the name of Khorsabad, it proves the falseness of an etymology already proposed, the historical consequences of which were of some importance. The name of *Khourousbad* might very well be decomposed into *Khourous* and *abad*, and thus signify the dwelling of Cyrus; but the presence of a *t* and a *z* in *Khouroustabaz* renders this derivation impossible. As to the existence of an ancient town named Sar'oûn on this spot, the present is not a fitting time to discuss the question.

traveller, for the first time, perceives Khorsabad, situated in a plain comparatively very low, the verdure of which, in summer, forms an agreeable contrast with the general aridity of the country; he then descends into the plain, and soon penetrates into the ancient fortified enclosure by passing an opening through which a little stream flows forth; and lastly, he crosses the marshy land which occupies a large portion of the space contained within the old wall, and reaches the village, which before Botta's researches was built upon the very summit of the mound.

Travelling thus from Mósul to Khorsabad, it is remarkable that no trace of the wall which, according to historians, ran round Nineveh, is any where visible. Neither on the other route which leads from Mósul to Khorsabad, by passing to the north of Kouyunjik, and, from thence, stretching out towards the village, and a considerable distance to the west of the other road, can any trace of the ancient wall be met with.

"It is," says Botta, "a well-known fact, that walls of unbaked bricks, such as those which must have surrounded Nineveh, leave behind them traces which, in some degree, are indelible; we have a proof of this at Mósul itself, where those which formed the enclosure of Nineveh are still perfectly distinct, and could not be mistaken by any one. Since, then, no similar vestiges are found further on, must we conclude that the enclosure in question was that of the city itself, and that the palace of Khorsabad was placed at a great distance beyond it?" How far subsequent discoveries confirm this opinion we will not now stay to inquire; but one word may be said *ad interim*. Khorsabad, if a chief palace of the lords of Nineveh, will doubtless be within the boundaries of that great city in days when, to be isolated, was to be in danger.

The low ground in the middle of which Khorsabad is situated is open completely to the west only; to the south it is bounded by the elevation of the plain; to the east arise the calcareous mountains, separating the basin of the Tigris from the valley of Gomel; and to the north stretches a chain of hills, through which the Khauser passes. Towards the west only can the eye wander without hindrance, over the plain watered by the Tigris, beyond which are seen the mountains where dwell the Yezidis.

The low position of the ground, and the great quantity of streams which unite there, afford the inhabitants of Khorsabad great facilities for watering their plantations—a circumstance which accounts for the freshness of this little canton in the midst of the general aridity. Unfortunately the lowness of the position, so advantageous for

cultivation, is attended by the evils inseparable from it in a hot climate; for the superfluous waters not finding an easy means of exit, form marshes in the enclosure, and at different points round about the mound, rendering the air during the summer very unhealthy. This insalubrity is still more increased by the bad quality of the water for drinking; but in spite of this evil we can easily suppose that the plentiful supply of water was one of the motives which induced the kings of Assyria to build at Khorsabad so considerable a palace.

The architecture of the Assyrians, as illustrated in its only relics, cannot be understood without some preliminary reference to the nature of the mounds, on which the edifices were built. If the strongholds, palaces, or temples were to be distinguished from the humbler dwellings around, it became essential to place them upon imposing sites, such as nowhere appeared in the broad expanse between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and the boundaries formed by the Armenian mountains. In the absence, therefore, of natural elevations, it became necessary to resort to art, and hence the origin of those vast structures which arrested the attention of Xenophon, and which still astonish the traveller by their extent and solidity.

As no mound has hitherto been so fully explored as that of Khorsabad, and moreover, since no other gives us so much insight into the plan of the cities, as well as the temples of the Assyrians, a description of its configuration and structure will best give an idea of all the mounds.

The following are the dimensions of this double mound, taken as correctly as the unequal inclinations and the irregularities would allow:—

Length from north-west to south-east	975 feet.
Breadth of the large rectangle	975 ,,
Breadth of the little rectangle	650 ,,

The common summit is nearly flat, although not everywhere of the same level. The north-west portion is the more elevated, and always preserves the same height. Within a line which would pass over the mound, and sever the two mounds, the level gradually sinks towards the east, so that the south-east side is much lower than the north-west. About the middle of the south-west side, in the right angle formed by the junction of the two portions, there is a little cone, which is the most elevated point, and commands all other parts of the surface. The isolation of this mass, in the midst of the plain, rendered its aspect sufficiently imposing; but it is impossible to give the exact elevation: Botta says that it exceeded 40, and certainly did not exceed 51 feet in height. This cone is surmounted by a small square

tower, altogether modern, and differing in nothing from the actual style of buildings now in use in these parts.

Near the northern angle of the mound is a well, which, from its being situated on the bank of a river, seems useless; this well is believed to be an ancient work. The bottom of it is paved with a stone

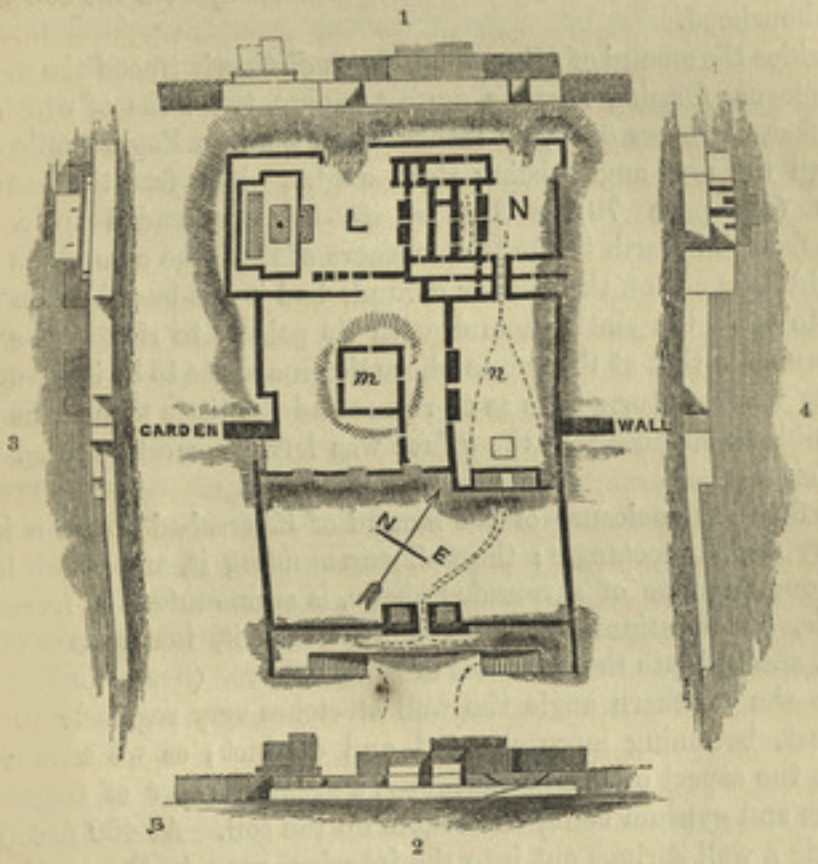


Fig 20.—PLAN OF PLATFORM ON WHICH THE PALACE STANDS.

Fig. 1 N. W. elevation. Fig. 2. S. E. elevation. Fig. 3. S. W. elevation. Fig. 4. N. E. elevation.

N.B.—The Dotted line shows how we suppose the first platform was attained by a double flight of steps; and how the second elevation, to court n, leading through the passage chamber to court N, and thence to the principal chambers and courts of the palace.

with seven holes, through which water of the greatest freshness gushes forth in abundance; this water, according to the inhabitants, is much more healthy than that in the neighbourhood. It has a taste slightly sulphurous. The fact of the above-mentioned stone at the bottom of the well induces the belief in its antiquity, for it is a trouble that no one in these countries would take now-a-days. It is possible that the ancient inhabitants, like the present ones, believing in the salubrity of this water, thought of bringing it by a subterranean conduit from the adjacent mountain.

The summit of the mound offers nothing worthy of attention; the village, placed upon the highest portion, and embracing the large cutting of the north-west side, covered most of the ruins; the largest level part of it, which gently slopes down towards the interior of the enclosure, was cultivated, and differed in nothing from the soil of the neighbourhood.

Besides the mound of Khorsabad, Botta distinctly traced the walls of an enclosure forming nearly a perfect square, two sides of which are 5750 feet, the other 5400, or rather more than an English mile each way, all the four angles being right angles, which face the cardinal points (see page 79). One of its sides extended in a line drawn from the north to the west corners of the large mound, so that it would have cut off the smaller mound, had it not been broken into, so as to allow the small mound, with its palace, to rise in the gap. It is probable that at the points where the line seems to be interrupted, the city wall was turned, so as to run round the little mound, as it is impossible to suppose that the palace was left the most exposed part of the city.

The fortified enclosure of the mound of Khorsabad forms a large and very regular rectangle; the wall surrounding it, and which looks like a long tumulus of a rounded shape, is surmounted, at irregular intervals, by elevations which jut out beyond it, inside as well as outside, and indicate the existence of small towers. (See page 79.)

From the northern angle the wall stretches very regularly to the south-east, becoming more elevated and distinct; as we advance it assumes the aspect of a large causeway, a great number of fragments of bricks and gypsum being observable on the soil. At 490 feet from the angle a wall springs out into the interior, runs to the north-east and terminates in a rounded eminence, which seems to point out the place of a tower; there is a similar, but more considerable, eminence on the boundary wall itself. And lastly, farther on, a cutting is visible, through which a lazy stream, which here and there expands into a marsh, penetrates into the interior of the enclosure. The wall then continues in a straight line to the eastern angle, and is remarkable for nothing besides another tower. The north-eastern side has, therefore, three towers, if we include that which terminates the accessory wall. Beyond the cutting that affords a passage for the streamlet, the exterior ditch begins to be distinguished. On this base rises a brick wall. As many as twelve regular layers of it were counted in a total height of six feet and a-half. The size of these bricks is similar to that of those composing the mass of the mound, and they are not, any more than these latter, separated from each

other by strata of reeds, nor united with bitumen or any other kind of cement.

The wall and ditch which form the south-eastern side are very distinct; but there is nothing else remarkable, except an external enlargement of the wall and two towers.

The southern angle, on coming up with the ditch, ceases to be distinct, so that it appears to bound only two sides of the enclosure. At a short distance from the southern angle, the south-western side shows traces of some rather remarkable accessory constructions. A wall springs out from it into the interior, and forms a square. One of the sides of this square, in which no signs of any opening are visible, is formed by the wall of the enclosure itself, which is considerably widened at this point, and assumes the aspect of a mound, jutting out on the exterior, sending into the plain two long prolongations or counterforts. This plan is very similar to that of the mound at Khorsabad itself; and the resemblance would be complete, if the internal square, formed by the accessory wall, were filled up instead of containing an empty space. Several excavations were made but without success: all that was found were some stones without any inscriptions or sculpture, and some fragments of bricks. In its actual condition, it is impossible to say what this kind of enclosure, without any outlet, and itself shut up in the great enclosure, could have been. The south-western side of the latter contains nothing else remarkable except two towers, placed so as to divide it into three pretty equal portions. There is also here another cutting, through which the streamlet which enters the enclosure through the north-eastern side escapes. It is through this cutting that the road passes which leads from Mósul to Khorsabad.

Setting out from the western angle, the wall returns to the north-east, and forms a part of the north-west side; it gradually sinks towards its termination, leaving an opening between the mound and itself. Near its termination a small eminence points out the place of one more tower; and, lastly, there is a cutting. Through this a stream, which detaches itself from the small river, passes, and unites itself with the stream that traverses the enclosure. This same river runs parallel to the whole north-western side of the enclosure, gradually flowing nearer to it, so as to pass very close to the western angle, round which it turns by making a slight bend; it is a branch of the Na'our, and employed in watering the country, so that it is often dried up when its waters have been diverted upon the surrounding fields.

It is evident, from the description just given, that the outward wall

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It is evident, from the description just given, that the outward wall

of Khorsabad exhibits traces of eight towers. Besides these there are several similar mounds scattered here and there in the plain. Among others, one of considerable dimensions. The isolation and conical shape of these little elevations do not allow a doubt of their artificial origin. They probably contain remains of ancient buildings.

The openings which give access to the enclosure are five in number, and they are all situated in the north-western portion. Three of them seem to have been intended to afford the water a free passage, but it is at present difficult to say whether they date from ancient times, and consequently part of the primitive plan, or no. If, as M. Botta supposes, this vast enclosure was destined to contain the gardens of the palace constructed upon the mound, we are justified in supposing that some of these cuttings were made in order to give passage to the water necessary for horticultural purposes, and without which, in this country, vegetation is out of the question.

The ground comprised within this vast enclosure is generally horizontal; at some points, however, it is rather depressed, and the waters collecting there form swamps. The nature of the plants in these swamps indicate the presence of salt, and those portions of them which are dried up by the heat of the sun during summer are covered with white efflorescences. It was this portion of the road comprised within the enclosure which offered the greatest obstacles for the transport of the sculptures; for, although the ground appeared firm and solid at the surface, at least during the hot season, it formed nothing more than a thin crust, covering the water or mud, in which the wheels of the waggon sank so deeply, that the most strenuous efforts were required to extricate them.

The surrounding plain offers hardly anything worth notice, except that, opposite the mound, and on the right shore of the Khauser, there are some undulations, which may indicate the existence of ancient ruins.

Such is the actual condition of the mound, which serves as a base for the palace of Khorsabad and of the wall intended to enclose its dependencies. Botta, being deceived by external appearances, thought for a long time that the mound was simply an accumulation of earth which had been brought there for that purpose, but excavations made at different places showed that it was a mass of bricks baked in the sun, and placed in regular layers. These bricks, unlike those baked in kilns, bear no inscriptions, nor are there any signs of chopped straw visible in their composition; the layers are nowhere separated, as at Babylon, by strata of reeds, nor are they united by any cement, either bituminous or calcareous. The bricks seem to be united

merely with the same clay which was used to make them, so that they can be distinguished from the strata of the soil by the regular and often different-coloured lines, only perceptible on the sides of the opened trenches; when the sides, however, have been a short time exposed to the action of the atmosphere and of the sun, these lines disappear, and nothing is then left to distinguish these masses of unburnt bricks from the surrounding earth.

The reader will easily conceive that an earthy mass, composed of brick merely dried, would not long have withstood the action of the elements and time. It would not have been long before the upper portion sank and fell in. To obviate this result, which would soon have assisted in the ruin of the palace, the mound was surrounded with a very strong supporting wall, which served as a coating to the mass of bricks. This wall was constructed of blocks of a very hard calcareous stone, obtained from the neighbouring mountains.

During the long succession of ages posterior to the ruin of the Assyrian Empire, and the destruction of the Palace of Khorsabad, the stone coating, in spite of its solidity, fell necessarily into ruin, or was perhaps demolished, in order that the remains of it might be employed for other purposes. Nothing, then, any longer supporting the mass of bricks, the upper portions, as a natural consequence, sank in, and in this manner, doubtlessly, the slopes were formed.

The surrounding wall, 46 feet thick, consisted of a mass of unburnt bricks, supported on a base of stone rubbish, covered externally with a coating of calcareous stone. This basement was not high; the internal stone rubbish being composed of irregularly shaped stones, piled together without cement. The blocks of the outward coating are cut only on their external surface, and on the sides which touch each other; the internal extremity next to the rubbish is rough.

The trench opened outside the wall laid bare the ruins of another structure, which must have occupied the bottom or the external bank of the ditch. Perhaps there was a door at this spot, and the structure in question was the remains of a causeway intended to serve as a means of passage across the ditch.

This mass of unburnt brick wall was not buried suddenly; before being so, it must have remained during several ages exposed to the action of the atmosphere and the rain; and must therefore have fallen to decay and sunk down gradually, as must have been the case, also, with the great enclosure of Nineveh itself. To the gradual sinking of this earthern wall, which in some degree shifted its base, must be attributed its present engulphment, and the great breadth of the tumulus which marks its place. In proportion as the summit

was decomposed, the detritus grew up at the base, until the summit was reduced to the level of the heaps of earth produced by the decomposition of the wall, and piled up on every side. This natural dilapidation must have then ceased, and the last rows of bricks, being protected by the rubbish, have been preserved up to our day.

On beholding these vast structures of brick, we naturally ask ourselves whence the earth employed to form them could have been procured? The swamps in the enclosure, and those in the neighbourhood, indicating, as they necessarily do, depressions on the surface of the soil, appear to furnish us with an answer to this question. These swamps, it is true, are now-a-days far from deep; but it is easy to conceive that they have been gradually filled up by the detritus of plants, and the accumulation of mud brought down by the various streams; an explanation which the extreme antiquity of these monuments renders highly plausible. Besides this, the ditch, although hardly visible now, may formerly have been very deep, and the earth which was taken out of it was, doubtless, enough to build the wall. It may be added that, at a little distance to the north of Khorsabad, there are vast moving bogs which, in all probability, also owe their origin to the extraction of the earth necessary to have made these bricks.

We set out by stating that the mound of Khorsabad might be regarded as a general type of the artificial platforms of the Assyrian plains. Having described that eminence in full, we will now give some account of the mound of Nimroud, the mine whence the Assyrian treasures of our National Museum have been dug.

Fig. 21.—EASTERN SIDE OF MOUNDS OF KHORSABAD.

Fig. 22.—VIEW OF OBELISK FOUND AT NIMROUD.

CHAPTER II.

NIMROUD.—KOUYUNJIK.—KARAMLES.

RETURNING from Khorsabad, we embark on a raft, to visit the great mound of Nimroud, and soon reach the mound of Yarumjeh, on the left bank of the river, which we cannot, however, stay to notice. The flood-current of the Tigris has made havoc with this mass, and cut it down to a precipice, exposing its artificial construction. Where the soil has been removed by the waters, remains of buildings are exhibited, such as layers of large stones, some with bitumen on them, with a few burnt brick and tiles.

At about twenty-eight miles by the river, and twenty miles in direct distance, south, 12 E. below Nineveh, is the celebrated dyke of solid masonry, called Zikru-l-awáz, or Nimrúd, which crosses the bed of the river. The stream, when full, rushes over this obstruction with great impetuosity, and its roar may be heard for several miles. At seven miles lower, there is another dyke, called Zikr Ismail, similar to the former, but in a more dilapidated state. At the

distance of about two miles and three-quarters S. E. from Zikru-l-awaz, are the ruins of Nimroud or Athur: they are about four miles in circumference, and are terminated at the N. W. angle by a great pyramidal mound, 144½ feet high, and 777 in circumference, which was once coated with bricks. Some of these were found by Mr. Rich, who states that they are about the same size as those of Babylon, and are inscribed with arrow-headed characters. Here, also, Mr. Francis William Ainsworth discovered the foundations of some massive walls, which may possibly be the great city of Resen,[1] placed between Nineveh and Calah, and which are still called after "the mighty huntsman."[2] As the country is in complete cultivation, these ruins have been nearly obliterated by the plough, and by the villages of the cultivators, so that it would be difficult to ascertain the extent of the city. There are fair grounds for supposing that Resen was identical with the Larissa mentioned by Xenophon;[3] the name, however, is Greek, and as there were no Greek settlements beyond the Tigris before the time of Alexander, Bochart judiciously conjectures, that when the Greeks asked the people of the country, "What city are these the ruins of?" they answered לרסו Larissa, that is, of Resen, a word that might easily be softened by a Greek termination, and made Larissa. Xenophon describes the walls to have been "twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangas in circuit; all built with bricks, except the plinth, which was of stone, and twenty feet high. Close to the city stood a pyramid of stone, one hundred feet square, and two hundred feet high." Thence they made, in one day's march, six parasangas, to a large uninhabited castle, standing near a town called Mespila, formerly inhabited also by Medes. The plinth of the wall was built with polished stone full of shells, being fifty feet in breadth, and as many in height. Upon this stood a brick wall, fifty feet also in breadth, one hundred in height, and six parasangas in circuit." Ainsworth observes, that the "conglomerate on which the walls of Nineveh are built, is like that of the Zab, a deposit of rolled pebbles of limestone, duallage rock, serpentine, hornblende rock, quartzes, jaspers, and Lydian stone." He surmises that, from the elevation of this deposit, it probably owes its origin to the breaking down of a dyke, or of some natural resistance in the Kurdistan mountains.

The mound of Nimroud is not less clearly defined than that of Khorsabad, which it resembles in the quadrangular form of its line of

[1] Gen., x. 12.

[2] Chesney, "Survey of Euphrates." Royal Geog. Journ. vol. ix. p. 35, and Sequel of Rawlinson's notes.

[3] Xenophon, "Anab." bk. iii.

consecutive mounds. In the middle of the west side of the mound, is the celebrated north-west palace, whence Layard drew his stores of treasure. Behind this, in the south-west angle, is the most recent palace hitherto laid open. It is principally built of slabs taken from previously existing edifices. In the next angle, and diagonally opposite to the pyramid at the north-west corner, is an unintelligible building, usually called, after the angle in which it was found, the south-east edifice. A fourth building lies deep in the centre of the mound. Of these, the north-west is the only one which has been explored to any extent, and of this no plan can as yet be drawn. The shape of the platform is modified by three ravines which run into it—one between the south-west and south-east edifices, a second to the north of the latter building, and the third immediately to the north of the old palace, a part of which has fallen into it.

The construction of the mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunis, in general, does not differ from those of Khorsabad and Nimroud. The former also locally styled the Káláh, or Castle of Ninawe, rises steeply from the plain to the height of forty-three feet, and has a level summit, on which here and there an Arab cottage may be seen. This is one of the largest of the Assyrian mounds, having an extent of 7,800 feet circumference. When first seen it appears to be a natural eminence; but on nearer examination traces of building are observable, and the whole surface is strewed with fragments of pottery, covered with beautiful cuneatic writing, bricks, pieces of pavement, and here and there a remnant of a bas-relief. The southern mound, Nebbi Yunis, or that of the Tomb of Jonah, is about fifty feet in height, and extends 430 feet from east to west, by 355 feet from north to south. Here stands a building once a Christian church, dedicated to the divine messenger sent to Nineveh, now a Mohammedan mosque, and reverenced as containing the tomb of the prophet.

Rich states, that "Bekir Effendi, when digging for stones to build the bridge of Mosul, found, on digging into Kouyunjik, a sepulchral chamber, in which was an inscription; and in the chambers, among rubbish and fragments of bone, the following articles:—A woman's khalkhal, or ankle bracelet, of silver, covered with a turquoise covered with rust; a higil (another sort of anklet) of gold; ditto, a child's; a bracelet of gold beads, quite perfect; some pieces of engraved agate." The gold and silver were immediately melted down, the agates thrown away, and the chamber broken up by the stones being taken out, and then buried in the rubbish.[1]

[1] Rich's "Residence in Koordistan," vol. i. p. 136.

The fourth locality, remarkable for its mound within the supposed boundary of ancient Nineveh, is Karamles. No extensive excavations, however, have been as yet carried on in this mound; but a platform of brickwork has been uncovered, and its Assyrian character completely established by the inscriptions discovered.

Mr. Layard's researches have satisfied him that a very considerable period elapsed between the earliest and latest buildings discovered among the mounds of Nimroud. We incline to this opinion, but differ from the surmise, that the ruins of Nimroud and the site of Nineveh itself are identical. The dimensions of Nineveh, as given by Diodorus Siculus, were 150 stadia on the two longest sides of the quadrangle, and 90 on the opposite; the square being 480 stadia, 60 miles; or, according to some, 74 miles. Mr. Layard thinks, that by taking the four great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles, as the corners of a square, the four sides will correspond pretty accurately with the 60 miles of the geographer, and the three days' journey of the prophet Jonah. It is worthy of remark, that just outside Mr. Layard's boundary is a straight line of mounds, or hills, extending from Khorsabad to three or four miles beyond Mar Daniel, the last conspicuous elevation of the line. The words "Gebel Mekloub," by which the range is designated by the Arabs, means the "overturned mountain," and is the same epithet which distinguishes a remarkable ruin in the plains of Babylon, called El Mugelebeh, in consequence of its presenting the appearance of being overturned. The range of hills we are now speaking of, bears every appearance of the hand of man, such as walls constructed, as Rich describes, of an artificial concrete, and buildings thrown down by an earthquake, or by some besieging army; and apart from the extraordinary feature in this level country of an elevation extending more than fifteen miles in length, it is not a little singular that these coincidences of name and artificial structure should have hitherto escaped the observation of travellers. So full of meaning is the phraseology of all eastern people that such coincidences are never accidental; and it would, therefore, be highly desirable to make an examination of these mounds, as well as of all places called "Tel," a word signifying hill both in Arabic and Hebrew.[1] The Wadi Jehennem, which signifies the "Valley of Hell," and the Wadi Jennen, "the Bewildering Valley," should also be examined, not only because they are in the vicinity of ruins, but because also such epithets are never given by the Arabs without some reason. In the meantime, as we

[1] Tel-abib, "hill of corn-ears." Ezek. iii. 15.
Tel-harsa, "hill of the forest." Ezra, ii. 59.
Tel-melah, "hill of salt." Ezra, ii. 59.
} Cities in Babylonia.

have no difficulty in accepting the concurrent testimony of so many writers regarding the extent of Nineveh, we should be willing, in the absence of other data, to adopt the area set forth by Mr. Layard, but for some objections that appear so unanswerable, as to induce us to offer our own speculations on the subject. A reference to the following diagram, fig. 23, will most clearly illustrate our ideas. Having already premised that the extreme boundary wall of Nineveh is stated to have been a parallelogram, of which the sum of the four sides was about 60 miles, we will now direct attention to the dotted line upon the map.

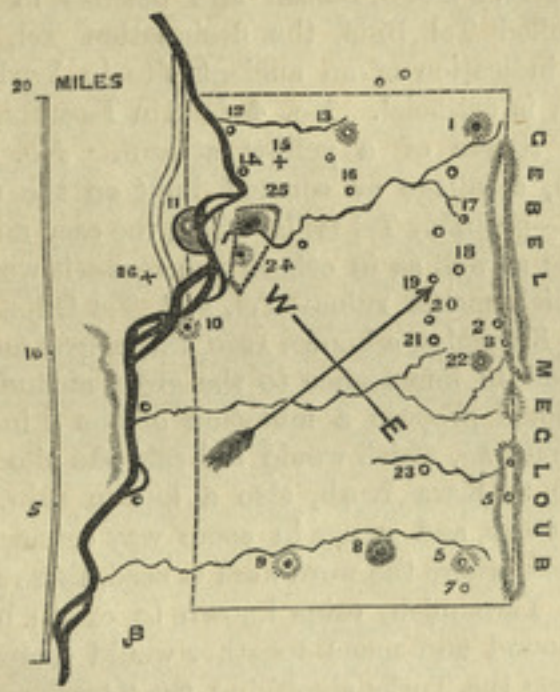


Fig. 23.—PRESUMED BOUNDARY OF ANCIENT NINEVEH.

1. Khorsabad.
2. Bazani.
3. Bashika.
4. Ain Es-Sufra.
5. Mar Daniel.
6. Tergilla.
7. Sheikh Emeer.
8. Karamles.
9. Kara Kush.
10. Yarumjeh.
11. Mosul.
12. Reshidi.
13. Tel Kaif.
14. Kiz Fukra.
15. Convent of St. George.
16. Baaweiza.
17. Darawish.
18. Ras El-ain.
19. Imam Fadlha.
20. Terowa.
21. Ghor Igaraban.
22. Tel Billa.
23. Bartella.
24. Nebbi Yunis.
25. Kouyunjik.
26. Mar Elias.

N.B. The L in the Arabic article takes the sound of the letter of words beginning with G, D, N, R, S, SH, T, as "Es-Sufra," instead of "El-Sufra."

Assuming Khorsabad to be the northern angle of the wall, we proceed to run the boundary to the length of 18¾ miles in the direction of Gebel Mekloub, which extends 16 miles to the eastern angle; we then turn at a right angle, and run the boundary to the

length of 11¼ miles to the southern angle; whence we turn again to run the boundary of 18¾ miles to the western angle; and from thence we run the last line of boundary until we reach our starting point at Khorsabad.

The parallelogram, or line of boundary, being thus completed, we have now to ascertain how far it accords with the localities of the researches; and we find that it not only comprehends the principal mounds which have already been examined, but many others, in which ruins are either actually, or almost certainly, known to exist. No. 1 is Khorsabad. Following the line of the Gebel Mekloub, we find within the enclosure, Nos. 2 and 3, Bazani and Bashika, in close proximity to a village called Tel Billa, the designation Tel, *hill*, being, we think, a sure indication of an ancient site in level country where every elevation is artificial. No. 4 is Ain Es-sufra, so called from its being the source of a yellow stream. No. 5, Mar Daniel (Saint Daniel), a village or convent built on the Gebel Mekloub. No. 6, Tergilla—probably Tel Gilla—from the easy mutation of R into L in the Arabic as well as in other languages—it would then possess the epithet which marks ruins—Tel, *hill*, Tel Gilla. No. 7, Sheikh Emeer. No. 8, Karamles, a known ruin, the largest mound within the enclosure, second in importance to the great mound of Kouyunjik; and here we should propose a mutation of the *k* in Karamles into the strong aspirate *hh*, which would indicate the site of some sacred structures. No. 9, Kara Kush, also a known ruin. Kara in the Turkish means *black*, and seems in some way connected with ruins; for in other places, where the word kara is used, there are known to be ruins. No. 10, Yaroumjeh, ruins known to exist; but without this evidence the mound and name together would suggest the fact, the word *roum* among the Turks signifying the "territory or inhabitants of the Roman Empire," Roman and ancient being synonymous terms. We now cross the river, and our line conducts us to No. 11, a mound in the city of Mosul itself, where a search would probably be rewarded, as in other examples of mounds, by the discovery of antiquities. No. 13, Tel Kaif, "the hill or mound of delight;" and here we again recognise in the name an ancient site, though no description of the place has as yet appeared. Tel Kaif completes the circuit to Khorsabad, whence so many sculptures have been extracted. Immediately within the enclosure, and opposite the city of Mosul, are the well-known mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunis. It may here be noticed, that by the mutation of the *n* into *m* in the name of this mound, (one which commonly takes place,) we should have the word *Kouyoumjik*, the Turkish word for "silversmith," a meaning more in

harmony with the fact of silver ornaments having been dug out of it, than the word as it now stands which signifies "little sheep." These two conspicuous mounds are surrounded by a chain of smaller elevations, forming the irregular enclosure which Rich considered to be the walls of the palace. Although the foregoing description contains many names of places that have not the significative affix, Tel, or Koum, we have included them from a persuasion that they all mark the sites of ancient buildings. In a country like that bordering the Tigris, any elevation above the ordinary level of the plain would, for obvious reasons, be sought in forming a settlement; and every height being manifestly artificial, it follows, almost beyond dispute, that all the hills, whether inhabited or otherwise, are likely to contain ruins. In confirmation of our speculation that the Gebel Makloub is of artificial construction, and probably the remains of the north-eastern wall of Nineveh, we have the testimony of a recent observant traveller, Mr. Barker, who has no doubt that the so-called "mountain" is entirely the work of man. Another important object of remark, connected with this subject, is the thickness of the wall surrounding the palace of Khorsabad, which Botta states to be 15 metres, *i. e.*, 48 feet 9 inches, a very close approximation to the width of the wall of the city itself, which was "so broad, as three chariots might be driven together upon it abreast."[1] This is about half the thickness of the wall of Babylon, upon which "six chariots could be driven together;"[2] and which Herodotus[3] tells us were 87 feet broad, or nearly double that of the palace at Khorsabad. The extraordinary dimensions of the walls of cities is supported by these remains at Khorsabad. The Median wall (see page 57) still existing, in part nearly entire, and which crosses obliquely the plain of Mesopotamia from the Tigris, to the banks of the Euphrates (see map, page 38), a distance of 40 miles. The great wall of China, also, of like antiquity, we are told, "traverses high mountains, deep valleys, and, by means of arches, wide rivers, extending from the province of Shen Si to Wanghay, or the Yellow Sea, a distance of 1500 miles. In some places, to protect exposed passages, it is double and treble. The foundation and corner stones are of granite, but the principal part is of blue bricks, cemented with pure white mortar. At distances of about 200 paces are distributed square towers, or strong bulwarks."[4] And in less ancient times the Roman walls in our own country all show the universality of this mode of inclosing a district or guarding a boundary in ancient times.

[1] Diod. Sic., bk. ii. ch. 1. [2] Idem. [3] Herod. bk. i.
[4] Popular Encyclopædia, vol. ii. p. 185, edit. 1848.

It may be objected against the foregoing speculations on the boundary of Nineveh, that the river runs within the walls instead of on the outside. In reply, we submit that when the walls were destroyed, as described by the historian, the flooded river would force for itself another channel, which in process of time would become more and more devious from the obstructions offered by the accumulated ruins until it eventually took the channel in which it now flows. If our theory is admitted on the whole to be feasible, and to agree with the accounts of ancient writers, it necessarily follows that Mr. Layard's view is erroneous; and we think that a reference to the situation and distances of the four mounds, Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, Nimroud, and Karamles, will satisfy all that his boundary is impracticable. To say nothing of the figure described being widely different from a parallelogram, the distance from the extreme angles, Khorsabad and Nimroud, according to the data supplied by Botta and Chesney, is not less than 34 miles, so that either one extremity or the other must have been beyond the boundary; besides which, even Kouyunjik itself, which is 23 miles from Nimroud, could not have come within the boundary of a parallelogram of the dimensions stated by Diodorus. On the other hand, the area we have indicated is of the recorded figure, and many important mounds are situated upon, or in the direction of the lines of wall, while the enclosure itself is full of known or inferential ruins. Again: Nimroud is an isolated mound, not of sufficient extent to intimate the site of a large city like Nineveh. A consideration of the arguments on both sides leads us to the conclusion that the concurring facts strongly support the supposition that, instead of being a part of Nineveh, Nimroud is really the Resen of Genesis. The close proximity of the two cities does not present itself as an objection to us, because it was obviously essential for men to congregate together for security, in early stages of society. Every settlement doubtless became the nucleus of a city, which was ultimately enclosed by walls sufficiently extensive to include not only dwellings for man, but land for flocks and herds, and for the produce of grain; hence we see no reason why the sites of Calah, Resen, and Nineveh may not still be recognised under the modern names of Kalah Sherghat, Nimroud, and Niniouah.

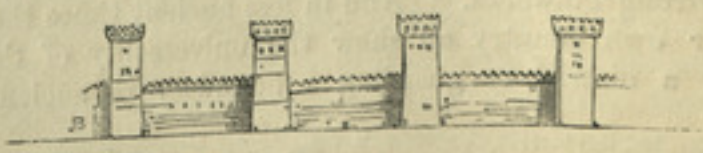


Fig. 24.—WALLS OF NINEVEH.

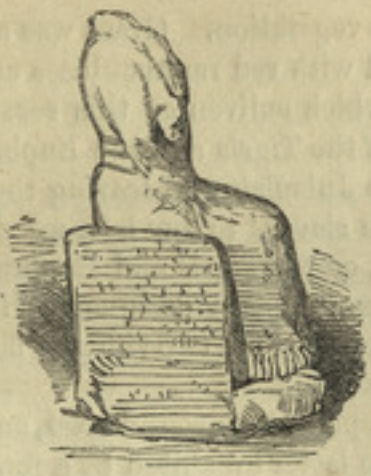


Fig. 25.—STATUE AT KALAH SHERGHAT.

CHAPTER III.

KALAH SHERGHAT.

A LITTLE more than forty miles in a direct line to the southward of Nimroud, but on the right bank of the Tigris, there exists another mound, covering the ruins of Assyrian palaces. The place is now called Kalah Sherghat, and probably marks the southern limits of the early Assyrian empire. But, apart from the interest attached to its position, and the character of its remains, there is every reason to believe that it marks the site of the ancient Calah, one of the cities founded by Nimroud, and alluded to in Holy Writ.

We follow with pleasure Mr. F. W. Ainsworth's graphic account of the journey to Kalah Shergat and Al-Hadhr, published in Transactions of London Geographical Society, as it contains much valuable information on the natural characteristics and resources of the country through which he passed.

"We started on Saturday, April 18th, 1840, travelling at first across the cultivated alluvial plain south of Mósul, named the Karákójah. At this season of the year barley was in ear, and beans in flower; fig, almond, and mulberry trees were in full bloom, but the pistachio as yet only budding. On the sandy deposits of the river the water-melon had put forth its cotyledons. Doves and quails had returned a few days before from their migrations. As the river was high, we were obliged to turn up the rocky uplands west of El Seramúm, an old country residence of its Páshás.

"The rocky acclivities and stony valleys of the Jubaïlah were now

clad with a beautiful vegetation. Grass was abundant, and the green sward was chequered with red ranunculuses and composite plants of a golden-yellow hue, which enliven at this season of the year by their contrast the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, wherever they are stony. Crossing the Jubaïlah, and leaving the village of Abú Jawárí, 'the father of female slaves,' to our left, we descended upon another alluvial plain, such as, on the Tigris and Euphrates, whether cultivated or covered with jungle, is equally designated Háwí. The present one was cultivated, and contained the two villages, both inhabited by Arabs, now pasturing their flocks.

"At the end of this plain the ground rises, and at this point are the baths and a village, the latter inhabited by a few Chaldees, settled here by the Páshá of Mósul to cultivate the land. The thermal spring is covered by a building, only commodious for half savage people, yet the place is much frequented by persons of the better classes, both from Baghdád and Mósul. Close by is a mound about 60 feet high, called 'the mound of the victor,' from a tradition of an engagement having taken place in this neighbourhood.

"On the following morning leaving Hammám 'Ali, we crossed an extensive Háwí, near the centre of which is the village of Safatus, inhabited by the Arab tribe of Juhaïsh, or 'of the ass's colt.' We then turned off to the right to the ruined village of Jeheïnah, or Jehennem, 'Hell or the Lower Regions,' which name excited our expectations, but we only found some old houses of a better class. Our road continued for three hours over verdant prairies, on an upland of gypsum, with some tracts of sandstone, when we arrived at Reed-Valley, the banks of a sluggish stream being covered with that plant. We roused an old sow from this cover, and captured a young pig which it was obliged to leave behind. As the animal went grunting down the valley, it stirred up several others with their young ones, which we hunted down, catching two more, one of which we liberated, as two were quite enough for our wants. We approached the Tigris, a few miles below the tomb of Sultán 'Abdullah, which was the extreme point reached by the Euphrates steamer in 1839, and passing an abundant rivulet of waters which filled the air with the odour of sulphuric acid, we came to a level naked spot, inclosed by rocks of gypsum, on the floor of which were innumerable springs of asphalt or bitumen oozing out of the soil in little circular fountains, but often buried beneath or surrounded by a deep crust of indurated bitumen. A little beyond these pits we found other springs, giving off an equal quantity of bitumen. These are the only cases I know of springs of pure asphalt in Western Asia.

"On the succeeding day, starting over a low range of hills of red sandstone, we entered upon an extensive Háwí, over which we travelled two hours to a red cliff. The banks of the Tigris were well wooded and picturesque; extensive tracts of meadow land were bounded by green hills, and terminated in islands of several miles in length, covered with trees and brushwood, amid which winded the rapid Tigris, in a broad and noble expanse visible as far as the eye could reach. The quantity of large wood near it is greater than on the Euphrates, and the resources for steam navigation are very great.

"Passing the cliffs of red sandstone, from which point to the Harmín the Tigris follows a more easterly course, we came to a valley with a brackish rivulet, coming from the Wádí-l-A'hmer. Steep cliffs advanced beyond this to the banks of the river, and obliged us to turn inwards upon the uplands, from which we first gained a view of Kalah Sherghat, situate in the midst of a most beautiful meadow, well wooded, watered by a small tributary to the Tigris, washed by the noble river itself, and backed by the rocky range of the Jebel Khánúkah, now covered with broad and deep shadows. In three hours' time we arrived at the foot of this extensive and lofty mound, where we took up our station on the northern side, immediately below the central ruin, and on the banks of a ditch formed by the recoil of the Tigris.

"Although familiar with the great Babylonian and Chaldean mounds of Bírs Nimroud, Mujallibah, and Orchoe, the appearance of the mass of construction now before us filled me with wonder. On the plain of Babylonia, to build a hill has a meaning; but there was a strange adherence to an antique custom, in thus piling brick upon brick, without regard to the cost and value of labour, where hills innumerable and equally good and elevated sites were easily to be found. Although in places reposing upon solid rock (red and brown sandstones), still almost the entire depth of the mound, which was in parts upwards of 60 feet high, and at this side 909 yards in extent, was built up of sun-burnt bricks, like the 'Aker Kúf and the Mujallibah, only without intervening layers of reeds. On the sides of these lofty artificial cliffs numerous hawks and crows nestled in security, while at their base was a deep sloping declivity of crumbled materials. On this northern face, which is the most perfect as well as the highest, there occurs at one point the remains of a wall built with large square cut stones, levelled and fitted to one another with the utmost nicety, and bevelled upon the faces, as in many Saracenic structures; the top stones were also cut away as in steps. Mr. Ross deemed this to be part of the still remaining perfect front, which was also the opinion of some of the travellers now present; but so great is the difference

between the style of an Assyrian mound of burnt bricks and this partial facing of hewn stone, that it is difficult to conceive that it belonged to the same period, and if carried along the whole front of the mound, some remains of it would be found in the detritus at the base of the cliff, which was not the case. At the same time its position gave to it more the appearance of a facing, whether contemporary with the mound or subsequent to it I shall not attempt to decide, than of a castle, if any castle or other edifice was ever erected here by the Mohammedans, whose style it so greatly resembles.

"Our researches were first directed towards the mound itself. We found its form to be that of an irregular triangle, measuring in total circumference 4685 yards; whereas the Mujallibah, the supposed tower of Babel, is only 737 yards in circumference; the great mound of Borsippa, known as the Bírs Nimroud, 762 yards; the Kasr, or terraced palace of Nebuchadnezzar, 2100 yards; and the mound called Kóyunjík, at Nineveh, 2563 yards. But it is to be remarked of this Assyrian ruin on the Tigris, that it is not entirely a raised mound of sun-burnt bricks; on the contrary, several sections of its central portions displayed the ordinary pebbly deposit of the river, a common alluvium, and were swept by the Tigris; the mound appeared to be chiefly a mass of rubble and ruins, in which bricks, pottery, and fragments of sepulchral urns lay imbedded in humus, or alternated with blocks of gypsum; finally, at the southern extremity, the mound sinks down nearly to the level of the plain. The side facing the river displayed to us some curious structures, which, not being noticed by Mr. Ross,[1] have been probably laid bare by floods subsequent to his visit. They consisted of four round towers, built of burnt bricks, which were nine inches deep, and thirteen inches in width outwards, but only ten inches inwards, so as to adapt them for being built in a circle. These towers were four feet ten inches in diameter, well-built, and as fresh-looking as if of yesterday. Their use is altogether a matter of conjecture; they were not strong enough to have formed buttresses against the river; nor were they connected by a wall. The general opinion appeared to be in favour of hydraulic purposes, either as wells or pumps, communicating with the Tigris.

"The south-western rampart displays occasionally the remains of a wall constructed of hewn blocks of gypsum, and it is everywhere bounded by a ditch, which, like the rampart, encircles the whole ruins.

"All over this great surface we found traces of foundations of stone edifices, with abundance of bricks and pottery, as observed before,

1 "Dr. Ross's Journey from Bagdad to Al Hadhr, 1836-7," Jour. R. Geo. Soc., vol. ix. p. 443.

and to which we may add, bricks vitrified with bitumen, as are found at Rahábah, Babylon, and other ruins of the same epoch; bricks with impressions of straw, &c., sun-dried, burnt, and vitrified; and painted pottery with colours still very perfect; but after two hours' unsuccessful search by Messrs. Mitford, Layard, and myself, Mr. Rassám was the first to pick up a brick close to our station, on which were well-defined and indubitable arrow-headed characters.

"On leaving Kalah Sherghat we kept a little to the south. We travelled at a quick pace over a continuous prairie of grasses and flowering plants, till we arrived at a ridge of rocks which rose above the surrounding country, and were constituted of coarse marine limestones. From a mound, upon which were a few graves, we obtained a comprehensive view of that part of Mesopotamia, but without being able to distinguish the valley of the Tharthar or the ruins of Al Hadhr.

"Opinions as to the probable position of the latter were in favour of some mounds which were visible in the extreme distance to the south-west, and having great faith in the eyes of our Bedwín, who also took this view of the subject, we started in that direction, although the compass indicated a more northerly course. After two-and-a-quarter hours' quick travelling, still over prairies and undulating country, we came to the supposed ruins, which turned out to be bare hills of sandstone, the southern termination of a low ridge. Although pestered by sand-flies, we stopped a few moments and breakfasted on bread and wild leeks, which are abundant everywhere, and frequently enamel with their roseate and clustered umbels the lichen-clad space that intervened between the dark-green bushes of wormwood.

"Changing our route, we started to the north-west, in which direction we arrived, after one and a quarter hours' ride, at a valley bounded in places by rock terraces of gypsum, which indicated a wádí and a winter torrent, or actual water. To our joy we found the Tharthar flowing along the bottom of this vale, and to our great comfort the waters were very potable. The stream, though narrow, was deep, and hence with difficulty fordable; on its banks were a few reeds and scattered bushes of tamarisc. We proceeded up the stream in a direction in search of a ford, which we found after one hour's slow and irregular journey, and we lost half an hour refreshing ourselves with a bath. We afterwards followed the right bank of the stream, being unwilling, as evening was coming on, to separate ourselves, unless we actually saw Al Hadhr, from the water so necessary for ourselves and horses. The river soon came from a more westerly direction, flowing through a valley everywhere clad with a luxuriant vegetation of grasses, sometimes nearly half a mile in width, at others

only 300 or 400 yards, and again still more narrowed occasionally by terraces of gypsum.

"On the following morning rain overtook us in our sleep, which was otherwise unbroken even by dreams of Arabs, still less by their presence; indeed we had been hitherto as quiet as if travelling on the downs of Sussex. After holding a short consultation, we deemed it best to keep on up the river, but to travel a little inwards on the heights. This plan was attended with perfect success; and we had ridden only one hour and a half, when we perceived through the misty rain mounds, which we felt convinced were the sought-for ruins. Mr. Rassám and myself hurried on, but soon afterwards, perceiving a flock of sheep in the distance, we became aware of the presence of Arabs, who could be no other than the Shammár, so we waited for our friends and rode altogether into the kind of hollow in which Al Hadhr is situated. Here we perceived the tents of the Bedwíns extending far and wide within the ruins and without the walls. The ruins themselves presented a magnificent appearance, and the distance at which the tall bastions appeared to rise, as if by enchantment, out of the wilderness, excited our surprise. We were filled with a similar sense of wonder and admiration; no doubt in great part due not only to the splendour of the ruins, but also to the strange place where the traveller meets with them—'in mediâ solitudine.'"[1]

On one of the walls at Al Hadhr is the finely sculptured figure of a griffin, with twisted tail, about five feet from the ground, also *rilievi* of busts, birds, griffins, &c.; on the southern wall, about 10 feet from the ground, is a line of eight monsters, bulls with human heads, the relief reaching to the shoulders; they are full-faced, and about the size of life; a cornice is above; one hall is 32 paces long, and 12 broad, and the height must apparently have been 60 feet.

The party having made an elaborate examination of the ruins, and Layard having taken copies of various inscriptions, and sketches of some sculptures, they returned to Mosul.

[1] Ross, Journ. R. Geo. Soc. vol. ix.

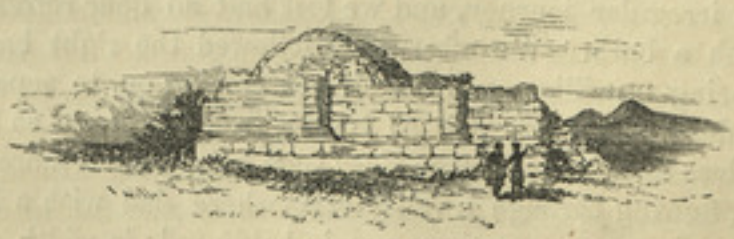


Fig. 26.—RUINS AT AL HADHR.

Fig. 27.—BIRS NIMROUD.

CHAPTER IV.

BABYLON, PERSEPOLIS, BESITHUN, NAHR-EL-KELB, AND CYPRUS.

However uncertain and meagre may be our general records of the History of Assyria, we have still existing in various countries several monuments which indisputably indicate the ancient extent of the empire. Cuneiform inscriptions, sculptures, and in some instances, ruins, have been disclosed, not merely in Babylonia, but in Persia, Media, Armenia, and Cyprus; and as some acquaintance with these remains will importantly assist in the investigation of the recent discoveries on the banks of the Tigris, we trust that the following short account of them, and of the localities where they are found, will not be misplaced:—

Having already, in the Historical Section, noticed the chief cities of Babylonia, those founded by Nimrod, we shall now limit ourselves simply to a cursory reference to the ruins of Babylon and of the other principal mounds in this part of Mesopotamia. The first and most important is the Birs Nimroud, which, if not originally distinct from Babylon itself, appears to have been the first to be separated from it. The square superficies of the mound is 49,000 feet, and its elevation at the south-east corner is 64 feet. To the south of it is the Mujallibeh, having a square superficies of 120,000 feet, and a height of only 28 feet; beyond these again is the mound Amram Ibn Ali, having an area of 104,000 feet, and an elevation of 23 feet. The Mujallibeh has been read as if it were Mukalliba, from Kilba, "the overturned, or overthrown," whereas a much nearer affinity exists in Mujallibeh, plural of Jalib, "a slave or captive, the house of the captives," and not improbably the residence of the Israelites who remained in Babylon.

This reading is favoured by the name Harút and Marút given to the mound by the natives, from a tradition, that near the foot of the ruin, there is an invisible pit, where D'Herbelot relates that the rebellious people are hung with their heels upwards until the Day of Judgment.[1]

The kasr, or palace, is a mound of about 2100 feet in length and breadth, and from the sculptures, inscribed bricks, and glazed and coloured tiles, found there, it is generally regarded as the site of the large palace celebrated for its hanging gardens. The Amram Ibn Ali has been plausibly identified with the western palace. These three groups of mounds were all enclosed by ridges and mounds of ramparts forming two lines of defence in the shape of a triangle of which the Mujallibeh was one solid angle; the other beyond Amram, and the third to the east. The fourth quarter is marked in its central space by the mound Al-Heimár, or Hamúr, an isolated eminence having a superficies of 16,000 feet, and an elevation of 44 feet, with a ruin on the summit eight feet high.[2] It is said that in the time of Alexander antique monuments abounded in the Lamlúm marshes, which are 76 miles south of Babylon, and Arian says, that the monuments or tombs of the Assyrian kings were reported to be placed in the marshes; a report nearly substantiated by the fact that Messrs. Frazer and Ross found glazed earthenware coffins on some of the existing mounds. Beyond Sarút, and below Kút Amarah, are the ruins of a bridge of masonry over the Tigris, which bridge was probably on the line of road attributed to Semiramis. At Teib, the road joins a causeway of considerable length, and it possibly terminated at or near Tel Heimár.[3] It is to be regretted that none of the researches in the mounds of Babylon have hitherto thrown any light on the structural arrangements of the Assyrian palaces; in the absence, therefore, of the details which might be anticipated, we must content ourselves with the foregoing brief mention of the mounds, and seek elsewhere for information in aid of the immediate purpose of the present chapter.

As the Persian empire grew out of the ruins of the Assyrian empire, and Persepolis, the capital of that empire, succeeded to those of Assyria, it is to Persepolis we should naturally direct our inquiries respecting the architecture of its predecessors; and, fortunately for our object, the ruins of Persepolis consist of those parts of the buildings which have entirely disappeared from the remains in Assyria, such as gates, columns and window-frames, besides the staircases of the great platform, and those of the lesser elevations. The

[1] Ainsworth's "Researches in Assyria," p. 169. [2] Ainsworth.
[3] Ainsworth's "Researches."

chief features of the ruins, however, are the tall, slender column which stand out prominently to view, from which the place has obtained the descriptive appellative of Tel el Minar, the "hill of minarets," the natives considering the columns of the palaces of the kings to resemble the minarets of the mosques. The remains of this magnificent capital lie in north latitude 29° 59′ 39″, east longitude 84°, and the appearance of the ruins, as approached from the south-west, is most imposing. They are situated at the base of a rugged mountain, and the artificial terrace on which they are built commands an immense plain, bounded on all sides by dark cliffs; the plain of the Merdasht is now, however, only a swampy wilderness, and a few solitary columns and scattered ruins are all that remain of the splendid city that once gave life and animation to the scene. It is to Sir Robert Ker Porter we are indebted for the most copious, accurate, and intelligent account of Persian antiquities in general, and to his Travels therefore must we turn for the best description of Persepolis. Sir Robert conjectures, from the mounds and fragments scattered about in various directions, that the capital originally extended from the pillared ruins along the whole foot of the mountain, connecting itself with Nakshi Roustam, and thence spreading over the plain to the north-west. The most conspicuous of the existing remains being the Tel-el-Minar, the palace thus described by Diodorus Siculus.[1] "This stately fabric, or citadel, was surrounded with a treble wall; the first was sixteen cubits high, adorned with many sumptuous buildings and aspiring turrets. The second was like to the first, but as high again as the other. The third was drawn like a quadrant, four square, sixty cubits high, all of the hardest marble, and so cemented as to continue for ever. On the four sides are brazen gates, near to which are gallows (or crosses of brass) of brass twenty cubits high; these were raised to terrify the beholders, and the other for the better strengthening and fortifying the place. On the east side of the citadel, about 400 feet distant, stood a mount called the Royal Mount, for here are all the sepulchres of the kings, many apartments and little cells being cut into the midst of the rock; into which cells there is no direct passage, but the coffins with the dead bodies are by instruments hoisted up, and so let down into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately lodgings, both for the king and his soldiers, of excellent workmanship, and treasury chambers most commodiously contrived for the laying up of money."

Sir Robert's investigations included that part of the mountain situated behind the platform which Diodorus describes, as this division

[1] Diod. Sic., bk. xvii. c. 7.

of the hill probably comprises the Royal Mount, where the tombs are found; and likewise on the ground above appear several mounds and stony heaps, marking three distinct lines of walls and towers. The artificial plain on which the ruins stand is of a very irregular shape, the west front being 1425 feet long; the north, 926; and the south, 802 feet. The surface has become very uneven from the fallen ruins and accumulated soil; but to the north-west masses of the native rock show themselves, still bearing the marks of the original implements with which the mass has been hewn. In the deeper cavities beyond the face of the artificial plain, a partially worked quarry is visible. Nothing can exceed the strength and beauty with which the rocky terrace has been constructed; its steep faces are formed of dark grey marble, cut into gigantic square blocks, exquisitely polished, and without mortar, fitted with such precision, that when first executed the platform must have appeared as part of the solid mountain itself. The present height of the platform from the plain is 30 feet; but Sir Robert's observations satisfied him that the clearing away of the rubbish would give an additional depth of 20 feet, and probably more; though, on the southern side, it could never have exceeded 30 feet; while to the north it varies from 16 to 26 feet. This artificial plain consists of three terraces, the lowest, embracing the entire length of the southern face, is 183 feet in width; the second contains the general area, and the most elevated was wholly covered with magnificent buildings. Along the edge of the lowest terrace appear fragments like a parapet wall, worked with the same colossal strength and gigantic proportions which distinguish the rest of the edifice; and, on the edge of the highest terrace to the south, are decided marks of a strong range of railing or palisadoes, the signs of which, however, cease at the top of the flight of steps which connect this terrace with the one beneath, two large holes being cut deeply in the stone at the top of the steps to receive the pivots of the gates that anciently closed this entrance. The only ascent from the plain to the summit of the platform is by a magnificent staircase situated on the western side, but not in the centre, for the mean distance is so much as 961 feet from the southern face, and only 208 feet from the northern (see 1 on plan). This staircase consists of a double flight of steps, rising from the north and south with so gentle an inclination, that Sir Robert Porter invariably rode his horse up and down them during his visits to the summit. Each step is 3½ inches high and 22 feet long, and the blocks of marble of which they are composed are so large as to allow 10 or 14 steps to be cut into each solid mass. In all they number 55, and the space they cover is

67 feet by 22 feet. On ascending the first flight, an irregular landing-place presents itself, of 37 feet by 44 feet, from whence springs a second flight formed of 48 steps, and covering 59 feet by 22 feet. A couple of corresponding staircases on the opposite side meet them, and terminate on the grand level of the platform by a landing-place occupying 64 feet, so that the whole extent of the base from end to end was 388 feet, while a line dropped from the upper landing produced a distance of 29 feet; but there can be no doubt that the present visible height of the platform is not much more than half its original elevation from the plain, so that the length of the flights must have been abridged in the same manner. On reaching the platform, the lofty front of an immense portal (see 2 on plan) at once presents itself, the interior faces or jambs being sculptured into the forms of two colossal bulls looking towards the west. They are elevated five feet above the level of the platform, and at a considerable height over their backs are small compartments filled with arrow-headed inscriptions. The heads of the bulls are entirely gone, and there are no remains of any cornice or roof which may have connected the gateway at the top. The dimensions of each wall forming the side of the portal are, breadth five feet, length 21 feet, and height 30 feet; the walls are 12 feet apart, and the space between them is flagged with beautifully polished slabs cut from the neighbouring rock. Proceeding through the portal 24 feet in a direct line, Sir Robert found the remains of four magnificent columns (see 3 on plan); they are placed 22 feet apart, and 24 feet beyond them is yet a second portal (see 4 on plan), resembling the first, except that the length is only 18 feet, and that the bulls have wings, and human heads with cylindrical caps surmounted with a coronet and roses, and surrounded by three bull's-horns, in all respects almost identical with the symbolic images since found at Khorsabad. At the distance of 162 feet to the right of this portal stands the magnificent terrace that supports the multitude of columns from which it takes its name. One object alone arrests attention in our progress, namely, a cistern in dimensions 18 feet by 16 feet, hewn out of the solid rock; it was filled with water by means of subterraneous aqueducts, and as another of these subterranean channels runs in a parallel line to the west, a corresponding reservoir probably lay in that direction. Sir Robert says that "on drawing near the Chehel Minar, or Palace of Forty Pillars, the eye is riveted by the grandeur and beautiful decorations of the flights of steps which lead up to them. This superb approach (see 5 on plan) consists of a double staircase, projecting considerably

before the northern face of the terrace, the whole length being 212 feet, and at each extremity, east and west, rises another range of steps; again about the middle, and projecting from it 18 feet, appear two smaller flights rising from the same points, where the extent of the range, including a landing place of 20 feet, amounts to 86 feet. The ascent is extremely gradual, each flight containing only thirty low steps, none exceeding four inches in height, the tread 14 inches, and the length 16 feet. The whole front of the advanced range is covered with sculpture," the space immediately under the landing-place being divided into three compartments. The centre may probably once have contained an inscription; in that to the left are four standing figures habited in long robes and buskins; they wear a fluted flat-topped cap, from their shoulders hang their bow and quiver, and they hold in both hands a short spear. On the right of the centre tablet are three similar figures facing towards the others; they, however, have neither bows nor quivers, but carry only the spear with the addition of a shield resembling a Bœotian buckler on the left arm. . . . . "As this seems to have been the grand approach to the palace above, doubtless the spearmen just described must have been intended to pourtray the royal guards, the fashion of whose dress perfectly accords with the account given of it by Herodotus (Terpsichore, c. 49.)" Sir Robert remarks that he did not find anything like what we should call a sword, and that Herodotus makes no mention of a sword, though Xenophon does (Cyrop. viii.) On the side corresponding with the slope of the stairs, runs a line of figures 21 inches high, answering in number to the steps, each one of which appears to form a pedestal for its relative figure. A narrow border of open roses finishes the upper edge of the frieze, while an equal number of figures ornament the interior face of the same staircase. "Two angular spaces, on each side of the corresponding groups of spearmen described on the surface of the staircase, are filled with duplicate representations of a fight between a lion and a bull." The objects on the face of the next flight of stairs include, in the triangular space formed by the slope of the stairs, a repetition of the contest between the lion and the bull, occupying a length of 23 feet. It is divided by an almost obliterated inscription, which reaches nearly from top to bottom. From this tablet commence the lines of three rows of sculpture, covering an expanse of 68 feet, and terminating at the top of the steps of the outward approach. Of the upper row only the lower extremities remain, the rest having risen above the level of the terrace to form a kind of parapet, which is now entirely broken away, though vestiges of it may be seen scattered over the

ground below. A border of roses separates each row of bas-reliefs, which consists of an officer introducing a procession of people bearing implements and tribute (see Xenophon's description of first grand procession of Cyrus.—Cyrop. viii.) Each figure carries a lotos, the symbol of divinity, purity, and abundance, and regarded by the Persians with peculiar sanctity. "On ascending the platform on which the Palace of Chehel Minar once stood, nothing can be more striking than a view of its ruins; so vast and magnificent, so fallen and mutilated and silent. The immense space of the upper platform stretches to north and south 350 feet, and from east to west 380, the greater part of which is covered with broken capitals, shafts, and pillars, and countless fragments of buildings; some of which are richly ornamented with the most exquisite sculpture." The pillars were distributed in four divisions, a centre of six deep every way, a northern division consisting of a double rank, six in each, equidistant from one another, and falling 20 feet back from the landing-place of the stairs; and two similar divisions of twelve columns arranged in double ranks flanking each of the sides east and west. "On the western side (6 on plan), they seem on the brink of a precipice, for there this upper terrace rises stupendously from the plain beneath; its perpendicular on that face descending directly to the level earth, whereas the base of the other three sides meets the intervention of the vast table surface of the great platform," on which this more elevated part is superimposed. From the western to the eastern range (No. 8), the distance is 268 feet. The form of these columns is the same in all, and very beautiful (Fig. 28.); the total height of each is 60 feet, the circumference of the shaft 16, and its length from the base to the capital 44; the shaft is finely fluted, the lower extremity being bound by a cincture, from whence devolved the pedestal in the form of the cup and leaves of a pendant lotus.

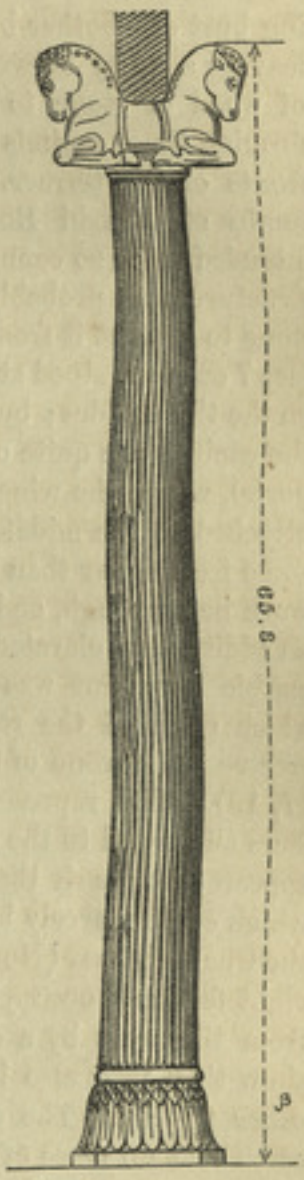


Fig. 28.—PERSEPOLITAN COLUMN.

The capitals which remain show that they were once surmounted

by an upper capital in the form of the head, breast, and bent forelegs of a bull, richly ornamented with collars and other trappings; which bust-like portion of the animal is united at the back to a corresponding bust of another bull, both joining just behind the shoulders, but leaving a cavity between, sufficient to admit the end of a square beam of wood or stone, to connect the colonnade. The heads of the bulls forming these capitals take the direction of the faces of the respective fronts of the terrace. Sir Robert observes, that the posts of the tombs at Nakshi Roustam afford evidence that the pillars were intended to be so connected, and he likewise suggests that the superstructure was probably of timber, overlaid with a thin covering of stone to protect it from the weather. The centre body of 36 columns (see 7 on plan) stood at a distance of 60 feet from the double colonnades on the three sides; but the height of the columns is only 55 feet, and the capitals are quite of a different character, resembling those at the portal, where the winged bull is so conspicuous. Another peculiarity attached to the middle group of columns is, that their pedestals rise some feet higher than those by which they are surrounded, the stonework being rough, and projecting in unshapen blocks, as if to sustain an additionally elevated pavement, whence it may be supposed that the marble pavement was covered with a flooring of some costly wood which enclosed the rough pedestals, and on which might have been erected the throne of the king (See 1 Kings vii. 3—7; 2 Chron. ix. 17, 19). The representations of processions bearing tribute, the faces all turned to the entrance which fronted this group of columns, appeared to mark their approach thither to some important object, which could scarcely be less than the king. The nearest building to the Chehel Minar (No. 9), stands upon a terrace elevated about seven or eight feet, and occupying a space of 170 feet by 95. It is approached from the west by a double flight of stairs, the fragments of which show that they also had been decorated with sculptured guards and other figures. The eastern side is so heaped with fallen ruins and earth that no trace of stairs is visible, but to the south the whole face of the terrace which sustains this structure is occupied with a superb flight (No. 10), the landing-place of which embraces nearly 48 feet by 10. The front is divided by an inscribed tablet, on each side of which stand spearmen of gigantic height. Upon ascending this terrace we find towards the north an open space 65 feet wide, on which appear the foundations of some narrow walls; and on each side of this space 40 feet towards the south, stand two lofty entrances of four upright solid blocks of marble of a nearly black colour; within the portals of each, as in all the portals that seem like public entrances into hall

and chamber throughout these ruins, are bas-reliefs of two guards. On the immediate verge of the landing-place from the western flight of steps, we enter a portal of these guards; and at a very few paces onward pass through a second doorway into a room (No. 9), 48 feet square. From this chamber two doors open to the north, two to the west, one to the south, and formerly two to the east, and all have on their several sides duplicate bas-reliefs of a royal personage, with two attendants, one of whom holds an umbrella; inscriptions are over the heads of all these groups. On three sides of the room are several niches, each excavated in one solid stone, to a depth of three feet; five in height, and six in width; they have been highly polished, and upright lines of cuneiform run along their edges. Opening to the south in the entire thickness of the wall, five feet, are four windows, ten feet high; and finally this room contains three bas-reliefs, consisting of single combats between a man and a lion; a man and a griffin; and a man and an animal with the head of a wolf, the fore legs and body of a lion, neck scaled or feathered, wings which extend nearly to its tail, which is formed of a series of bones like the vertebræ of the back, hind legs like an eagle, and crooked horn projecting from its head. There is a division (No. 12) of the building open to the south 48 feet by 30 feet, and terminating on each side on the landing of the stairs by two square pillars, of one block of marble, 22 feet high, covered in different ranges with a variety of inscriptions, Cuphic, cuneiform, Arabic, and Persian. Traces of a double colonnade are still visible along the open space which lies between the western brink of the great terrace, and the western face of the building. "We have now," says Sir Robert, "mentioned the ascent of three terraces from the natural ground of the plain,—first, the grand platform which supports all the others; second, the Chehel Minar terrace; third, the terrace that sustains the edifice of the double chambers last described. A fourth elevation of the same kind presents itself at 96 feet to the south of the preceding. Its summit is on a level with the last .... and a flight of sadly mutilated steps in two ascents of 15 each, is found at the north-west corner; on these are the vestiges of much fine bas-relief decoration. On the plane of the terrace is a square of 96 feet; 38 feet of the western side was occupied by the depth of the approaches just described, whence ran along in direct lines (No. 13) the bases of 10 columns, their diameter being three feet three inches, and standing 10 feet equidistant from each other: doubtless there was a continued piazza along every side: 58 feet of this terrace at its south-west angle is surmounted by an additional square elevation, the whole depth of which from the summit to the

base, is 62 feet; and above its upper surface, are the lower parts of 12 pillars, divided into three rows, of the same diameter and distance from each other as those in the neighbouring colonnade."

Immediately beyond this comparatively small terrace rises a fifth and much more extensive elevation, of which the plan seems to indicate part of the dwelling quarters of the royal residence, for the different offices were not only divided into courts, but were often distinct buildings. The site of this fifth terrace rises, even now, upwards of 20 feet above the level of the vast foundation; beginning at the southern side, we find at the eastern and western ends two flights of narrow steps (No. 18) descending to a lower level of 30 feet. Several faces of the building are, at present, only marked by their foundations, with the exception of one window to the west, and three to the east; which open into a couple of corresponding wings, each subdivided into three spacious apartments, the outer ones alone communicating with the external pillared courts (No. 16). In the centre of these courts stand the plinths of four small columns, two feet six inches in diameter, but placed at a distance from each other of six feet, and 16 feet from the door that leads into a noble hall of 90 feet square, the pavement of which is marked by the sites of 36 pillars, three feet three inches in diameter; a corresponding door on the opposite side of the hall conducts into the second open court of four pillars (No. 16). Another portal leads to the south, and a fourth and fifth to the north into a large vestibule (No.15) the whole width of the hall, and supported by eight similar columns. Two doors from the vestibule pointing east and west lead into six smaller rooms, and from similar foundations they probably joined others still more to the north: the windows are each formed of four large blocks of marble, the thickness of the walls six feet, in height they are four feet eight inches, and in width three feet six inches; on the inner faces of those that light the rooms are duplicate bas-reliefs occupying the whole surface, and consisting of two figures in each. Of other buildings upon the great platform is one 210 feet square (No. 21), entered on each side by doors guarded by colossal statues of bulls (No. 22) on pedestals, 18 feet in length by five feet in height. Two of the doors are adorned with sculpture, the highest compartment containing the king seated on a chair of state, with a footstool at his feet, and over his head a canopy with borders of lions and bulls: behind the king stand his fan-bearer, armour-bearer, and a third attendant, and beneath him are five successive ranges of guards, each range being separated from that above by a border of rosettes: the whole friezes indicating, according to the surmise of Sir Robert, the throne on an elevation of five steps, with the ranks of guards who

stood before it; six of the remaining doors of this edifice are sculptured with colossal double guards; while on four others are sculptured human figures in combat with lions and other animals.

Adjoining the terraced platform, and about a quarter of a mile east of the Tel el Minar, are two excavated tombs, 72 feet broad by 130 feet high, resembling those at Nakshi Roustam, which we shall briefly describe. For further details of the ruins of Persepolis, we must refer to the accompanying plan.

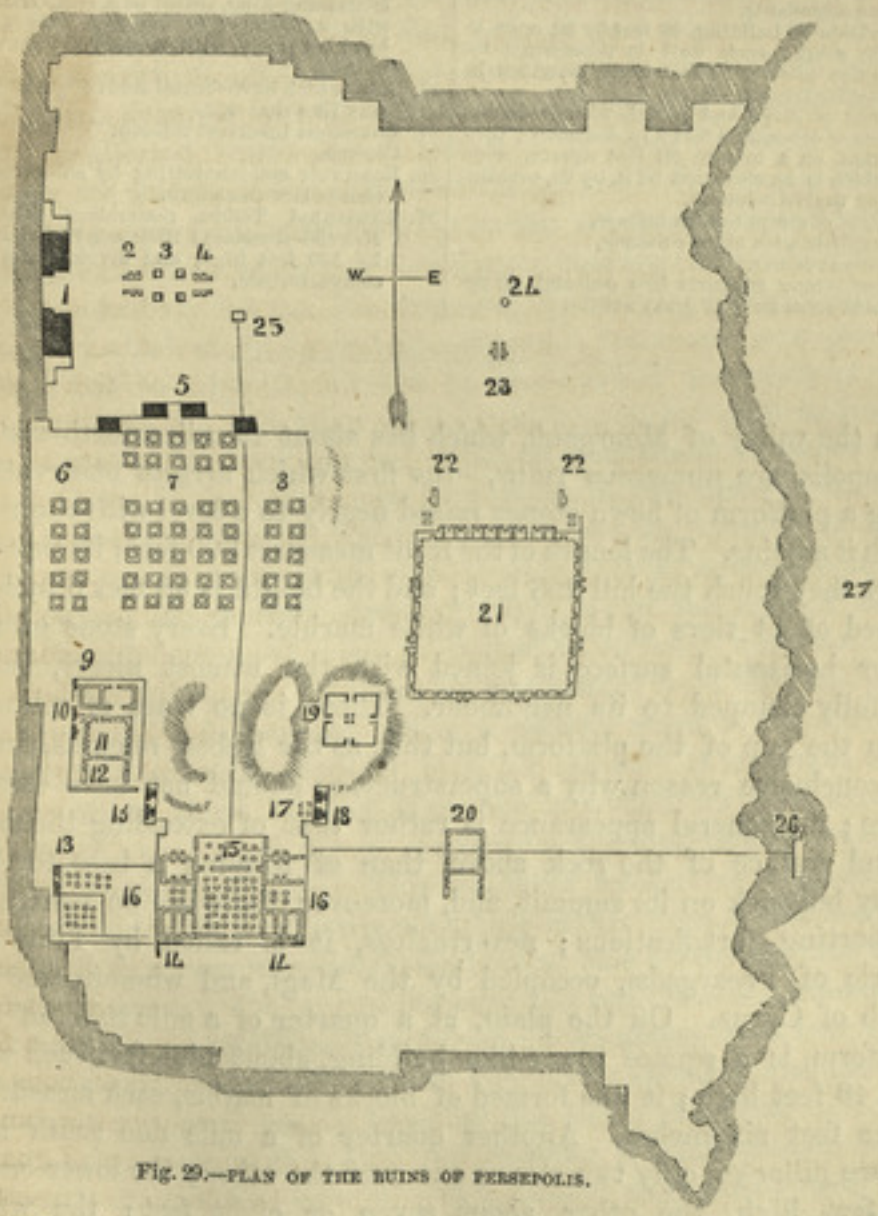


Fig. 29.—PLAN OF THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS.

1. Double stair-case to ascend the great platform. Western side.
2. Bulls at entrance of portal.
3. Four columns forming part of hall of entrance.
4. Bulls, with human heads and wings, belonging to the eastern end of portal.
5. Double flight of stairs to Tel el Minar.
6. Western colonnade of ditto.
7. Centre columns of ditto.

8. Eastern colonnade of ditto.
9. Building on second platform 7 or 8 feet above the level of that of Tel el Minar, and double flight of stairs at sides towards the open country, and leading to a portal, with guards holding spear and shield.
10. Flight of stairs to landing, 48 feet by 10. On the open space at the side, appear foundations of narrow walls: at the side of the building facing this open space are lofty entrances of four solid upright blocks of marble.
11. Room 48 feet square, entered at the portals with guards, as at 9, and on north by doorways, on which are bas-reliefs of king and two attendants.
12. Division of building, 48 feet by 30, open to the south; each wall is terminated by square pillars, 22 feet high, inscribed in four languages.
13. Flight of steps and portal, whence double line of columns 3 feet 3 in diameter; they stand on a terrace 96 feet square, upon which is an elevation 58 ft. by 62, containing twelve columns.
14. Flight of stairs to fifth terrace.
15. Vestibule with eight columns.
16. Pillared courts.
17. Four strong supports like pedestals to uphold some body of great weight.
18. Two flights of narrow steps descending to a lower level.
19. Colossal masses of stone forming sides of large portals leading into an edifice 96 feet square; on the interior face of that to the east, are sculptured three figures, 12 feet in height; in the centre are four pillars.
20. Quadrangular building 48 feet square, upon the level of great platform and adjoining chamber open to the south. This edifice was lighted by a range of lofty windows.
21. Structure 210 feet square.
22. Colossal Bulls on pedestals 18 feet in length by 5 in height. They are near doors adorned with sculpture, one compartment containing king, seated on a chair of state, with a footstool at his feet. Over his head a canopy, with borders of lions and bulls.
23. Bulls which have formed sides of great gateway like that at 2.
24. Enormous insulated column.
25. Cistern.
26. Reservoir communicating by subterranean channels with cistern.
27. Excavated Tombs resembling those at Naksh-i-Roustam; they are 72 feet broad by 130 feet high, and divided into two compartments.

In the valley of Mourgaub, which lies about 49 miles north-east of Persepolis, are numerous ruins,—the first which arrests observation being a platform of hewn stones raised nearly to a level with the rock which it adjoins. The length of the front measures 300 feet; its sides to where they touch the hill 298 feet; and the height is 38 feet 6 inches, formed of 14 tiers of blocks of white marble. Every stone of the upper horizontal surface is joined with the utmost nicety, being carefully clamped to its neighbour. There is no trace of columns upon the top of the platform, but this, as Sir Robert remarks, forms no conclusive reason why a superstructure should not have existed there; its general appearance is rather that of extending the horizontal surface of the rock above, than of forming a base for any heavy bulwark on its summit, and, moreover, there are no vestiges of supporting fortifications; nevertheless, it is called by Pliny the Castle of Pasargadæ, occupied by the Magi, and wherein was the tomb of Cyrus. On the plain, at a quarter of a mile S.W. of this platform, is a square tower-like building, about nine feet each way, and 49 feet high; it was formed of blocks of marble, each measuring three feet six inches. Another quarter of a mile due south is a square pillar of only two stones one over the other; the lower one is 12 feet high, the other about seven or eight feet; the whole terminated above with some broken work like a ledge. The faces were each nearly four feet wide, and on that towards the north was

an inscription of four lines in the arrow-headed character. Proceeding S.E. for rather more than a quarter of a mile, a low mound is reached, which bore evident marks of having been ascended by steps. From the centre of it rises a perfectly round column finely polished, the base is buried in rubbish, and the capital is gone, but the length of the shaft is not less than 40 or 50 feet, and the circumference measures 10 feet. A spacious marble platform supports this immense fragment, the square shape of its area being marked by four pillars of similar style and dimensions to that just described. The four are distant from each other 108 feet, and on one side of each was an inscription which labelled several parts of these ruins, there being no difference between any of them. A third mass of marble, in a yet more mutilated state, stands 30 feet in front of these, dividing exactly the middle of the surface of the square. The couple of stones remaining are both inscribed. On the south-east is an immense platform elevation belonging to a former building, now entirely swept away, and which but for one fragment could only be marked by the bases on which stood its ancient columns. Its shape is a parallelogram, 150 feet by 81, divided by two rows of pedestals of white marble, with the exception of one which is of the dark rock of the country, and six feet square. The sizes of these pedestals varied from three to four feet, and they were 15 feet apart; but in the transverse way towards the centre they left an opening of 21 feet and an equal space from side to side. This inequality in their dimensions, Sir Robert surmises, might, as in the case of the Tel el Minar, be intended, some to support an elevated floor, and others to sustain columns. At about six feet distant from the N.E. side of the building, and standing out in a parallel point to its centre, is a square pillar perfectly distinct from all others. It is formed of one single block, about 15 feet high, and is sculptured with a curious bas-relief surmounted by a compartment containing a repetition of the usual inscription. This bas-relief consists of a profile of a man clothed in a long garment fitting rather close to the body, and bordered by a wavy fringe and small roses; this bordering runs up the side of the dress to the bend of the arm. His right arm is upraised, with his hand open and elevated, and from his shoulders issue four wings; two, spreading on each side, reach high above his head, and the other two are depressed, nearly touching his feet. His head is covered with a cap, close to the skull, and showing a small portion of hair beneath it, and the hair is short, bushy, and curled with great regularity. The most singular part of the sculpture, however, is the Egyptian ornament upon his head which we have given in a previous

chapter (see p. 77). The figure from head to foot measures seven feet, and the width of the stone where he stands is five feet two inches.[1]

At the distance of about a mile S.W. of these remains is found a quadrangle of about 60 or 80 feet on every side, a great gate appearing to have opened from it to the S.E. A continued range of small dark chambers even with the ground runs along the four sides of this square, with each a door scarcely four feet high opening into the quadrangle; over the flat lintel of these cell-like entrances lies a huge stone, much larger every way than the doors were in length. About 200 yards further south rises the structure called by the natives the tomb of the mother of Solomon, but which is now generally recognised as the tomb of Cyrus, which our space will not allow us to describe. Before visiting the mountain of sepulchres at Naksh-i-Roustam, Sir Robert examined what is called in the neighbourhood Tacht-e-Taoosht, Hareem of Jamshid, a high piece of ground, on which we see a magnificent and solitary column nearly resembling those at Persepolis, standing pre-eminent over a crowd of ruins which had evidently belonged to some very ancient and stately edifice. Seven similar columns were lying on the ground, and a few yards N.E. of them are remains of thick walls, and yet unmutilated marble work of several large door-frames. The entire surface of this terrace is covered with mounds of ruins of apparently two distinct edifices, a palace and a temple, with evidences besides of fortifications. Leaving this platform the next object Sir Robert investigated was the Naksh-i-Roustam. The face of the mountain is almost a perpendicular cliff scarcely less than 300 yards high; of a whitish kind of marble, in which have been cut the sculptures and excavations placed very near each other, and within the space of not quite the height of the mountain. Those highest on the rock are four, and evidently intended for tombs, one being supposed to be that of Darius Hystaspes. A they present no exterior differences we may suppose that they vary but little within, so that a description of one may generally describe them all. The one examined by Sir Robert consists of an excavation of about 14 feet, in a form something resembling the Greek cross, the upright division of which could not be less than 100 feet from end to end. The transverse lines present the front of the tomb, and the highest compartment is thickly sculptured with figures. The entire front occupies a breadth of 53 feet, and it is ornamented by four pilasters about seven feet apart, and the same distance from the caverned side of the excavation. The bases terminate by a plinth projecting about eighteen inches, and the shafts are crowned by the

[1] Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 492.

double bulls before described, the only difference being that a horn issues from the foreheads of these. An additional capital (composed of three square stones piled on each other, the smallest and lowest fitting into the cavity between the bull's necks, and the largest stone at the top) supports an architrave without any decoration excepting a row of modillons near its upper edge. Between the two centre pilasters is the entrance, of which the door-frame is finely proportioned, having a carved and projecting architrave fluted and divided into leaves; the greater part of the apparent door is only marked like one, the entrance being confined to a square space of four feet six inches high in its lower compartment. The division above the front of the tomb is the excavation which contains the friezes, and is cut into a sort of frame enclosing them. The representation within consists of a double row of 14 figures, each with their hands raised over their heads, supporting two beautiful cornices: they are all habited in short tunics confined at the waist by a belt, some having a dagger hanging from it. Each side of the structure is furnished with a pillar which may be divided into four parts: the base resembles an urn, on which rests the huge paw and limb of a lion, descending from the columnar part of the pillar, which is fluted horizontally half way up; and from its summit issue the head and shoulders of the unicorn bull, but without ornaments. The back of the neck unites it with the highest cornice, so that the head and shoulders rise higher than the top of the structure. On this top stands a figure elevated on a pedestal of three steps. He is dressed in flowing robes; in his left hand he holds a bow, and his right arm is stretched half out with his hand quite open; he wears bracelets; and his head is bare, and bushily curled behind, while his beard flows upon his breast. Opposite to this figure is an altar charged with the sacred fire, and high over it an aerial personage, called, by Sir Robert, the Ferouher and resembling the symbols we have so constantly seen at Nimroud. This ornamental elevation, as we have said, is comprised within a square frame; on the remaining exterior surfaces are figures three deep, those to the right of the altar being armed with spears, while those on the left have their hands raised to their faces, as if wiping away their tears. The only way to reach the tomb with the purpose of entering it, was to be hauled up by a rope tied round the waist; and Sir Robert did not hesitate at this expedient. On entering the tomb through the opening in the lower compartment of the door, he found himself in a vaulted chamber, at the further extremity of which were three arched recesses, which occupy the whole length of the chamber, each containing a trough-like cavity cut down into

the rock, and covered with a stone of corresponding dimensions. The length of the cave which forms the whole tomb is 34 feet, its height nine; each catacomb containing the cavity for the body is also nine feet; length of Sarcophagus cavity eight feet three inches by five feet; depth four feet four inches; the rest of the height being contained in the bend of the arch. The open space of the chamber between the catacombs and the door, is about five feet, and the entrance had originally been closed by a block or blocks of stone, the deep holes which received their pivots being visible on each side. Of the three remaining tombs, that which is furthest eastward is cut in a receding angle of the rock and faces the west; the second from this is the only one whereon marks of inscription can be traced, but over the whole tablet of the upper compartment, arrow-headed letters are visible wherever they could be traced. Strabo mentions and gives part of the inscription upon the tomb of Darius Hystaspes. The sculptures on the higher range belong to early Persian kings, while those of the lower range are attributed to the Arsacedian and Sassanian races; and it is strange how the taste of the artists degenerated after they had been so long subjected to the Greeks, who were famed as masters in design and execution. As these, however, contain no cuneiform inscription, we do not enter into Sir Robert's copious description of them; but at once direct our course to where such inscriptions have been found, in other countries.

As ancient Media contains the most valuable of the inscribed records of Assyria, the first we shall notice is the mysterious stone in the side of Mount Elwand; which consists of an immense block of red granite, of the choicest and finest texture, and apparently of many tons weight. At full ten feet from the ground, two square excavations appear in the face of the stone, cut to the depth of a foot, about five feet in breadth, and much the same in height. Each of these imperishable tablets contains three columns of engraved arrow-headed writing in the most excellent preservation. Several deep holes appeared in the stone close to the edge of the excavations, showing where iron fastenings have been inserted to secure cross bars, or some other shield from outward injury. The natives think that these writings are the history of the treasure which is reserved for him who can decipher them.[1]

Along the slopes of the Elwand, the ancient Orontes, is the elevated district of Hamadan, situated in a cultivated amphitheatre, shaded with elms, poplars, firs, &c., at the foot of the picturesque Elwand. This mountain is covered with verdure almost to the snow-clad peak, and abounds with springs, in addition to the fine stream which

[1] Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 120.

traverses the town. Arrow-headed inscriptions mark the antiquity of a site (the Narwend, Morier, p. 264-7), generally considered to be that of Ecbatana, the capital of Media Magna. It boasts the castle of Darius, the sepulchres of Esther and Mordecai, with the tomb of the philosopher and physician, *Avicenna*.[1] In the castle or palace of Ecbatana was found the original grant or instrument of Cyrus, allowing the Jews to return and settle in their own country.[2] Sir Robert Porter discovered the broken shaft and base of a fluted column at Ecbatana, which satisfied him that the architecture of the city was identical with that of Persepolis; the flowing leaf of the lotus covered the whole of the pedestal, and its shape resembled the ranges of columns on the platform of Tact-e-Jemshid (vol. ii., p. 115). The object of the inscriptions at Hamadan appears to be merely such as induces travellers to cut their names in localities difficult of access. The legends were probably engraved on the occasion of one of the annual journeys which the monarchs made between Babylon and Ecbatana, their chief interest consisting in the indication they afford of the ancient line of communication crossing Mount Orontes. This road was ascribed in antiquity to Semiramis, and Colonel Rawlinson assured himself, from minute examination, that throughout its whole extent it presents unequivocal marks of having been artificially and most laboriously constructed.[3]

We shall now direct our course to Behistun, near Kermanshah, as the tablets found there, being trilingual, have furnished the key to the interpretation of all other Assyrian inscriptions, and consequently possess higher interest than any others yet discovered. The sacred rock of Behistun, or Besitoon, on the western frontiers of Media, situated on the high road conducting from Babylonia to the eastward, must, in all ages, have attracted the observation of travellers. "It rises," says Colonel Rawlinson, "abruptly from the plain, to a perpendicular height of 1700 feet, and its aptitude for holy purposes was not to be neglected by that race which made

> Their altars the high places, and the peaks
> Of earth-o'er-gazing mountains."

It was named Bagistan, "the place of Baga," in reference, as Rawlinson suggests, to Ormazd, the chief of the Bagas, or supreme deity. According to Diodorus, "When Semiramis had finished all her works, she marched with a great army into Media, and encamped near to a mountain called Bagistan; there she made a garden twelve furlongs in compass; it was in a plain champaign country, and had a

[1] Chesney. [2] Ezra, vi., 2. [3] R. As. Jour. vol. x., p. 320.

great fountain in it, which watered the whole garden. Mount Bagistan is dedicated to Jupiter, and, towards one side of the garden, has steep rocks seventeen furlongs from the top to the bottom. She cut out a piece of the lower part of the rock, and caused her own image to be carved upon it, and a hundred of her guards that were lanceteers standing round about her. She wrote likewise in Syriac letters upon the rock, *That Semiramis ascended from the plain to the top of the mountain by laying the packs and fardels of the beasts that followed her one upon another.*"[1] "The precipitous rock," says Rawlinson,[2] "seventeen stadia high, facing the garden, the large spring gushing out from the foot of the precipice, and watering the adjoining plain, and the smoothing of the lower part of the rock, all convey an accurate idea of the present appearance of Behistun. But what can we say of the sculptures of Semiramis and the inscription in Syriac characters? There are only two tablets at Behistun; the one nearly destroyed, which contains a Greek inscription, declaring it to be the work of Gozartes, and the other a Persepolitan sculpture, which is adorned by nearly a thousand lines of cuneiform character."

Sir Robert Ker Porter informs us that the lower part of the rock "has been smoothed to a height of 100 feet and to a breadth of 150 feet; beneath which projects a rocky terrace of great solidity, embracing the same extent from end to end of the smooth cliff above, and sloping gradually in a shelving direction to the level of the ground below. Its base for some way up is faced with large hewn stones, and vast numbers of the same, some in a finished, and others in a progressive state, lie scattered about in every direction, evidently intended to build up and complete the front to its higher level. . . . About fifty yards from this rocky platform, more towards the bridge and at the foot of the mountain, bursts a beautifully clear stream, and just over its fountain head, on a broad protruding mass of the rock, the remains of an immense piece of sculpture are still visible." . . . The first figure carries a spear, and is in the full Median habit, altogether resembling the guards at Persepolis. The second is similarly attired, but has, in addition, a quiver slung at his back, bracelets, and holds a bent bow in his right hand; and the third personage is of much larger stature, a usual distinction of royalty in oriental description, and his costume resembles that seen on the king at Naksh-i-Roustam and Persepolis. His right hand is elevated, and his left grasps a bow, which, together with his foot, rests on the body of a prostrate man, who lies on his back, with outstretched arms, supplicating for mercy. This unhappy personage is succeeded by nine others, all having their

[1] Diod. Sic., b. ii. c. 1.

[2] Jour. R. Geog. Soc., vol. ix.

hands tied behind their backs, and they are united together by a cord tied round their necks to the extremity of the line. Their costume is similar to that seen at Persepolis, consisting sometimes of a short tunic and belt round the waist, sometimes of long robes, in some instances trowser or booted appearance about the legs; but the ninth is distinguished by wearing a prodigiously high pointed cap, and by more ample hair and beard. "In the air, over the heads of the centre figures, appears the floating intelligence in his circle and car of sunbeams. Above the head of each individual in this bas-relief is a compartment, with an inscription in the arrow-headed writing, most probably descriptive of the characters and situation of each person, and immediately below the sculpture are two lines in the same language, running the whole length of the group. Under these again the excavation is continued to a considerable extent, containing eight deep and closely-written columns."[1]

That the utmost pains had been taken to ensure the permanency of the record, is evident from its elevated position; the ascent of the rock being so precipitous, that in its natural state it must have been altogether unapproachable without the aid of a scaffold. Colonel Rawlinson remarks, that "the labour bestowed on the whole work must have been enormous. The mere preparation of the surface of the rock must have occupied many months; and, on examining the tablets minutely, I observed an elaborateness of workmanship which is not to be found in other places. Wherever, in fact, from the unsoundness of the stone, it was difficult to give the necessary polish to the surface, other fragments were inlaid, imbedded in molten lead, and the fittings were so nicely managed, that a very careful scrutiny is required, at present, to detect the artifice. Holes or fissures, which perforated the work, were filled up also with the same material, and the polish which was bestowed on the entire sculpture could only have been accomplished by mechanical means. . . . The inscriptions, for extent, for beauty of execution, for uniformity and correctness, are perhaps unequalled in the world." Rawlinson assigns the palm of merit to the Median writing, and infers from thence the employment of a Median artist; at the same time, however, the Persian transcript is superior to any he had met with at Persepolis or Hamadan, and the Babylonish legends are hardly below the standard of the usual tablets. He especially noticed "a very extraordinary device which has been employed apparently to give a finish and durability to the writing. It was, that after the engraving of the rock had been accomplished, a coating of siliceous varnish had been

[1] Porter's Travels, vol. ii., p. 150.

laid on, to give a clearness of outline to each individual letter, and to protect the surface against the action of the elements. This varnish is of infinitely greater hardness than the limestone rock beneath it. It has been washed down in several places by the trickling of water for three-and-twenty centuries, and it lies in flakes upon the foot-ledge like thin layers of lava. It adheres in other portions of the tablet to the broken surface, and still shows with sufficient distinctness the forms of the characters, although the rock beneath is entirely honeycombed and destroyed. It is only, indeed, in the great fissures caused by the outbursting of natural springs, and in the lower part of the tablet, where I suspect artificial mutilation, that the varnish has entirely disappeared." [1]

Among the sites of inscriptions visited by Colonel Rawlinson, is the Pass of Keli Shin, in the Khurdistan mountains, which separate the plains of Mesopotamia from Azerbijan and Lake Urumiyeh. He says that he "found, upon a little eminence by the side of the road, and nearly at the highest point of the pass, the famous Keli Shin, the stories of which had long excited his curiosity. . . . The Keli Shin is a pillar of dark blue stone, six feet in height, two feet in breadth, and one foot in depth, rounded off at the top and at the angles, and let into a pediment consisting of one solid block of the same sort of stone, five feet square, and two feet deep."

"On the broad face of the pillar fronting the east, there is a cuneiform inscription of 41 lines, but no other trace of sculpture or device to be seen." . . . "At the distance of five hours from the pass which he ascended, there is a precisely similar pillar, denominated also Keli Shin (in Kurdish, the blue pillar), upon the summit of the second range, which overlooks the town and district of Sidek. This is also engraved with a long cuneiform inscription. . . . The chief value he attaches at present to these two interesting relics of antiquity, is the determination which they afford of a great line of communication existing in ancient days across the mountains. This line could only have been used to connect two great capitals, and these capitals must then necessarily have been Nineveh and Ecbatana." [2]

The next inscriptions of importance, of which we have record, are those in Armenia, on the shores of Lake Ván, near the ruins still called by the natives Shemiramgerd, or City of Semiramis. The tradition runs, that when Semiramis had successfully terminated the war in Armenia, she was so struck with the beautiful scenery of the Sea Akthamar (Lake Ván), that she forthwith employed

[1] Jour. R. As. Soc. vol. x., c. iv., p. 187. [2] Idem.

12,000 workmen, under 600 overseers or architects, in building a magnificent city, which subsequently became her summer residence. In Moses Choronenses' History of Armenia, he describes the caverns, columns, and inscriptions which formed part of the works; and Professor Schulze, who copied forty-two of these inscriptions, 1827-8, deciphered the word "Shemiram," in several of these, particularly in one which is written in the arrow-headed characters;[1] so that the dominion of the Assyrian queen of Armenia can no longer be said to rest wholly upon tradition. Most of the inscriptions were found on a kind of platform, which had formed the base of ancient structures: others were found in caverns, and one of eighty-eight lines was at such an elevation, as to be difficult of access. Inscriptions were found altogether in fifteen places, one of which was Khorkhor, on the south-western side of the castle of Van, and another upon a rock on the banks of the stream called Schemiram, which flows into the lake. The most important of these records was engraved on a large square tablet, 60 feet above the plain; it was divided, by perpendicular lines, into three columns of cuneiform, each column consisting of 27 lines of writing, all in the highest preservation. Neither statues nor bassi-relievi were discovered, and M. Schulze's researches led him ultimately to the conclusion, that there are no existing monuments in the neighbourhood of Ván, which can date so far back as the time of Semiramis.

The next inscribed tablets, to which we shall direct attention, are those at the mouth of the Nahr el Kelb, in the vicinity of Beyrout, which possess peculiar interest at the present day, as a cast of the most perfect of these tablets, now in the British Museum, was the first relic of the ancient Assyrian empire brought to this country. The material points of the following short account formed the subject of a paper read at the Royal Society of Literature, June 25th, 1834:—[2]

"Nahr Alkelb, the ancient Lycus, is situated about two hours north-east of Beyrout. The rocks that sustain the road south of the river, preserve the remains of ten monuments of great interest, and of various epochæ. The most ancient, but unfortunately the most corroded, are three Egyptian tablets: on them may be traced the name of Rhamses, to which period any connoisseur in Egyptian art would have attributed them, if even the evidence of the name had been wanting, from the beautiful proportion of the tablet, and its cavetto moulding.

"The next in antiquity, also of great interest, are five Chaldæan

[1] Mémoire sur le Lac de Ván et ses Environs, par M. F. W. Schulze, Journal Asiatique, vol. ix.

[2] Trans. R. Soc. Lit. Art. iv., by Joseph Bonomi, vol. iii., p. 105, 1839.

tablets, four of which are not less effaced than their more ancient companions; but the highest one is as perfect as the least ancient monument this interesting spot affords, owing perhaps to its being more out of the reach of the spray of the sea, and farthest from the road; it represents the figure of a man in the long dress of the eastern nations, with a large beard, curiously plaited, holding in his right hand something like a fan, and in his left a stick. Nearly the whole of the background and dress of the figure is covered with the arrow-headed character, which is in many places perfectly well preserved."

"The hieroglyphic tablets have been protected by a kind of folding door, the holes for the hinges of which still remain. This circumstance is not at all incompatible with the stupendous works of the Egyptians, which seem to have been designed to resist the ravages of time, and to record to posterity the glorious deeds of their kings and heroes. Another circumstance, which may perhaps throw some light on the nature of these inscriptions, is, that the Egyptian and Chaldæan tablets are always together. From the first group, which is on the present road, you ascend out of the path to the second, which has also its accompanying Chaldæan figure, and, still higher, are two more. These last are far above the modern road, but from the appearance of the rocks, and the wide flat space about them, it may be concluded that the Egyptian conqueror had cut his path over the mountain in this place, which was afterwards traversed by the Chaldæan hero, who took the Jews into captivity."

The accompanying illustration may serve "to show the relative

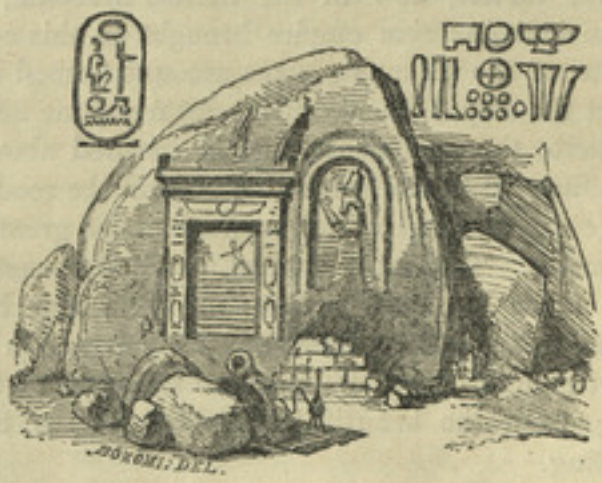


Fig. 30.—MONUMENT AT NAHR AL KELB.

situation of the Egyptian and Chaldæan tablets, which is in some

measure interesting; for it will be evident that the Chaldæan sculptor has taken advantage of the rock prepared by the Egyptian, who had already occupied the soundest and best part of it in the execution of his subject."

The cast of the Assyrian portion of this monument which we brought to England in 1834, was subsequently presented to the British Museum by his Grace the Duke of Northumberland.

The last Assyrian monument we shall describe is one found at Larnaka, the ruins of the ancient Citium in the Island of Cyprus; and we take occasion to thank our good friend Dr. Lepsius, for the following particulars concerning it, which he has kindly sent in reply to our queries. The monument which was discovered in 1845 exactly resembles that at Nahr al Kalb, consisting of a circular headed stone, which contains within a niche the figure of a man holding up his right hand, and certain emblems engraved on the back ground on a level with his face. The tablet is almost entirely covered with a cuneatic inscription. The dimensions of this tablet are six feet eight inches by two feet two inches wide, and the stone of which it is made, being of a black colour, has been called basaltic, though it appears rather to be a kind of lava. When the relic was first found, M. Mattei, the Prussian Consul at Cyprus, despatched an account of it, accompanied by a drawing, to his government, and the importance of the discovery being immediately acknowledged, the monument was at once purchased and deposited in the museum at Berlin. Memoirs respecting it have since been published in the Archæological Archives of S. Ross, Halle, 1846; and in the Revue Archéologique, 1846, p. 114; and the French Government have sought and obtained a cast which is now in the Louvre. Colonel Rawlinson, in passing through Berlin during his present journey to the East, examined the tablet, and recognised in the figure of the King, that of the founder of Khorsabad, but his brief sojourn did not admit of his then making further investigations. Dr. Lepsius is not aware that the inscription on this monument has been studied and decyphered by any one, but as Colonel Rawlinson took an impression in paper away with him, we turn to him for further light on this curious and interesting chronicle. In the mean time we may remark that a passage in Menander of Ephesus is preserved, which is corroborative of Colonel Rawlinson's surmise. The historian says, that the King of Tyre, Elulœus, "fitted out a fleet against the Cittæans (the people of Citium) who had revolted, and reduced them to obedience. But Salmanasar, the King of the Assyrians, sent them assistance, and overran Phœnicia: and when he had made peace with

the Phœnicians he returned with all his forces." Joseph. Ant. Jud., lib. ix., c. 14.

Of other Assyrian remains whose existence is known, we were informed some years ago by M. Linant, that he had seen cuneatic inscriptions in the desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea; there is another at Dásh-Tappeh, in the plain of Mirgaudáb; one on the banks of the Euphrates, between the towns of Malatich and Kharput; some at Mel-Amir; one on a broken obelisk on the mound of Susa; and the black stone found among the ruins of Nineveh, and now in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen. These are, we believe, all which have at present been disclosed.

In conclusion, we may observe, that though many of the inscriptions are the chronicles of Median and Persian Sovereigns, they still mark with equal certainty the extent of the preceding Assyrian empire; for the records being mostly trilingual, induces the natural inference that the dialect peculiar to Assyria was at that time prevalent, and probably the vulgate of the districts in which the tablets are found.

Fig. 31.—VIEW ON THE EUPHRATES NEAR BAGHDAD, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. BOMAINE

SECTION IV.

DISCOVERIES.—THE PALACES OF ASSYRIA.

CHAPTER I.

KHORSABAD.

In elucidating the architecture and construction of the Assyrian palaces we have already turned for aid to Persepolis, the capital which immediately succeeded those of Assyria; and by a singular fatality, many of those parts of the royal residences, which time or local circumstances have entirely removed from the ruins of Khorsabad, such as windows, columns, and the grand flights of stairs by which the summit of the platform was obtained, are preserved in those of Persepolis; while many of those parts which are wanting at Persepolis, such as sculptured and painted walls, and successive courts and chambers, are found at Khorsabad, and in other Assyrian ruins. The leading features which distinguished the royal and sacred buildings of Assyria from those of Egypt, are evidently, in the first place, the artificial mounds, by which they were raised 30 or 40 feet above the level of the plain on which they stood; and secondly, the architectural arrangements by which the summit of these mounds was attained. So far as has hitherto been ascertained from the explorations at Khorsabad and elsewhere, the pedestal or sub-basement of the Assyrian buildings was not a mere accumulation of loose earth incrusted with stone or bricks, but was a regularly constructed elevation, built of layers of sun-dried bricks so solidly united with the same clay of which the bricks themselves were made, that Botta was for some time doubtful whether it consisted only of a mass of clay well rammed together, as described by Rich; or whether it had originally been entirely formed of bricks, as subsequent investigations have satisfactorily proved. It farther appears that the substructure was solid throughout, excepting where drains or water-pipes were inserted, or where subterranean channels, like the aqueducts found by Sir

Robert Porter at Persepolis, existed: and that the mass of brick-work forming the mound was encased round the sides, with well squared blocks of lime-stone. In order to effectually secure the soluble material of the mound from the action of the periodical rains, not only were the sides encased in stone, but the whole of the upper surface, not occupied by buildings, was likewise protected by two layers of kiln-burnt bricks or tiles, from 11 to 13½ inches square by five inches deep, all inscribed on the under side, and cemented together with a coating of bitumen. The upper layer was separated from the lower by a stratum of sand six inches in thickness. So that if any moisture chanced to penetrate, it would most likely be dissipated in the sandy stratum, and thence be drained off before it could touch the second layer of tiles. The platform of Khorsabad was not a quadrangle, but presented somewhat a T shape (see plan, page 85), the stem of which was considerably more elevated than the transverse part. The latter, or south-eastern end, was 975 feet wide by 422 feet deep, and rose about 20 feet above the level of the plain, while the adjoining portion rose 10 feet higher, and was 650 feet deep, by 553 feet wide. The lower terrace projected into the walled inclosure (see page 79), but the upper on which the principal sculptured monuments were found advanced about 500 feet beyond the wall, being entirely unprotected, excepting from its perpendicular elevation above the level of the plain, which rendered it nearly inaccessible. The outer boundary of this elevated part of the platform seems to have been irregular, but though the form has not been distinctly ascertained, the angles of brick-work uncovered by Botta at various points are sufficiently indicative of the actual lines,

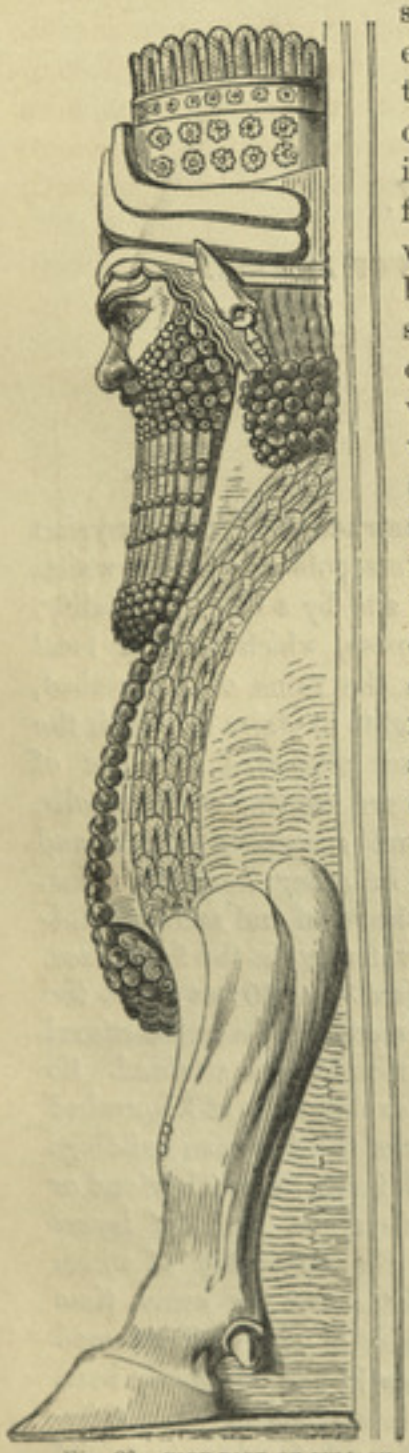


Fig. 32.—FORE-PART OF BULL ON JAMB OF DOOR.

and leave little room for doubting Mr. Fergusson's suggestions respecting them.[1] Having thus far described the general appearance and structure of the mound, we will now proceed to examine the buildings and sculptures that were found upon it. We shall commence our investigations with the lower terrace, because it was here, at about 50 feet from the edge, that Botta discovered the fragments of walls, and the projecting façade (figure 33), which apparently

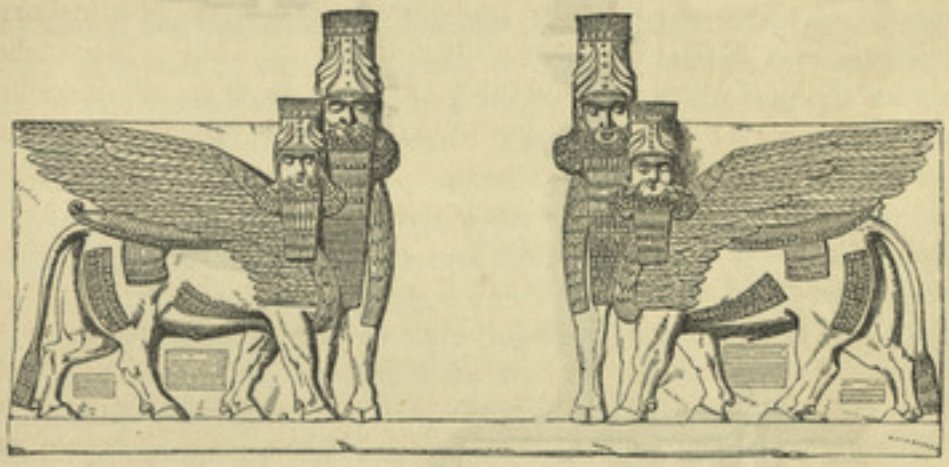


Fig. 33.—PORTAL OF THE PALACE OF KHORSABAD.

formed the great, if not the only, entrance to the platform. We have no hesitation in agreeing with Mr. Fergusson that the mode of ascending to this entrance resembled the existing example at Persepolis, and in all probability had Botta excavated down the side of the mound, he would have discovered the stairs which must have formed so striking and characteristic a feature in structures on elevated foundations like those of the Palaces of the Kings of Assyria. The great portal forming the centre of the façade, consisted on each side of three colossal bulls, with human heads and eagle's wings, and a gigantic figure of a man, (fig. 36. p. 134) each formed of a single block of alabaster. The bull which formed the jamb of the gateway was of much larger dimensions than were those forming the façade, which stood back to back, having the figure of the man between them. We shall not pause to specially describe these sculptures, but will at once pass through the portal, (figure 33) the front of which is here represented without the accompanying figures of the façade. Having passed through the gateway, we turn to the right and arrive at the second platform, which, from its elevation,

[1] Fergusson's "Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored."

must have been mounted by means of steps, though, here again, Botta has not dug sufficiently in advance of the terrace to ascertain the existence of this mode of ascent. Upon mounting the platform, we find ourselves in court *n* (see plan, fig. 34), which we shall call the Court of Assembly, the dimensions of which are 340 feet by 157 feet.

COURT OF ASSEMBLY.

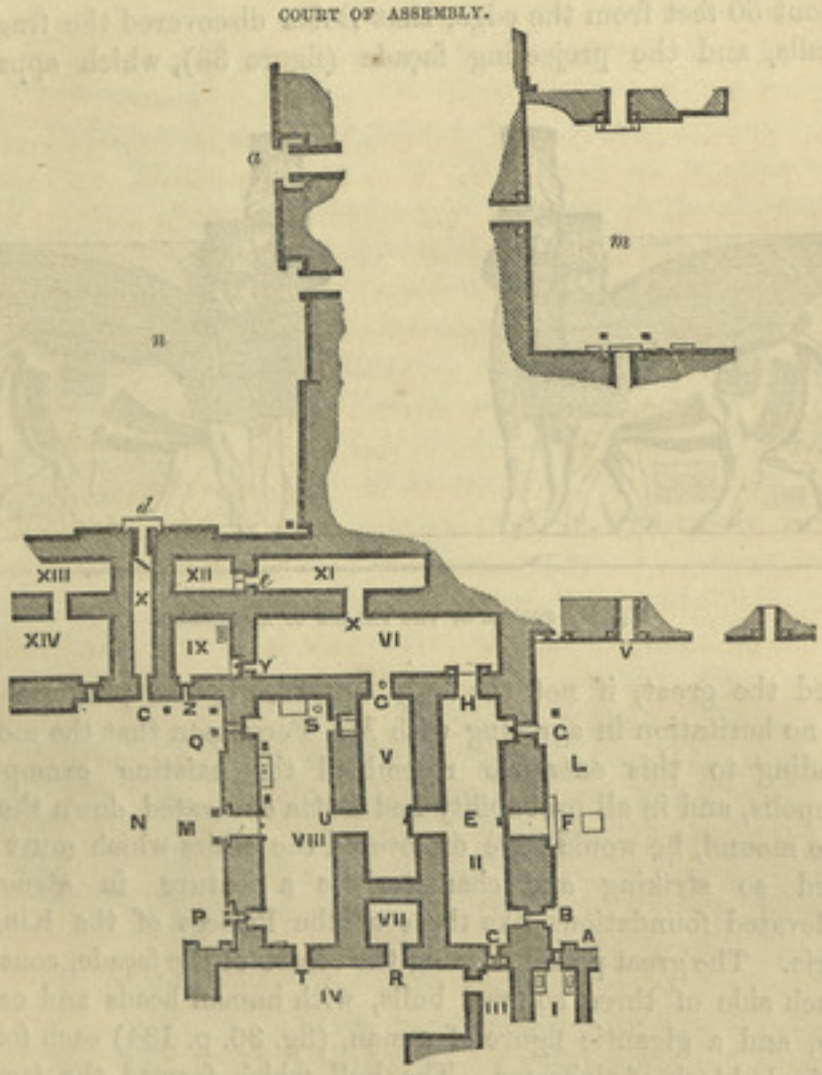


Fig. 34.—PLAN OF THE PALACE OF KHORSABAD.

Placing ourselves opposite the entrance *a* (fig. 34), which is still standing, we find that it almost exactly resembles the portal we have already passed, and the repetition is sufficiently remarkable to induce us to describe the figures composing it before we proceed farther. The symbolic figures guarding these entrances are combinations of the man, the bull, and the eagle; the countenance is noble and benevolent in expression; the features, of true Persian type, probably resemble those of the reigning king; he wears a high cap,

surmounted by a band of rosettes and a row of feathers; and three bulls' horns on each side closely surround the base (see fig., head-dress, sec. v.). The hair at the back of the head has seven ranges of curls; and the beard is divided into three ranges, with intervals of wavy hair. In the ears, which are those of a bull, are pendant ear-rings. The whole of the dewlap is covered with tiers of curls, and four rows are continued beneath the ribs along the whole flank; on the back are six rows of curls, and upon the haunch a square bunch, ranged successively, and down the back of the thigh four rows. The hair at the end of the tail is curled, like the beard, with intervals of wavy hair. The hair at the knee-joints is likewise curled, terminating in the profile views of the limbs in a single curl, of the kind (if we may use the term) called *croche cœur*. The elaborately-sculptured wings extend over the back of the animal to the very verge of the slab. Being built into the side of the door, one side and a front view only could be seen by the spectator, and the sculptor has accordingly given the animal five legs, the four shown in the side view being in the act of walking, while the right fore-leg is repeated, but standing motionless.

These symbolical combinations we regard as derived from the traditional descriptions of the cherubim, which were handed down after the deluge by the descendants of Noah; to which origin, also, we are inclined to attribute their situation as guardians of the principal entrances of the palaces of the Assyrian kings. The cherubim guarded the gates of paradise.[1] The cherubic symbols were placed in the adytum of the tabernacle,[2] and afterwards in the corresponding sanctuary of the temple;[3] and here, in the Assyrian palaces, they are never found excepting as guardians of portals.

The fore-feet of the bulls forming the jambs of the door are

Fig. 35.—PORTAL OF PALACE WITH FIGURE OF NIMROD.

advanced to the line of the wall, the return of which is faced by two figures of the winged bulls with their backs to each other and their heads to the court; and between them is the gigantic figure (fig. 36) we noticed at the first entrance, the whole occupying a width of 39 feet.

[1] Gen. iii. 24. [2] Exodus, xxvi. 33. [3] 1 Kings, vi. 23; 2 Chron. iii. 10-12.

Fig. 36.—NIMROD.

This gigantic figure, which is found between the bulls on each side of the centre aperture of court *n*, like that first seen, stands out in bold and in some parts actually in high relief, and has been supposed to be the Assyrian Hercules; but we hope to show that it is probable he is the great progenitor of the Assyrian nation, the "mighty hunter," Nimrod himself. He is represented strangling a young lion, which he presses against his chest with his left arm, and clutching in his hand the forepaw of the animal, which seems convulsed in the agony of his grasp (Fig. 36.) In his right hand he holds an instrument that we infer to be analogous to the Bommereng of the Australians, the Hunga Munga of South Africa, the Trombash of Central Africa, or the Sellem of the Bishareen. It is used by all these different nations in hunting, and by some in war, as described by Denham and Clapperton, in their journey to Timbuktoo. The universality of this weapon is sufficiently established by the fact of its being found in such widely separated continents, and in evidence of its antiquity we refer to the woodcut (fig. 37) taken from an ancient basso-relievo at Thebes, where it is commonly seen in the hands of the hunters. There is likewise in the Egyptian Hall of the British Museum, another example of the instrument, exhibited in a picture of a huntsman who is about to throw it at some birds which are taking flight over a papyrus grove. The annexed engraving (fig. 38) is taken from the one seen in the hand of the figure at the first entrance, because it seems to indicate a flatness and an irregularity in the curve differing from that in the hand of the figure at the second entrance, in this particular more nearly resembling the modern Australian weapon, and that of iron in use in Central Africa; but, therefore, less like that used by the inhabitants of the Desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, which is usually round, and made of the root of the tree which produces the gum-arabic (*Mimosa Nilotica*). With this instrument partridges are killed, and gazelles and large animals wounded, so that a robust person can easily catch them. We think this subject so curious that we have given drawings of all the different missiles of this kind that we could collect.

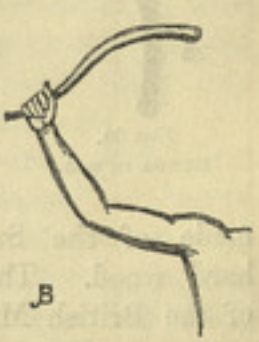


Fig. 37.
EGYPTIAN BOMMERENG.

Fig. 38.
BOMMERENG IN NIMROD'S HAND.

The most curiously curved is that from Southern Africa, the Hunga

Munga[1] (fig. 39); it is made of iron and used to throw at a retreating enemy (fig. 40). The Trombash, is from Central Africa, from the neighbourhood of Dar Foor;[2] it is like the former, of iron, and chiefly used in war. The two following are made of wood. Figure 41, called Es-sellem, is that used by the pastoral tribes of the Desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea; and (fig. 42) is the Australian Bommereng. We have given the sections of these missiles, as we conceive that peculiar property of returning towards the thrower, may be in some measure dependent on its flatness, although an ancient Egyptian one in the collection of Dr. Abbott of Cairo, is round, like the Sellem of the Bishareen, and like it also made of the Sunt tree, the Mimosa Nilotica, an excessively hard wood. The one in the hand of the ancient Egyptian of the British Museum may be ebony; it appears to be carved at

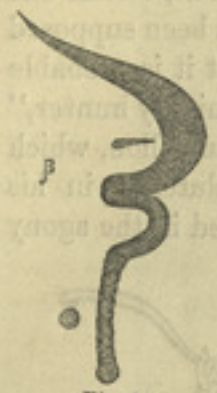


Fig. 39.
HUNGA MUNGA.

Fig. 40.—TROMBASH.

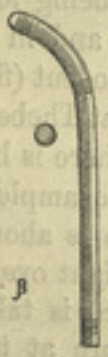


Fig. 41.—ES-SELLEM.

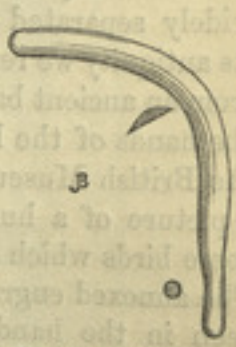


Fig. 42.—AUSTRALIAN BOMMERENG.

the thicker end to represent the head of a bird. The Australian Bommereng is much more curved than either of the specimens we have given, and possesses, in a higher degree, the singular property of returning to within a few yards of the thrower. We suggest, then, that this figure may possibly be identified as Nimrod, the celebrated hunter and destroyer of the wild beasts which originally infested the country in which he founded so many cities. Unlike that previously seen, this colossal figure has his hair elaborately curled; he differs also from it in dress and minor details, for whereas the former wears only the short tunic, reaching to the knees, this has, in addition to that covering, a long outer garment or mantle,

[1] Denham and Clapperton's "Travels."

[2] Sketch in the collection of the author. N.B. The handles of the iron rims are covered with thongs of leather; and the Bishareen instrument is frequently bound with brass wire.

descending from the shoulders to the heels, and fringed all round its embroidered border; apparently the front of this robe was cut out to allow of the free action of the legs, for the advanced leg is exposed while that on which the figure stands is covered to the ankle. Another point of difference is, that this figure wears sandals which cover the heels and tie over the instep, being at the same time kept close to the sole of the foot by a strap encircling the great toe. These differences of costume had doubtless an intention, probably in connection with the particular part of the palace they adorned; thus those on the outer gate may represent the "mighty hunter" in his hunting or warlike costume—while those of the inner court may represent him in the sacerdotal robe, or that of deified men.

Before proceeding to examine the figures on the walls, of this and the succeeding courts and chambers, it may be necessary to observe that all the *Bull* doorways project from the line of wall even beyond the thickness of the blocks of which they are formed, so that there is always a double recess behind the angle at which the front feet of the bulls meet. In the recess beside the bull at the jamb of the door are sculptured two figures, about three feet high; and in the recess at the side of the bull on the façade, is a colossal figure of a winged man, the dresses of the three resembling that worn by the Nimrod of the second entrance (fig. 36). In the corresponding recess of the façade is a repetition of the winged figure; and on the adjoining wall of the court he again appears, his back being turned towards the recess, and his face towards a second and minor entrance to the court. This entrance has a repetition of the bull on each jamb of the door, but instead of the bull on the return, we have another representation of the winged man, or divinity, as we suppose him to be. This figure has four wings, two upraised and two depressed; he holds in his upraised right hand a pine-cone, while in his left he carries a basket (see fig. 43).

Fig. 43.—DIVINITY ILUS.

His head-dress is an egg-shaped cap, which terminates at the top in a kind of *fleur-de-lis*, and surrounding the base are four bulls' horns, two on each side. The hair and beard are arranged in

clusters of minute curls, too numerous to number, and so elaborately executed, that every hair seems to be represented in its exact place. We presume this beard to be the beau-ideal according to Assyrian notions: for the same care is bestowed on the execution of the beard in all the sculptures of Persepolis—and at this moment in Persia the beard is cherished with peculiar care, its dyeing and dressing constituting the principal operation in the bath. In his ears he wears pendant ear-rings, on his wrists rosette clasp-bracelets, and on his arm a massive armlet. The forms of both the tunic and the outer robe are the same as those already described; namely, the tassel-fringed tunic above the knee; long fringed and embroidered mantle, which is apparently open in front, and which, after crossing the chest obliquely from under one arm, hangs over the shoulder, showing the inside of the tasselled border. Besides this Babylonish richness of dress, there are also two cords, each terminated by double tassels hanging from the waist. Immediately following this divinity is an attendant magus, or priest, similarly attired, excepting that, instead of the cap, he wears a band with three rosettes round his head; his upraised right-hand is open, and in his left he carries a tri-lobed branch. We are disposed to think that the four-winged figures here shown are intended to typify the god Cronus, the Ilus of the Phœnicians,[1] the Allah of the Arabians, all derived from the Hebrew word אל, El, God. Cronus is thus described by Sanchoniatho:—[2]

"But before these things, the god Taautus, having pourtrayed Ouranus, represented also the countenances of the gods Cronus and Dagon, and the sacred characters of the elements. He contrived also for Cronus the ensign of his royal power, having four eyes in the parts before and in the parts behind, two of them closing as in sleep; and upon the shoulders four wings, two in the act of flying, and two reposing as at rest. And the symbol was, that Cronus whilst he slept was watching, and reposed whilst he was awake. And in like manner with respect to the wings, that he was flying whilst he rested, yet he rested whilst he flew. But for the other gods there were two wings only to each upon his shoulders, to intimate that they flew under the control of Cronus; and there were also two wings upon the head, the one as a symbol of the intellectual part, the mind, and the other for the senses." Taautus, we conceive, is the Thoth of the Egyptians—the Ibis-headed divinity, who appears as a scribe, with his palette and brush, on so many of the monuments of Egypt. These divinities on each side of the doorway, turn their

[1] Cory's "Fragments," pp. 13, 17. [2] Euseb. Præp. Evan., lib. i. c. 10; Cory. p. 15.

faces to the entrance, and present, as it were, the pine-cone to those who enter or come out, affording an example of a remarkable similarity with Egyptian temples, as to the appropriate significative sculpture for this very place,—namely, the actual passage from one chamber to another. Here in Assyria, he who was privileged to enter by this door was met by the divinity presenting him with the fir-cone; and there, in Egypt, the king is represented receiving from the divinity, in the same way, the instrument which is understood to signify life (fig. 44), as may be seen in a cast on the staircase of the British Museum, pourtraying Pharaoh, Rhameses IV., entering his tomb (fig. 45), at the threshold of which he is met by the divinity Horus. The presence of these divinities and the bulls together in this place, as guardians of the same opening, would lead us to conclude that it forms the entrance to some chamber of especial importance.

Fig. 44. EGYPTIAN SYMBOL OF LIFE.

The remaining figures on the wall are those of the king and his officers, as they were wont to be assembled in this court, standing in the order of their rank (fig. 46). The king is represented as having just come out of the gate, which is guarded by the divinities. He is distinguished by the richness of his apparel, and the tiara, shaped like a truncated cone, from the centre of which rises a small pine or point. As the tiara appears to take the form of the head, we may suppose that it was made of some flexible material, and the whole exactly resembles the caps worn by the Persians of the present day, excepting that the tiara of the Assyrian kings was assuredly not composed of animal's skins; for on a companion bas-relief there are bands of red ornaments painted upon it. Two bandelets, which are also red, and embroidered with rosettes, appear to be the continuation of a wider appendage, which passing round the base of the tiara, and over the shoulders, hangs down behind the back: they are terminated by a fringe.

Fig. 45.—EGYPTIAN KING RHAMESES IV.

Although the figure of the king often occurs, it is somewhat difficult to make out clearly the form of his garments. First of all, he has a long tunic covered with regular rows of squares, in the middle of which are rosettes: the bottom of this garment is bordered with a fringe terminating in four rows of beads. Over the tunic is thrown a kind of cloak, which must have been composed of two pieces, one in front and one at back. These pieces were rounded off at the

bottom and sewn together, leaving an opening, however, through

Fig. 46.—THE GREAT KING AND HIS OFFICERS.

which the head might pass; each of the upper corners of these pieces is stretched out in the form of a band, the front one being thrown backwards over the right shoulder, and the posterior one being cast forwards over the left shoulder.

Fig. 47.
THE GREAT KING—FROM KHORSABAD.

On comparing two sculptures, in which the king is clad in the same dress, the one showing his right and the other his left side, it will be seen that the explanation just given is very satisfactory. In both views the mantle appears to be scooped out at the side as far as the top, while each half is rounded off at the bottom. In one case (fig. 47) we see the corner of the posterior half stretching out and passing over the right shoulder; but where a more front view of the body is obtained, this half is remarked falling forward at the same time that the angle of the anterior half is seen stretching out to pass over the the left shoulder. In the latter case, the right arm seems as if it passed through a short armlet, or a hole made in the stuff, and not between the two pieces, as it does in the opposite side.

The embroidery of the royal mantle is as rich as that of the tunic which it covers; the material is covered with large rosettes, which have smaller ones in their centres; all the edges are bordered with a series of little rosettes, contained in squares. This is the case, too, with the opening of the arm, as well as that through which the neck passes. Lastly, a long fringe sets off the borders of the two halves, and extends even to the extremity of the appendages, which here appear reduced to the mere border of little rosettes.

To complete the description of this Assyrian regal costume, it

must be added that the feet are shod with sandals, having an elevated quarter, painted with red and blue stripes alternately. In the front is a ring through which the great toe passes in order to fix the sole, which is also kept in its place by a cord passing over the the foot and traversing alternately two holes in the inside and three on the outside of the quarter. Sandals precisely similar are still used in Mesopotamia, and particularly on Mount Sinjâr.

The sheath of the sword is very remarkable. To judge by its prismatic form, we may presume the blade resembled those of our own swords, but it is much broader. Near the end there is an ornament composed of two lions, who embrace the sheath with their paws, at the same time throwing their heads back.

The king carries a long staff or wand in his left hand, and his right is elevated in the act of speaking to those in front.

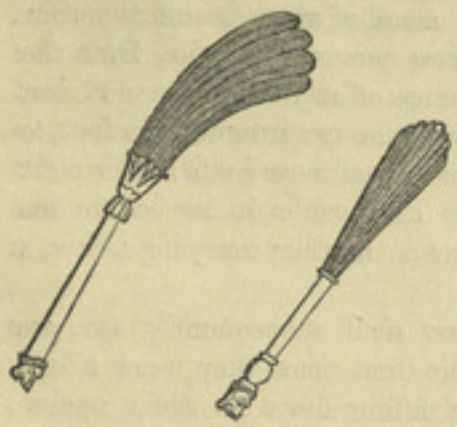
The costume of the sovereign represented in another sculpture deserves notice. The ear-rings are simple enough: on each side of the ring there are three little globules, and a stem which is nearly spindle-shaped, and ornamented simply with a few knobs. The bracelets for the wrists are, on the contrary, very rich. They are formed of a plate, on which regularly-marked divisions appear to indicate the existence of joints calculated to produce flexibility. This plate bears a number of large rosettes touching each other. They are composed of an external ring, and then a first circle of small leaves, in which is a second ring surrounding a small rosette, in the middle of which rises a projecting globule. The bracelets, which clasp the arm above the elbow, are spiral, formed as usual of wires bound together.

Following the king are two beardless personages, who, from the roundness of the features and the absence of any beard, were at first sight mistaken by Botta for women, but who are intended, in fact, to represent eunuchs. One of those represented here holds in his right hand a fly-flapper over the head of the king, while in his left he has a bandelet. Behind this eunuch there is another carrying a bow, a quiver, and a sceptre.

These two eunuchs, like all those we shall subsequently see, are dressed in the same manner. In the first place they wear a long tunic drawn tight round the neck, and falling down to their ancles; the sleeves terminating above the elbow. The bottom of this tunic is richly ornamented; it has a border of rosettes contained in squares, while from it hangs a fringe of tassels terminating in three rows of little beads, intended no doubt to represent pearls, or ornaments of that description. On the feet are open sandals, leaving the heel and toes exposed.

Above the tunic is thrown a broad scarf, from which hangs a long fringe, reaching to the knees, where it terminates in an even line, leaving the remainder of the tunic exposed as far as the lower border. This scarf crosses the back and the breast, passing over the right shoulder and under the left arm. As it is oblique, the fringe which hangs down from it ought, if it were everywhere of equal length, to hang obliquely as well; and we find this to be the case, for beneath the upper and slanting row of fringe hangs another row, that terminates horizontally about the knees. It must therefore be admitted, that two sets of fringe are attached to the scarf, the upper one being of an equal length all the way, and the lower one, on the contrary, increasing in width as the scarf rises towards the right shoulder. The latter set of fringe seems to be fastened to the girdle, which appears above the scarf on the loins of the eunuch carrying the fly-flapper. This is the simplest manner of explaining these two layers of fringe, one of which terminates obliquely and the other horizontally. Be this as it may, however, this kind of shoulder-belt is always richly embroidered; that of the eunuch carrying the quiver, has three lines of rosettes in squares; that of the other eunuch has three rows of concentric squares.

The hair of these personages, like that of all Assyrian figures, is arranged in a most curious manner: it appears carefully combed down upon the head, but spreads out upon the neck into a mass of curls which rests upon the shoulders. We shall often meet with this style of wearing the hair, which latter, in all cases where the colour has been preserved, is always painted black.



Figs. 48 and 49.—FLY-FLAPS.

The ornaments of these two eunuchs are alike; they have each two pairs of bracelets, one pair at the wrist and the other round the arm; those round the arm are spirals formed of wires and attached to one another by other wires. The bracelets of the wrists also are composed of a parcel of wires, but they are not spirals; they form circles, broken by lions' heads, the muzzles of which touch. Besides these ornaments for the arms, the eunuchs of the bas-reliefs wear others, which seem to have been very general among the Assyrians—they have ear-rings. They are rather simple, but, like all Assyrian ear-rings, their shape somewhat resembles a cross. To the ring is fixed

a stem more or less ornamented, while two lateral branches, the form of which varies, emanate from the stem or ring itself.

The objects which the first eunuch holds are, as before mentioned, a fly-flapper (figs. 48 and 49) and a kind of bandelet. The fly-flapper, like the parasol, appears to have anciently been one of the insignia of royalty in the East. The handle terminates at the bottom with a lion's head; at the upper extremity it spreads out into a flower with numerous sharp petals, like that into which are inserted the feathers of the long fan carried behind the king in the sculptures of Egypt. This flower seems the same that we shall often see, either in the king's hand or in the hands of others. From this flower there springs out a tuft of feathers. The bandelet, which is held by the eunuch in the other hand, grows wider towards the bottom, and terminates in fringe that is painted red; it is double, or rather folded in two, and the handle thus formed goes round the thumb.

The other eunuch carries weapons: the bow is slung on the left arm, and appears angular rather than curved, its two extremities terminating in birds' heads, emblematic probably of the rapidity of the arrows; in this bas-relief the bow is painted red. The quiver is hung under the left arm, by a band which passes over the shoulder, and is subsequently fixed to two rings. Judging by a detailed sketch of the ornaments with which the quiver was covered, its form appears to have been square. A series of broken lines borders the lower extremity, while at the opposite one are seen the feathered shafts of the arrows. Along the upper side is a kind of beading, formed of wires bound together at intervals by other wires. The end of this sort of cord extends beyond the feathers of the arrows, and is terminated by a ball surmounted with a little flower, of which we have a specimen on the handle of the fly-flapper. It is difficult to say with certainty what this cord was, but probably it is nothing else than a parcel of bowstrings intended to be at hand in case of need. The ornaments of this quiver and the little tassels which adorn it were painted red. The sceptre has a cylindrical handle; the head is formed by a ball surrounded by a crown and the jaws of a lion; the hilt is thinner than the other part of the handle, and appears to have been encircled with thin cord, in order that it might afford a firmer hold. There is also at this extremity a loop, intended to be passed round the wrist and thus prevent the handle escaping from the grasp, an appendage that has induced the belief, that a mace, and not a sceptre, is intended to be represented.

Opposite the king there stands a bearded personage, whose right hand is opened and upraised, while his left rests upon his sword-hilt.

The hair and beard are precisely similar to those of the king, but the head is bare, excepting that it was surrounded by a band from which two red fillets, terminated by fringes, descended. His dress in other respects is exactly similar to that of the eunuchs; but the sandals resemble those worn by the king, only they are painted blue. His sword-hilt is exceedingly rich; at the top of it is a hemisphere, and then a ball between two flat discs; lastly, the jaws of a lion embrace the blade, and terminate the hilt at the point where it passes against the opening of the sheath. Behind this personage is a eunuch who, as we may judge from the position of his figure, is also in conversation with the king; and next in succession another eunuch and two bearded officers of the court, all standing with their hands folded one over the other, in the prescribed attitude of respect in the East to this day. Then appears a eunuch, who is distinguished from all the other persons of the court by the insignia of office, which consists of a double wand. These last three figures were found in situ, the others were more or less injured, and all thrown face downwards upon the ground. (See Plate 40—Botta's large work.) Then follow two more eunuchs, the last of whom is in the attitude of marshalling a train bearing vessels, arms, and furniture. This person has his left hand elevated, and is introducing a bearded military officer, who is immediately followed by a eunuch carrying two lion-headed drinking-cups; then two bearded officers with spears; and after them two eunuchs carrying a table. Behind these is another beardless attendant with his hand upraised, followed by three in the attitude of respect; and lastly, three more eunuchs, one bearing a lion-headed drinking-cup, the next a basin, and the third a covered dish. The position of the person who heads this last group, leads us to suggest that he represents ה-מלצר, the "Melzar," or the steward, or dispenser. This officer of the household of Nebuchadnezzar was set over Daniel and his companions by Ashpenaz,[1] the prince of the eunuchs, to see that the food they had chosen to eat instead of the "daily provision of the king's meat," did not render them less well favoured than the other young persons who were being brought up to fill offices in the court of Babylon; or who had "ability in them to stand in the king's palace." "And the prince of the eunuchs said unto Daniel, I fear my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink: for why should he see your faces worse liking than the children which are of your sort? then shall ye make me endanger my head to the king."

The custom is still prevalent in Turkey, where a number of young men are educated within the walls of the seraglio at Constantinople

[1] Dan. i. 3, 5, 8, 10.

to wait upon the Sultan and to fill offices in the government of the Turkish empire, according to the ability they show in the course of training; and their governor would be held equally responsible for the discharge of the duties of his situation.

This completes the series of figures on one-half of the south-western wall of court *n*. We will now turn to examine the adjoining north-western side, the centre portion of which advances beyond the general line of wall, forming a recess on each side. Stationing ourselves opposite the entrance which is guarded by a single pair of bulls looking into the court, we see on our left the king, with his back to the door-way, and attended by a eunuch, in conversation with a bearded dignitary and chief eunuch, followed by one beardless and two bearded persons, in the attitude which, as we have already intimated, is always assumed by inferiors when in the presence of superiors. The last of these is sculptured on the side of the recess, and is therefore not seen in the front view; behind these officers is a eunuch marshalling the procession that follows.

There first appear two persons wearing a costume that we have not yet seen. The head is covered by a closely folded turban or cap, from under which at the back falls a row of short spiral curls; the dress consists of a long tunic, terminating in a tasselled border, an outer garment with short sleeves, and upon the feet boots that lace up in front. They carry in their hands small models of turreted walls (fig. 56). Immediately following are four others in the same costume, the two foremost of whom bear cups of a simple shape, and the others sealed bags (see fig. 79. Botta, plate 38). The procession is closed by two of the king's grooms leading two richly caparisoned horses. Here ends the wall in the west corner, meeting that first described. In the pavement at the recess, and close to the wall, are inserted two alabaster slabs, one containing four small holes, and the other contiguous to it having nine holes. The use of these holes cannot be well explained, unless, as M. Botta has suggested, they were for the guards to insert the end of their spears.

Still maintaining our position opposite the entrance, we see on our right a repetition of the king and his court as just described, the same order being observed so far as the projection extends; the side of the recess, however, is occupied by a figure of a priest, instead of a bearded officer in the answering side on our left. The slabs on the wall of the recess are devoted to the representation of the building of a port, or the making of a road from the coast up to some important maritime city situated upon an extremely steep and rocky eminence; and large pieces of timber for the work are being

brought by numerous ships and boats manned by a people wearing the same closely folded turban we have noticed among the tribute-bearers; but in this instance their tunics are short, and adapted to their occupation of landing and hauling on shore logs of wood (fig. 50).

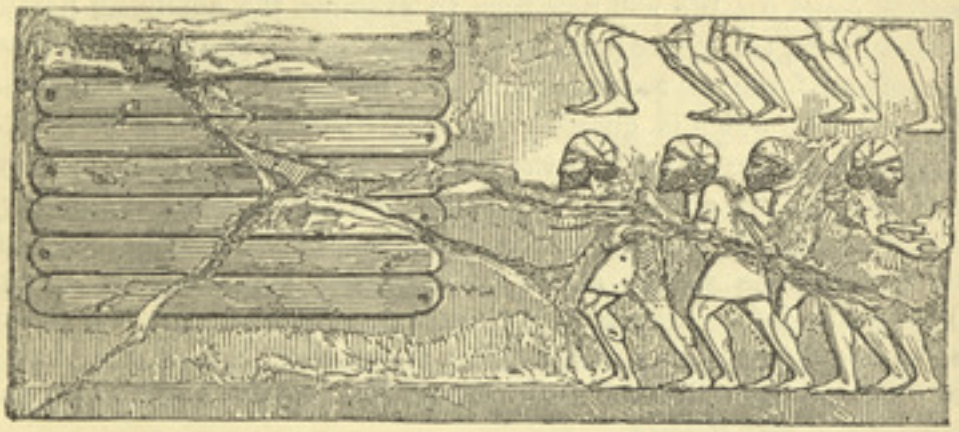


Fig. 50.—PREPARATIONS FOR BUILDING ROAD OR PONT.

The vessels employed are of singular form (see figure 53), closely resembling some on the walls of Medinet Haboo, at Thebes (see figures 51 and 52), from which circumstance we conjecture that they may belong to the people of the coast of the Mediterranean, the sea common to both Egypt and Syria. In the Assyrian sculpture the prow of the vessel terminates in the head of a horse, and the stern in the tail of a fish; whereas in those of Medinet Haboo the prow terminates in the head of a lion; but as the former are employed in the peaceful occupation of improving a sea-port or in building a city on the coast, and the latter are ships of war engaged in a battle with the Egyptians, the difference of emblems is obviously appropriate. On the top of the masts in both examples is a vase-shaped enlargement, in which in times of contention an archer was stationed. In the slab

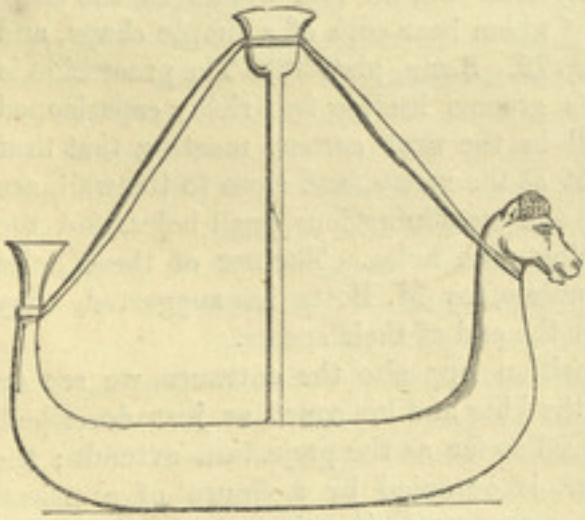


Fig. 51.—ASSYRIAN SHIP.

we are describing, the ships that are conveying the timber have the mast removed for the convenience of placing the logs on the deck, but those that have landed their cargoes and are returning for fresh supplies have their masts erect. Besides the logs within the vessels, there are also other pieces of timber attached to the sterns by means of a rope passed through a hole in one end of each.

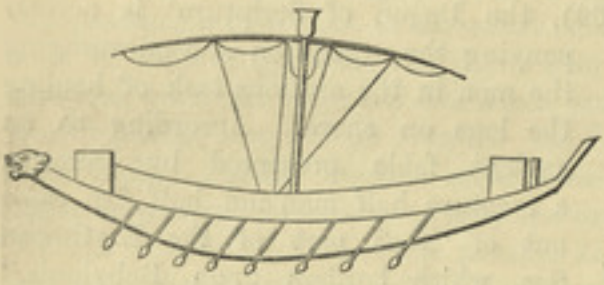


Fig. 52.—EGYPTIAN SHIP.

Whence the wood is conveyed we have no means of learning from the sculptures, which unfortunately are very imperfect at this end of the wall, but that it is brought some distance by sea is intimated by its having to pass two considerable places, one built on a projecting piece of

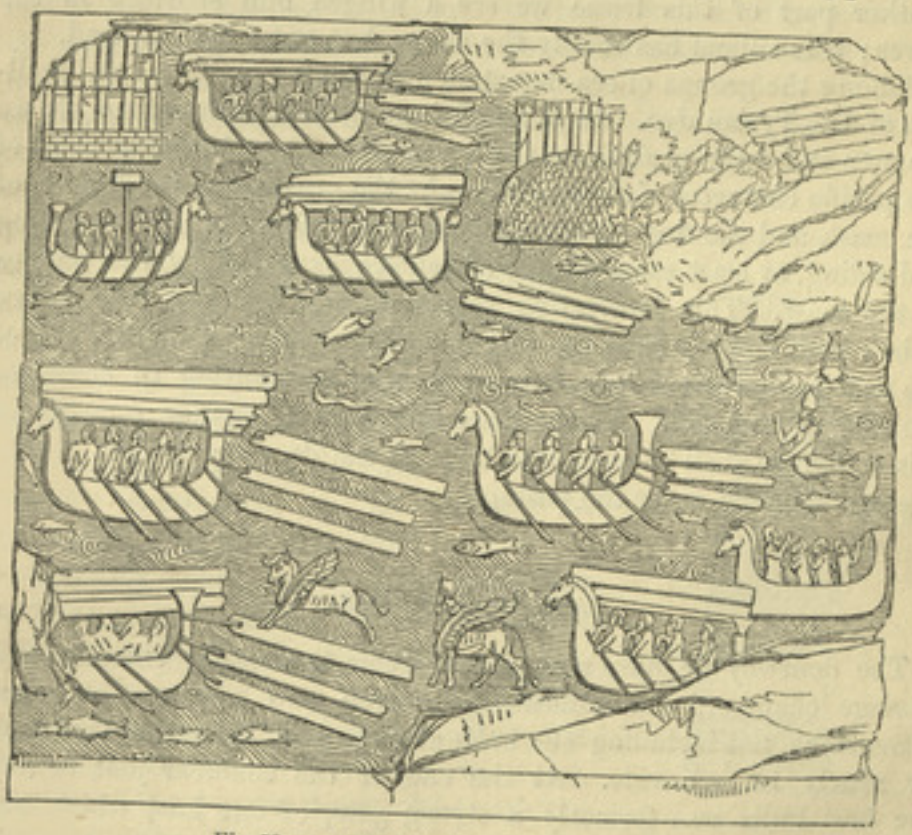


Fig. 53.—MARITIME SUBJECT. Botta, Plate 32.

land, a rocky promontory, or perhaps island (fig. 53. Botta, plate 32), and the second a fort built on the coast.

Among a great variety of marine animals, the Assyrian combination of the man, bull and eagle, is seen walking with stately gait; and on the same slab the divinity of the Philistines, half man half fish (figure 54), the Dagon of Scripture[1] is accompanying the expedition and encouraging the men in the arduous task of hauling the logs on shore. According to an ancient fable preserved by Berosus, a creature half man and half fish came out of "that part of the Erythræan Sea, which borders upon Babylonia," where he taught men the arts of life, "to construct cities, to found temples, to compile laws, and in short instructed them in everything which could tend to soften manners and humanise their lives."[2] Berosus adds that a representative of this animal Oannes was preserved even in his day. In another part of this frieze we see a winged bull sporting in the waves; this animal has simply the wings, but not a human head.

Fig. 54.—DAGON.

Among the groups of sea monsters and fish we recognise the shell-fish of the Tyrian dye. In none of these castellated buildings do we see men in hostile position on the walls, and we are farther assured of the pacific character of the operations by the presence of the divinity of the coast, and the Assyrian symbolic figures, uniting in countenancing and aiding, at least some project of defence executed by the natives of the coast. This interesting representation occupies four entire slabs; and, judging from the corresponding space at the other end of the wall behind the recess, four slabs more are wanting to complete the side of the wall. As there are no traces of farther remains in this court, we shall at once pass through the doorway in the north-western side and enter the passage.

PASSAGE CHAMBER X.

The doorway we have now passed seems to form the entrance to a passage chamber, communicating between two courts, the clear dimensions, not including the bulls at each end, being 46 feet long by nearly 10 feet wide. At the end of the chamber just behind the first bulls was formerly a strong gate, of one leaf, which was

[1] 1 Sam. v. 4, 5.

[2] Syncel. Chron. 28; Euseb. Chron. 58; Cory's "Fragments," pp. 22, 23.

fastened by a huge wooden lock, like those still used in the East, of which the key is as much as a man can conveniently carry,[1] and by a bar which moved into a square hole in the wall. The pavement of this passage, unlike that in the court which we have just left, was made of slabs of gypsum; and in the floor between the two bulls, at each end, was a slab engraved with a long cuneiform inscription: there were likewise inscriptions between the fore and hind legs of all these bulls. Farther on were small holes in the pavement, in which might be inserted metal bars to keep the door open at a certain angle. We will now walk through the passage to the extreme end, before we begin the description of the sculptures, as we shall thus meet the procession engraved upon the walls in the order in which it was marshalled to appear before the king.

The slabs that encase the walls are divided into two rows of illustration by a band of cuneatic writing, the whole nearly entire, so that we have here, as it were, a perfect tapestry, or illustrated record, of the annual tribute brought by two different people to the Assyrian monarch who inhabited the palace. We learn from the illustrations on the walls that the procession moved down this narrow chamber in two lines, headed by the officer we have previously noticed in the Court of Assembly as bearing a double wand. Here we see him (fig. 55) in the exercise of the duties of his office, namely, marshalling and heading the procession of tribute-bearers—an office indicated by the word תרתן, Tartan (2 Kings, xviii. 17), as surmised by Calmet, whose conjecture now acquires a probability almost amounting to certainty. This officer of the court of Assyria was esteemed of such importance that, in the time of Sennacherib, we find he was sent with the chief of the eunuchs, רב-סריס, Rabsaris, and the chief cup-bearer, רב-שקה, Rabshakeh, on an embassy to Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem.

Fig. 55.—TARTAN.

The first eight persons on the upper line to the right, who follow Tartan the chief of tribute, wear the close turbans or caps, and are dressed in long tunics, with short outer garments, rounded at the corners and fringed, sometimes with a clasp at the waist, and boots laced up in front. They are the same short-bearded race of people we saw in the court (*n*), represented standing among the other officers of the

[1] Isaiah, xxii. 22.

king. The first carries the model of a city, indicative of his office of governor or sultan of a province (fig. 56). These officers—apparently native chiefs of the subdued province or city, שלטני מדינתא, the Sultani Medinetha, of the court of Nebuchadnezzar in the time of the prophet Daniel—were summoned, among others, to come to the dedication of the image which that monarch had set up in the plain of Dura in the province of Babylon.[1] This officer is followed by three persons, the first two each bearing two cups, the produce or manufacture of the province, and the third a sealed bag upon his shoulders, containing the amount of tribute, either in gold dust or precious stones, furnished by the province of which the venerable person at the head of the procession was the sultan, or governor. Or the tribute may possibly be pieces of gold, such as Naaman, the captain of the king of Syria brought, as payment for his cure;[2] or such as Abraham paid for the cave of Machpelah, "current money with the merchant."[3] It was not, however, necessarily coined money, as coined money was probably not then invented, but merely pieces of gold wire, of various thicknesses, such as was current money with the merchants of Senaar and Central Africa not thirty years ago. The fifth in succession is another governor of a province, or city, in the same division of the empire, as may be inferred from his similar attire, and the insignia of office which he carries. He is distinguished by a pointed cap, and is of more venerable appearance than the two who follow him bearing the tribute of the province. The tenth person in the procession wears a short tunic and carries two tazze; he is succeeded by a group of she-camels, with one hump, of the Arabian breed (Plate 98, Botta), driven by a herdsman also in a short tunic. Then come four men, the foremost having a long beard and carrying the turreted badge of office, and the others bringing the produce of the district, which like most from this part of the empire, consists of tazze, and the raw material, or most valuable product, contained in sealed bags, which the last person bears on his shoulders. This arrangement of one chief to four men bearing tribute continues to the end of the line, making, in all, thirty persons, of

Fig. 56.—SULTAN MEDINET.

[1] Dan. iii. 2. [2] 2 Kings v. 5. [3] Genesis xxiii. 16.

whom eight are chiefs. In the last slab on this side of the chamber is an arch-shaped cavity, which received the wooden lock when the valve was completely open.

Returning again to the place whence we started, we will examine the upper line of sculpture on the left-hand wall, as the division of the procession there represented evidently accompanied that which has just been described. The line is headed by the deputy of the chief of tribute, possibly the גדבריא, gedaberaiya, of Daniel,[1] the khaznadar, or treasurer, of modern times. He is in the act of admonishing the tribute-bearers to proceed with order. We find him succeeded by six men, five of whom are in the dress before described; but the upper part of this particular slab is too defaced to allow of distinguishing the chiefs from those who follow them. The last person of this group wears a shorter and less-decorated dress; he is leading two horses, richly caparisoned, and wearing the tasselled ornament in front of the chest, to this day the fashion in the East. Then follow sixteen other figures in the long dress and upper garment. Some are in the act of humble supplication, and others bearing tribute: but the figures on this wall are generally less well preserved than those we have hitherto examined, so that there is a difficulty in ascertaining their number and the distribution of the chiefs; but we can make out twenty-seven people, eight being chiefs, five of whom bear the insignia of walled cities: from what we have already seen, however, we infer that the tribute of the part of the Assyrian empire whence this people came consisted chiefly of manufactured articles in the precious metals.

Fig. 57.—ONE OF THE SAGARTII.

The lower line of illustration represents the procession which we suppose to have been next introduced to the king. Like the upper on this side of the chamber, it is headed by the chief officer of tribute, who is making a sign to advance. He is followed by a sultan, or governor of a people we have not before seen (fig. 57. Botta, plate 130). Their hair is arranged in symmetrical corkscrew curls, and around their heads they wear a fillet, over which, in front, are generally allowed to hang one or two locks. Their beards

[1] Dan. iii. 2.

are short, and except those of the chiefs, never hang lower than the pit of the neck. Their tunics are scanty, and are confined at the waist by a belt or sash, formed of a collection of cords, from which commonly hangs a button or triangular noose. Over the tunic is a covering generally made of sheepskin, but occasionally of leopard skin, which is partly fashioned into a garment: their boots are high, laced up in front of the leg, and sometimes turned up at the toe. The first person is a chief of the people, as signified by his longer beard, and the model of city: he is followed by a groom, carrying two spears, and leading two horses richly caparisoned, having elegant crested ornaments upon their heads, and tasselled bands across the chests (Botta, plate 29). The next person is also a chief, but not of the venerable aspect of the former; he carries the insignia of office, and precedes two grooms, each carrying two spears in one hand, and leading a caparisoned horse by the other. Next succeeds a chief wearing a leopard-skin mantle, and followed by a groom, with two spears and two horses, one of which the groom is endeavouring to force back into the line of march. After these comes a chief, also wearing a leopard skin, but not carrying the official insignia. His hands are held up in the attitude of astonishment or awe. This person contributes four horses, led by two grooms, one in sheep-skin, and one in leopard-skin. These chiefs and grooms are repeated until we have nineteen figures of this skin-clad race, including eight chiefs, three of whom are governors of towns. In the last slab occurs the hole in which the bolt of the lock was inserted.

In the lower line, on the left hand side, occur eight chiefs, ten grooms, and fourteen horses, the tails of the horses being sometimes turned up and tied, and sometimes bound in the middle. All the chiefs are in the attitude of surprise, but none of them carry the small turreted models; hence we infer that those who do carry these models are the chiefs of provinces containing walled cities, and that those who are without this insignia, are governors of the rural districts—a conjecture that is borne out by the costume of the people, and the nature of the tribute they bring.

The other people in the procession, who seem skilful in the arts and manufactured articles, are probably from the coast of Phœnicia. Thus in the chamber of passage, we conceive are exhibited the tribute-bearers from the two extremities of the Assyrian empire—an arrangement somewhat analogous to that in the small temple of Kalabshe in Nubia, the casts of which sculptures are in the mummy-room of the British Museum. On the north wall of the Nubian

temple is sculptured the conquests of the Egyptian hero Rhamses II. over the nations to the north; while the south wall is occupied by a representation of the conquests of the same hero over the nations to the south, and of the tribute which this latter conquest produced.

The sculpture of the last slab on this line of wall has entirely disappeared, having been destroyed by the conflagration of the door, which we presume was of wood,[1] and stood open against the wall at the time of the destruction of the building. From the fact of all the remaining slabs being uninjured by fire, Botta has inferred that this passage was originally open to the air, and as it certainly had no communication with the interior of the building, but simply connected two external open courts, a roof was obviously so unnecessary, that we see no reason to reject his very plausible conjecture.

We will now pass, with the train of tribute-bearers, through the passage-chamber into the second court—the king's court.

COURT N.—THE KING'S COURT.

On emerging from the passage-chamber, (x), we find ourselves within a court about 156 feet square, two sides of which were bounded by the external walls of the palace, while the north-western and north-eastern sides were apparently open to the country, though they may probably have been guarded by a parapet wall. The size and decoration of the court we first entered (*n*) led us to assume that it was the place of assembly for those who offered tribute, or who applied for the administration of justice. The direction taken by the people after assembling was inferred from the representations upon the walls of the passage, the processions of tribute-bearers being highly significative that this formed the line of communication from the court without—and we finally arrive at the conclusion, that the second court in which the passage terminated must have been the Court of Reception—the place where the offerings were presented, and where justice was administered: the King's Gate—the gate of judgment, the "porch for the throne where he might judge, even the porch of judgment."[2] It was in a court or gate of this kind, called תרע, teragn, gate, in the royal abode of Babylon, that in after times the prophet Daniel sat when Nebuchadnezzar had made him השלטה, "the Sultan, or ruler over the whole (מדינת, medinet,) province of Babylon, and the רב-סגנין, Rab Signeen, the chief of the (princes) governors over all the חכימי, Hakims (wise men) of Babylon."[3] And

[1] 1 Kings, vi. 32. [2] 1 Kings, vii. 7. [3] Daniel, ii. 48, 49.

it was in a similar court of the king's house, in Shushan the palace, that Haman waited "to speak unto the king to hang Mordecai."[1] We have quoted these and other words of the text in the Hebrew character from the peculiar interest that attaches to the relationship between the Chaldee of the ancient race and the language spoken by their living descendants: most of the words we have cited are even now current in the country, so that if we were to write them in Arabic characters an Arab could read and comprehend them.

In this court were wont to assemble "the princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces"[2] of Assyria, when the king, who inhabited the palace, gave audience to them. The porch, or seat of judgment, was on the south-western or shady side of the court, and communicated immediately, by several entrances, with the interior of the palace. The façade, which advanced considerably beyond the line of wall, consisted of a central and two minor side entrances, the principal gate being guarded by six symbolic figures, compounded of the man, the bull, and the eagle, differing in no particular from those we have previously noticed.

The exterior side of each of the piers of this gate, which extended on each side beyond the bay, was covered with two bulls, whose bodies were in profile, but whose heads were turned to the spectator. The bulls of each pier were turned in an opposite direction, so that their breasts formed the angles of the piers, their wings and tails touching each other, and the remaining two bulls forming the jambs of the centre door, following the same arrangement as at the former entrance, excepting that the figure of Nimrod between the bulls is not found here. The width of this advanced portal, including the opening, is 47 feet, and it is formed of only four large blocks of gypsum, 13 feet square, and 3 feet 11 inches in thickness. We will not here stop to consider the means employed by the Assyrian architect to quarry such enormous blocks, nor to inquire how they were brought to the top of a mound more than 30 feet above the level of the plain, but simply remark that they are some of the largest blocks in the building.

The two smaller entrances of this front retire from the general line of façade, and are both decorated by a figure of a winged man, one on each jamb; who present the pine-cone with the right hand to those who pass out or in at this door, and hold the square basket in the left hand; the attitude and dress being precisely like that described in page 137. Behind the winged figure on the jamb to our

[1] Esther, vi. 4.

[2] Daniel, iii. 2, 3.

extreme right, follows an attendant priest, or magus (fig. 58), similarly attired, except that he wears a wreath, of which three roses are seen, instead of the horned cap; and that his right hand is elevated and open, as if in the act of speaking, and in his left he holds the branch of a tree, terminating in three pomegranates. The divinity on the corresponding outer face of the jamb at the other extremity of the façade, is likewise followed by an attendant priest (fig. 58), and thus each extremity of this façade is terminated by the figure of a priest. The inner side of the jambs of these side doors were entirely calcined by the flames which rushed out through the opening. It is to be observed that all these three entrances were originally closed by wooden valves, or folding doors; those of the centre being flush with the interior of the chamber, while those belonging to the side openings were half-way between the court and chamber. The sculptures on the sides of the minor openings, belonged as far as the valves to the court, and behind the valves to the chamber; but the bulls of the centre openings, on the contrary, belonged entirely to the court, so that when the doors were closed, the decorations of both court and chamber were complete and uninterrupted, the openings appearing merely like deep recesses in the wall. On the recesses formed by the projecting part of the façade, and the protrusion of the statue of the bulls at the minor entrances, are sculptured two winged men, precisely in the same position and with the usual attributes, the upper one only having the head of an eagle, and wearing the short tunic without the long outer garment (fig. 59). We will now turn to examine that side of the court by which we entered.

Fig. 58.—PRIEST.

Commencing with the south corner we have just left, we meet with a small doorway, on each side of which stands the four-winged divinity we have designated Ilus, presenting the pine-cone to those who cross the threshold of the chamber within; and on both jambs of the entrance, which had been closed by a door, was the figure of a priest, wearing a wreath and carrying a gazelle, as if stepping out into the court with the sacrificial offering. We next approach an opening which we recognise as the passage chamber through which we entered, the sides being flanked by bulls, little inferior in dimensions to the smaller ones of the

Fig. 59.—EAGLE-HEADED DIVINITY.

principal façade of this court. Proceeding onwards, we arrive at another figure of Ilus, with his face turned towards the entrance of the passage-chamber, and followed by a priest wearing the wreath, and carrying the pomegranate branch. We now reach a third doorway, each side of which is guarded by a two-winged divinity. The next figure is Rabsaris; then the Rab Signeen; and, lastly, the king in conversation with them. These slabs were all found lying on the ground, and the remaining sculpture of this wall no longer existed, though their subjects may be inferred from those we have seen in the outer court. Of the sculptures on the north-western wall, commencing in the western angle, we have first in a shallow recess the armour bearer of the king, the selikdar of the present monarchs of the soil; then, upon a projecting pier, Rabshakeh; next, in a second shallow recess, the king himself, addressing the Rab Signeen; after whom succeeds, on a second pier, the Rabsaris. The wall here terminates, but whether it turned, or was continued much farther, we have no means of learning.

This court, like the one we have left, is paved with square kiln-baked bricks, stamped with a cuneatic inscription, supposed to contain the name of the king who built the palace. Before the three doors of the façade forming the porch, are holes the size of one of the bricks, and about fourteen inches in depth. These holes are lined with tiles, and have a ledge round the inside, so that they might be covered by one of the bricks of the pavement, without betraying the existence of the cavity. In these cavities Botta found small images of baked clay of frightful aspect, sometimes with lynx head and human body, and sometimes with human head and lion's body (see figs. 60 and 61). Some have the mitre encircled at the bottom with a double pair of horns: they have one arm crossed on the breast, and appear to hold a rod or stick, which is now too imperfect to allow of its shape being described. Others have their hair rolled in large curls, and others are human in the upper part, but terminating with bulls' legs and tails.

Figs. 60 and 61.—TERAPHIM.

Another curious circumstance respecting the pavement is, that the tiles or bricks cease at the threshold of the entrances, their places

being supplied by a single large slab of gypsum covered with cuneatic inscriptions, the slab of the centre opening being the entire length of the jamb, about 15 feet by 9 feet 9 inches wide; and the inscription is divided into two columns, to obviate, as we suppose, a difficulty which is commonly felt, in reading wide pages of letter-press. And now comes the interesting question, for what purpose were these secret cavities and long inscriptions placed at the threshold? As we have no analogous contrivances in the temples of Egypt or Greece, any attempt to account for these peculiarities in the Assyrian structure may, by some, be considered purely speculative; nevertheless, we will venture to advance our surmises. In the first place, we may conclude, from the constant occurrence of the emblematic figures at the entrances, that this part of the palace, or temple, in the Assyrian mind was of the greatest importance, and connected with their religious opinions. We find the principal doorways guarded either by the symbolic bulls, or by winged divinities. We next find upon the bulls themselves, and on the pavement of the recesses of the doors, long inscriptions, always the same, probably incantations or prayers; and finally, these secret cavities, in which images of a compound character were hidden. Thus the sacred or royal precincts were trebly guarded by divinities, inscriptions, and hidden gods, from the approach of any subtle spirit, or more palpable enemy, that might have escaped the vigilance of the king's body-guard. As regard the inscriptions, Botta found that they were all repetitions one of another, and that they, as well as the bricks, contained the same name, either that of a divinity or of the king. With respect to the clay images, he offers no remarks; but we would suggest that they are the תרפים, "Teraphim," a name given to certain images which Rachel had stolen from her father Laban, the Syrian, "and put them in the camel's furniture, and sat upon them;"[1] evidences which favour the conclusion that the teraphim, Laban's gods, were no larger than the images we are speaking of. The root, or original word, from which teraphim is derived, signifies to relax with fear, to strike terror, or רפה, "Repheh," an appaller—one who makes others faint or fail;[2] a signification that singularly accords with the terrifying aspect of the images found by Botta; and from their being secreted under the pavement near the gates, we conclude that they were intended to protect the entrances of the royal abode, by causing the evil-disposed to stumble, even at the very threshold. Again, the word teraphim being in the plural form, each individual figure is generally understood to have been a compound body, and

[1] Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 34.

[2] 2 Sam. xxi. 16—22.

this affords farther coincident evidence, as the Assyrian images were, likewise, always a compound. Another word, however, occurs to us to be equally worthy of consideration, as it agrees so remarkably with the places in which these images were found. It is the Arabic word طرف "Tarf," signifying a boundary or margin—a meaning analogous to doorway, the margin or boundary of the chamber. Thus, in both the Hebrew and the Arabic, we have significations immediately connected with the gods Teraphim, and finally, we have another illustration furnished by the modern Persians, who call their talismans, "Telefin;[1] really the same word, the *l* and the *r* being the same in some languages, and easily interchanging in many. If these analogies in themselves do not amount to actual proof that the teraphim of Scripture are identical with the secreted idols of the Assyrian palace, they are, at all events, curious and plausible; but when supported by what we know of the existing characteristics and superstitions of Eastern nations; of the pertinacity with which all Orientals adhere to ancient traditions and practices; of the strongly implanted prejudices entertained in the court of Persia respecting the going out and coming in of the Shah to his palace; and of the belief in unseen agencies and the influence of the evil eye, which has prevailed in all countries, and still exists in some, more especially in those of Asia and the south of Europe, our conjecture seems to amount almost to a certainty, and we, therefore, have no hesitation in offering it for consideration.[2]

SOUTH-EASTERN SIDE OF COURT N.—HISTORICAL CHAMBER XIV.

Before proceeding to examine the interior of the palace, we will enter the door of chamber XIV at the south-eastern side of the court, as the remains here are quite isolated, and evidently must originally have been a detached building, the limits of which are defined by the two courts (*n* and N), the passage chamber (X), and the external boundary of the mound. The doorway we are about to enter is the third on the south-eastern side; it is guarded on each side by a two-winged divinity and his attendant priest. Like the entrances we have before described, this also is paved with a large slab divided into two columns of inscription, and the door likewise was situated half way between the chamber and the court. A winged divinity on each of the jambs stands before the valves to greet those who enter, while two smaller winged figures behind the valves, and therefore not seen

[1] Chardin, Voy. vol. ii. c. 10.

[2] From a superstition of the same kind, the late Viceroy of Egypt never, during his long reign, left the city of Cairo by the gate called Bab-el-hadeed.

when the doors were open, speed those who depart. Turning to the right we find the figure of a eunuch in the attitude of respect, and the lower part of whose garment is inscribed: next to him, and in the corner of the room, is sculptured an ornament somewhat resembling that interlacing of the two aquatic plants of Egypt depicted on the thrones of the Pharaohs, and holding among Egyptian emblems the same rank and importance that this emblem does among the Assyrians. The centre stem occupies the corner of the room, its branches extending equally on both sides of the angle. The stem is interrupted at intervals by transverse scroll-like ornaments, and has likewise spikes, or points, all the way up to the top, which fans out something like a palm-tree, and every interweavement of the branches terminates in the Greek honeysuckle (see fig. 62). The end of the room is occupied by six figures, three standing before the king, and two behind him, namely, his cup-bearer and his sceptre-bearer, who is also his selikdar. The upper part of all these figures is defaced; but sufficient remain to enable us to say that they are in conversation with his majesty, since they all bear inscriptions on the lower part of their robes. The king carries the trilobed plant (see fig. 58, p. 155). The second corner of the chamber is occupied by the emblematic ornament, and then we see two more officers, each with an inscription.

Fig. 62.—SYMBOLIC TREE.

We now arrive at the doorway which leads into the inner chamber, and passing on find that the remainder of the wall still standing, has been covered with friezes of the same dimensions as those in the passage chamber, and like them divided by a band of inscription, but unfortunately only the lower lines of illustration remains, though this is sufficiently perfect to enable us to judge of the character of the decorations of the chamber. The sculpture represents the siege of a highly fortified place, belonging to the people who wear the sheep-skin garment, who are most valiantly repelling the onset of some crested warriors, backed by scantily clothed archers, and these again by the regular troops under the command of the Rabsaris or Rabshakeh of the time. The crested warriors we conceive to be Nysians, a colony of Lydians, from Mount Olympus, who wore helmets like the Greeks, and carried small shields and javelins, hardened in the fire.[1] The castle is fortified by a double wall, and built upon an irregular hill, up the sides of which have

[1] Herodotus, Polym. lxxiv.

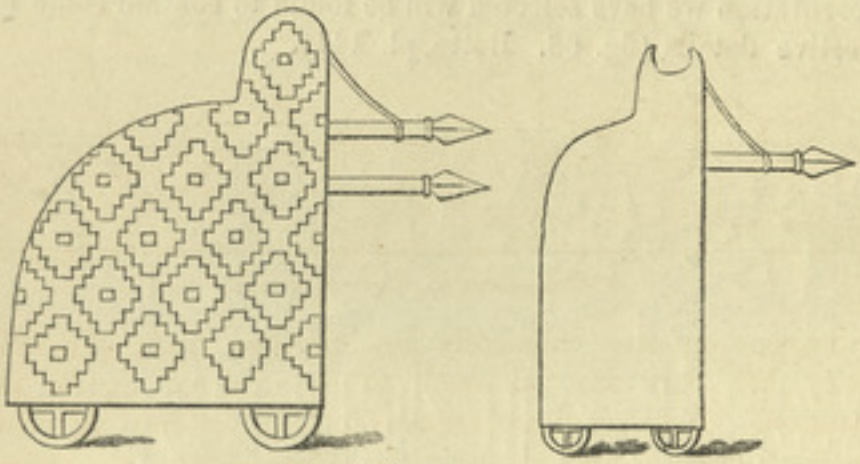
been urged two battering rams, which are playing against the gates and towers of the city, and the besieged are throwing lighted torches from the battlements to endeavour to set fire to the war-engines. Near the city is a remarkably steep hill, on which grow olive trees, and at the bottom of the hill flows a shallow stream, or a bay or arm of the sea (see fig. 63).

Fig. 63.—SIEGE WITH BATTERING-RAM.

Numerous cuneatic characters are inscribed upon the walls of the city, but they are too small to be rendered legible in our illustration. Nothing more remains of this interesting chamber, excepting a piece of wall adjoining the entrance from the court, and which contains the last page as it were of the history of this campaign of the Assyrian monarch.

In order to show the interior of a walled enclosure, vast enough to include grazing land for the cattle, a solid structure for the king, and tents for the people, the artist has given a ground plan. This place is situated by the side of a stream, and is surrounded by a wall flanked by towers at irregular intervals. In the upper half of the oval is placed the palace, in front of which are erected the standards and an altar or table, before which are two men. In the lower half are some tents containing people occupied in preparing food, and various implements are suspended to the pole of the tent as is still the custom. In the last paragraph of this historical roll, we read the termination of the campaign. Manacled prisoners of the sheep-skin clad nation are brought under escort to the walls of the fortified enclosure (Botta, plate 146), to be registered by two scribes, who are attended by a soldier holding

a spear. The beardless scribe holds a pointed stylus in his left hand, and in the other probably a piece of terra cotta on which he is about to engrave. He seems to be addressing the prisoner. The bearded scribe is writing on a roll or volume. The conclusion of the slab represents the same description of country, namely, a hilly coast or shore, on which is situated the last fortified place taken in this campaign (Botta, plate 147). It is built upon a hill, accessible by three roads constructed of hewn stone, and at the base of the hill flows the arm of the lake or river. The city is defended by bow-men on the upper and lower embattled walls. The attack is led by crested spearmen with round shields, followed by nearly naked bow-men, the rear being brought up by the regular troops, and upon the causeways are two war-engines[1] or battering-rams (figs. 64 and 65).



Figs. 64, 65.—WAR-ENGINES.

They move upon four wheels, and the machine is covered with a roof, which envelopes it on all sides, and which appears to be regularly ornamented. This roof is very much raised in front, to elevate the point of suspension of the rams, and thus give them more force: the rams are provided with lance-headed extremities, and it is plain they have already effected a small breach in the wall.

The name of the city is written on the upper towers.

INNER CHAMBER XIII.

This chamber opens from that we have just examined, the entrance being nearly opposite the doorway leading into the court. In this case the entrance or passage of communication is without valves, and the jambs are occupied by two figures of priests, presenting the

[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15.

fir-cone to the symbolic ornament or tree, described in the preceding apartment, which is placed between them. Between the jambs the pavement consists of the slab, with an inscription divided into two columns. This chamber also contains historical subjects, probably incidents in the same campaign, the termination of which we found recorded in the last chamber. Like that the walls are here divided by the band of cuneatic text into two lines of illustration, but unfortunately only a few slabs, and those exclusively of the lower division, remain. Turning to the right we shall follow the king in his chariot, preceded by a body of foot and followed by a detachment of horse, setting out on a campaign over a hilly country (Botta, plates 142, 143). They are proceeding towards a city of the interior, of which the Assyrian artist has given us some views, and the representation we have selected will be found to contain some highly suggestive details (fig. 66. Botta, pl. 141).

Fig. 66.—SACRED EDIFICE WITH GABLE ROOF.

In the centre, standing in a mound or sub-basement, is a building with a gable roof, showing that this mode of construction was well known at the period of these sculptures. On the piers of the building are suspended shields, seen in front and in profile. At the entrance stand two priests, and upon the plain at the base of the mound on which it is built, are two vases possibly containing the water for purification, from which circumstances we should surmise this structure to be a sacred edifice, but above it is a line of cuneatic, which may some day enlighten us on the subject. Upon the roof are some crested warriors, who are assisting

their companions to scale the walls. In one part of the city, built on a rocky eminence already in the occupation of the invader, is seen on the top of a house a eunuch dictating to his scribes. To the right, some of the inhabitants on the roofs of the houses extend their hands in supplication towards the king.

In another part of the city, two eunuchs are engaged in weighing the spoil. The beam of the scales is straight and suspended on a support, probably a tripod, the stems of which terminate in lions' feet. This apparatus is again placed upon a support resting on legs, carved to represent bulls' or goats' feet, which are terminated in their turn by the reversed cones which occur so often. The eunuchs are habited in their long robe, but without the fringed scarf.

In the rocky ground beneath the eunuchs just described are three individuals, each armed with a hatchet, busy hacking at the limbs of a figure, from which they have already separated the arms, and which represents either a living man or a statue (fig. 67).

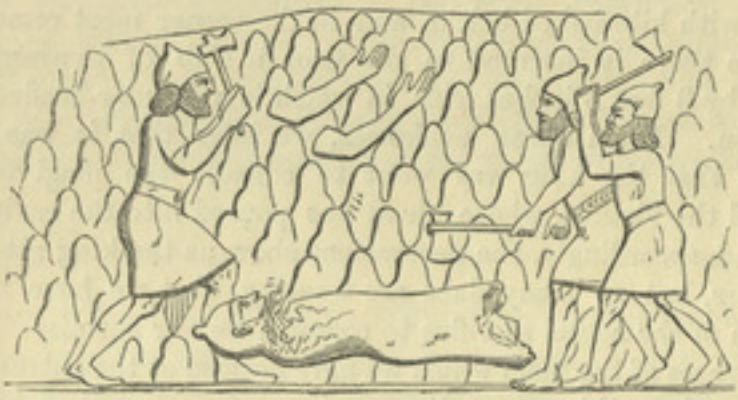


Fig. 67.—HEWING A FIGURE TO PIECES.

The executioners wear the same head-gear as the pillagers; and the figure itself is clothed in a long robe, with a pointed cap descending to the neck. The most probable interpretation of the matter seems to be, that they are breaking up a statue composed of one of the precious metals, and that the eunuchs are employed in weighing the fragments as they are delivered to them.

Farther off, we see others carrying away the spoil and accompanying a car. We have cause to regret that there are no more sculptures extant in this apartment, which, like the last, may be regarded as an historical chamber. It may likewise be worthy of remark, that this section of the Palace of Khorsabad was not only isolated, but that it must have consisted of a single floor, as there do not seem to be any places for the steps by which the upper stories could have been

reached, unless indeed they were constructed in the thickness of the wall which is destroyed. Returning to the court, we will now enter the small door in the south corner, and to the left of the passage chamber (x).

SOUTH-EASTERN SIDE OF COURT. CHAMBER IX.—THE DIVINING CHAMBER.

Entering this chamber from the court we shall meet in the recess, as already described, the figures of two magi, each bearing on his right arm a gazelle, and with his left hand elevated in prayer; behind the valves on each jamb there are two small figures of priests, part of the decoration belonging to the interior. In the centre of the wall, on our right hand, is another doorway, of which the jambs are identical. The room measures 30 feet by 27 feet 6 inches, and all the figures occupying the walls are of colossal dimensions, reaching to the entire height of the slabs. This chamber, unlike the others we have seen, is paved with kiln-baked bricks, and in the corner most remote from the doors there is inserted in the floor a slab of gypsum, 4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches wide, in which is a circular-headed oblong depression. From these evidences, we infer that it was in this chamber that the king was wont to consult the magi who here examined the victims, whose blood was poured into the cavity in the slab; and, accordingly, the decorations show us the king attended by his officers, but so many slabs are wanting, that we have no representation of the actual sacrifice to corroborate our surmise.

The figures of the magi which we have noticed at the entrance of the room differ in nothing from the magi so often described, but in the circumstance of their carrying a goat or gazelle. They are standing with the victim in the entrance of the chamber where the superstitious rites were performed, and this chamber is situated in the king's court, contiguous to the gate and passage-chamber. In the second verse of the second chapter of Daniel, four kinds of magicians are mentioned: the חרטמים, chartumim, the אשפים, asaphim, the מכשפים, mecasphim, כשדים, the casdim. The first word is supposed to signify enchanters, according to the LXX. sophists, according to Jerome, diviners, fortune-tellers, casters of nativities. The second word so resembles the Greek σοφος, sophos, for a wise man, that it has been doubted which is the original word. The third, mecasphim, by Jerome and the Greeks, is translated "enchanters," such as used noxious herbs and drugs—the blood of victims, and the bones of the dead, for their superstitious rites. The fourth word has two

significations—first, the Chaldæan people; and the second, a sort of philosophers, who were exempt from all public offices and employments: their studies being physic, astrology, the foretelling of future events, interpretation of dreams by augury, worship of the gods, &c. The Chaldæans had their origin from Chased, son of Nahor.[1] Jerome says the same thing:—"Chased, son of Nahor, from whom Chasdim, afterwards Chaldæi." Chased, however, only united the scattered tribes into a nation of the land of Ur, and there is little doubt but that they were a distinct nation, and not merely a tribe of priests;[2] Strabo, who had treated of them as philosophers, knew them also as a nation. The greater degree of refinement in the forms and features of the priests pourtrayed by the Assyrians might lead us to surmise that they are of this Chaldæan race. To which of the four classes the magus we are describing belongs, it would be difficult to determine, but from his carrying the gazelle, we should be inclined to place him in the third class, and probably of the Chaldæan race. His person is much thinner, and his features more delicate, than are those of the other attendants of the court, indicating sedentary occupations, and an exemption from the more active employments of life. The beard and hair of the magi are curled with the most extreme care, and they are distinctly blacked. We will now return to the court, and visit the interior of the palace of Khorsabad.

INTERIOR OF THE PALACE. CHAMBER VIII.—THE HALL OF JUDGMENT.

A glance at the detailed plan (p. 132) informs us that the chamber we are about to enter has six openings—three from the king's court (N), one immediately facing it, a lesser one on the same side, but farther to our left, and one to our right, at the end of the room. The three openings into the court, as well as the smaller opening on the opposite side, are all furnished with double valves, or folding doors, but neither the central one, nor that at the end, have any such provision, being apparently used merely as passages of communication. All these doorways are paved with inscribed slabs, inserted in the floor, which is formed of bricks, of the same dimensions as those of the courts, but which seem dried instead of kiln-baked, and they differ also from them in being without inscriptions. We will also notice that at the extreme end of the room, a large uninscribed slab of gypsum is inserted in the floor; that in the floor between the

[1] Gen. xxii. 22; Cellarius, lib. iii. 16.

[2] Jerom. In Quest. on Gen. xxii. Herodotus, Clio, clxxxi.; Diod. i. 28; Ainsworth's "Researches in Assyria."

two doors, (Q and M), there is a second uninscribed slab, with a circular hole in the centre, and that at each end of this slab there is a square hole in the pavement, like those for the teraphim in the courts.

Entering by the central opening or grand portal, and turning to the right, we find that the conflagration of the roof has destroyed all the upper part of the slabs, so that we have only the remains of eight figures, including the lower part of a long robed person, with his feet fettered, brought up for judgment. Passing the small door into the court, which has lost its jambs, and the remains of two figures, we reach the corner of the room, which we find occupied by one slab, on which is sculptured the emblematic floral ornament. Between this emblematic ornament and the opening (T), which we next approach, nothing is left but the lower part of the dress of one of the officers of the king, on which is an inscription. Passing the opening and the feet of a man, possibly the guard of the door, we arrive at the second corner of the room, with the emblematic ornament. On the length of wall which now occurs, is sculptured a group composed of fifteen figures, namely, the king, eight of his officers, and five persons of smaller stature, who are bound hand and foot: the fifteenth person does not properly belong to this group, for he turns his face to the central opening (U), and is the magus or priest.

Commencing at the central door we see the king with his chief cup-bearer; before them are three prisoners, who wear caps with a tassel depending from the top, a long fringed tunic, and over this a cloak with a tassel at the corners: their beards are short, and no hair appears from beneath their caps. The foremost is on his knees supplicating the king, while two others stand behind imploring his mercy. The slabs on which these figures occur are very much defaced, but from what we are able to discern we are inclined to think the people represented are some of the inhabitants of Palestine. Behind the prisoners stand four persons, with inscriptions on the lower part of their tunics; the first two are bearded, and seem to be the accusers; the remaining two are nearly defaced, but behind the last appears the eunuch, whose office it seems to be to usher into the presence of the king those who are permitted to appear before him. He is followed by another person of the same race as those under punishment; but who is taller in stature (Botta, pl. 120); his hands are manacled, and on his ankles are strong rings, fastened together by a heavy bar: the condition we read in which the king of Assyria took Manasseh to Babylon;[1] and probably the very fashion of those

[1] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; xxxvi. 6.

fetters of brass in which, still later, the king of Babylon bound Zedekiah.[1] This person is in the attitude of a supplicant, and on the lower part of his dress are several lines of cuneatic. The next group visible (fig. 68) is a naked man, his limbs stretched out, and his wrists and ankles fastened by a chain to pegs or pins inserted in the floor or table; while a tall bearded man in a short tunic, the רב טבחיא the Rab Tabachiya, the chief of the slayers, the captain of the king's guard, for so this officer was designated in the court of Nebuchadnezzar, in the time of the prophet Daniel,[2] is with a curved knife, beginning to remove the skin from the back of the arm of the prisoner, whose head is turned towards the king imploring pardon, the very words of which petition may possibly be contained in the

Fig. 68.—FLAYING ALIVE.

cuneatic inscription above him. Of the next figure, only the legs and several lines of cuneatic writing remain.

Returning to the central passage, we find, on each side facing the chamber, the figure of a magus; and on the line of wall succeeding, a scene representing the punishment of rebellion.

The prisoners are chiefs of that race or nation (see fig. 57) who are particularly distinguished by the sheep-skin outer garment made with sleeves, but terminating in the form of the unfashioned fleece, worn over a plain tunic reaching just below the knee. Instead of a belt there seems, as we have before observed, to be a cord wrapped several times round

[1] 2 Kings, xxv. 7; Jer. xxxix. 7. [2] Dan. ii. 14.

the waist, and terminating in a button or loop. Herodotus, in his enumeration of the nations that composed the army of Xerxes,[1] mentions a people called Sagartii, who supplied a body of horse. He says, "These people lead a pastoral life; they have no offensive weapons, either of iron or brass, except their daggers; their principal dependance in action is upon cords made of twisted leather, which they use in this manner: when they engage an enemy they throw out these cords, having a noose at the extremity." These people are possibly the same as the Togarmah,[2] who traded with Tyre in horses and mules, people of Scythia and Turcomania, children of Gomer. The people represented on the slabs are a tall race of men, have short beards terminating in spiral curls, seldom wear bracelets, earrings, nor other effeminate ornaments, and are, as we have seen by the nature of the tribute they bore in the chamber of passage, essentially a pastoral people, their entire characteristics being such as would seem to identify them with the Sagartii of Herodotus, and the Togarmah of Ezekiel. The three prisoners of this race in the centre of the frieze, have their feet and hands bound, and several lines of cuneatic run across the lower part of their dresses; they are guarded by two bearded officers, the foremost of whom is a sceptre-bearer, and carries likewise a bow; while the second, who wears a short tunic, has his hand raised; they are introduced into the presence of the king by two eunuchs. We next arrive at the small doorway (s), which has apparently, like the passage (U), been guarded on each side by a priest, though only the lower part of one is remaining; on that part of the two jambs which belong to this chamber, is represented a winged divinity presenting the pine-cone, and followed by his attendant magus: their faces are directed towards the chamber, as in the act of meeting the person who was privileged to pass through the door into the inner apartment. In the floor of the doorway is the inscribed slab. On the space between this door and the angle of the wall was, probably, the figure of the king belonging to the last subject, but the slabs are wanting. This brings us to the emblematic corner ornament, and to the wall at the end of the room, from which we have selected, as a specimen of the significant decoration of the chamber, a most remarkable scene.

In the annexed representation (fig. 69) we recognise the fate which subsequently befel Zedekiah, king of Judah, as recorded in the Second Book of Kings, in what we presume, from the sculptures in this chamber, was no uncommon punishment for the crime of rebellion. In the centre stands the king, and before him are three persons, the

[1] Herodotus, Polyhymnia, lxxxv.

[2] Ezek. xxvii. 14.

foremost of whom is on his knees, imploring mercy, and the two others are standing in a humble posture. The king is represented

Fig. 69.—KING PUTTING OUT THE EYES OF A CAPTIVE.

thrusting the point of his spear into one of the eyes of the supplicant, while he holds in his left hand the end of a cord which proceeds from rings that have been inserted into the lower lip of all three of the captives, who are likewise both manacled and fettered; and above their head is an inscription, perhaps the very words they uttered. These prisoners wear the long tunic reaching to their ankles, and the two standing have, in addition, a tight fitting cap. The king is attended by his cup-bearer and two bearded officers bearing sceptres; and facing the king, and immediately behind the sufferers, stands the רב סגנין Rab Signeen, the chief of the governors, his right hand uplifted, as if in the act of speaking; behind him are a eunuch and a bearded officer. All three of these persons, as well as those behind the king, have an inscription on the lower part of their dresses. Leaving this scene, we pass the symbolic corner ornament, and reach the small doorway (Q), which leads into the court (N), on each side of which stands a magus, with his face towards the entrance; but the sculptures on the jambs are gone. On the wall between this door and the central opening (M), is a similar representation of the king attended as usual, before whom are three fettered prisoners; the foremost, who is on his knees, being clad in the long fringed tunic, and the two behind him in the short tunic; but the outer garment of sheep-skin is not discernible, owing to the defacement of the upper part of the slab. From the foregoing description it will be found that in this chamber we have the record of the punishments inflicted on the chiefs of five nations, in which that of inserting a ring in the lip,

that of putting out the eyes, and that of flaying alive are all distinctly presented to us.

CHAMBER IV.—CHAMBER OF JUDGMENT.

Passing out of the Hall of Judgment (VIII.) by the passage of communication (T), we perceive on each side of us the king attended by his cup-bearer also walking out of the chamber, and met at the threshold by the Rab Signeen. (Botta, plate 80.) Turning to our right we find that from the opening to the corner there are eleven figures, the upper part of the whole being very much defaced by the calcination of the slabs, though enough of the frieze remains uninjured to show that the subject is very similar to those we have seen in the preceding chamber. Before the king, who is attended by his cup-bearer, sceptre-bearer, and a third person, are three prisoners, wearing the sheep-skin garment, the foremost of whom is kneeling in supplication; they are all fettered, and have the ring in the lower lip. Behind the captives are the Rab Signeen and three other persons, who, as well as the three officers following the king, have inscriptions on the lower part of their tunics. In the corner is the symbolic ornament.

The end of the room, and all the adjoining side, have entirely disappeared, till we come to a fragment of the lower part of a bull which formed one of the jambs of an entrance, indicating that this chamber was an exterior apartment; and, therefore, that, although now on the edge of the mound, it must formerly have led out into a court or terrace. From the bull to the next corner both slabs and wall have disappeared; but on the wall at the end of the room we again see the king, executing judgment on some sheep-skin clad prisoners, the Sagartii, two kneeling before him and two standing. Behind them is the accuser, or the king's chief counsellor, and attending the king is the cup-bearer, the whole group containing seven persons, all of whom, excepting the king and the kneeling prisoners, have more or less inscription on their robes. After this scene we approach a door leading into a small chamber (III.), passing which we reach the corner, which is again occupied by the symbolic ornament that seems to belong peculiarly to the corners of chambers where scenes of judgment and execution are represented.

Proceeding from the corner we perceive two short-bearded prisoners manacled and fettered; they have a simple band round their heads instead of the cap, are clad in long tunics, with cords twisted round their waists, have short cloaks and wear boots; they are ushered into the presence of the king by the eunuch carrying the double rod

(Botta, pl. 82), the Tartan of Scripture, who is preceded by two other officers of the court.

We next arrive at a passage of communication (R), on each side of which is a magus; and between this opening and that at which we entered is a scene containing twelve figures, including the magus we have just passed. We have first three officers of the court, preceded by the Rab Signeen, who is addressing the king, between whom and himself are four prisoners, two standing, and two kneeling to the king. The prisoners are of the race of men which we have before remarked to be of short stature, wearing short beards, tasselled caps, like the modern fez, and long tunics with the short upper garment. The king has several lines of cuneatic on his robe, and, as usual, is attended by his cup-bearer and selikdar. The countenances of these prisoners (Botta, plate 83) do not exhibit those peculiarities we find in other sculptures representing the people habited in the same way, but whether this be owing to the artist or to the imperfect condition of the upper part of the slabs, we know not. We have before intimated our belief, based on the peculiarities delineated, that these people are natives of Palestine, Jews, probably Samaritans. As in former bassi-relievi, they have rings in their lips, to which are attached a thin cord held by the king. It is not a little remarkable that when Sennacherib, a successor of the founder of this palace, invaded Judea, the prophetic message sent by Isaiah in reply to the prayer of Hezekiah should contain the metaphor here embodied, and probably enacted in these very chambers. "I know thy abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy rage against me. Because thy rage against me, and thy tumult, is come up into mine ears, therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou comest."[1]

The first verse, "I know thy abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in," we surmise alludes to the incantation and idolatrous emblems and figures, which as we have seen, are crowded together at the entrances of the Assyrian palaces, as the means of ensuring the safety and success of the kings of Assyria in their going out and coming in. The second verse is here presented literally before us.

Before leaving this section of the palace we will pass through the opening (R) into

CHAMBER VII.

This small chamber communicates with the one we are leaving, by

[1] Isaiah, xxxvii. 28, 29; Ezek. xxxviii. 4; Deut. xxviii. 6, 19; 2 Kings, xix. 27; Amos, iv. 2; Psl. cxxi. 8.

an opening without doors, and the sides of which have disappeared. Upon entering we find that there is no other outlet, and that the significant decorations on the walls are divided into an upper and lower illustration, by a band of cuneatic. The room may be likened to a small volume on the pleasures of the table and the chase, illustrated by highly wrought engravings, the text occupying the middle of the page in twenty lines of cuneatic, and the whole volume presenting a surface of 140 feet in length, and 9 feet in height.

The first section of the volume is dedicated to the pleasures of the table; unfortunately it is considerably damaged, but nevertheless, on turning to the right we can still distinguish on the upper part of the wall, the figures of the guests sitting on high seats, and holding up their drinking cups, in the act of pledging each other, or drinking the king's health. Between the tables stand the eunuchs attending on the convivialists, and at the end wall is an elegant folding tray, terminating in the legs of an animal, on which some persons seem to be preparing food; all the rest of this upper subject is defaced. The lower line of illustration, or the section of the volume which is dedicated to the pleasures of the field, is more legible. Commencing at the entrance, we find in the corner to our right, at the extremity of the hunting-ground, an artificial piece of water in which are some fish and two pleasure-boats. On the margin of the lake is a kiosk or pleasure-house, the roof supported by columns resembling those of the Ionic order in Grecian architecture (fig. 70).

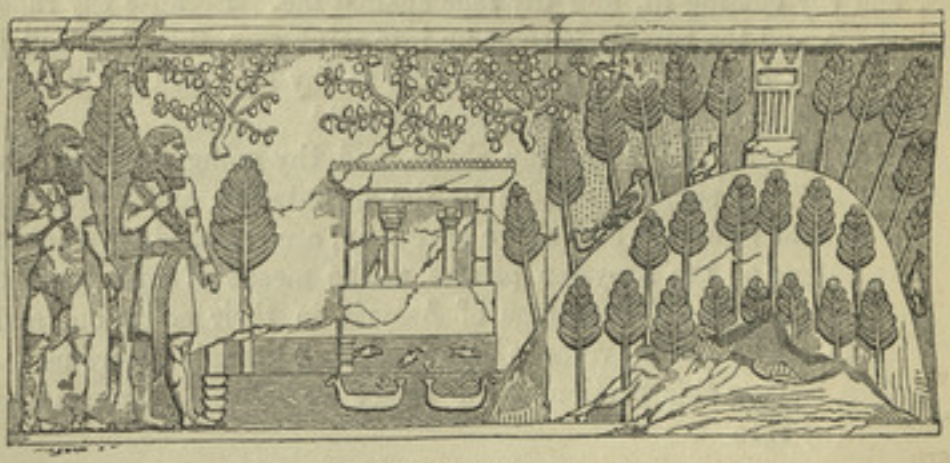


Fig. 70.—KIOSK.

Surrounding the kiosk are fruit-trees, possibly the fig and others, the branches of which appear to bear leaves and fruit; the round appendages being painted blue and the others red. Near to

this spot is a hill and grove of fir-trees, abounding with pheasants; and on the top of the hill is an altar, reminding us of the groves and altars on high places, so often alluded to in the sacred writings, as a heathen custom which the people of Israel were forbidden to imitate. "They sacrifice on the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks, and poplars, and elms (fir-trees), because the shadow thereof is good."[1] This little monument is raised upon a square base: the shaft has six flutings, and the entablature eight; the whole is crowned in the middle, and at the angles with step-like battlements. These details are not unimportant, as they tend to show the similarity between this altar and the one engraved on the Babylonian stone known as the *Caillou de Michaud*, preserved in the Cabinet of Antiquities of the *Bibliothéque Nationale* at Paris.

To this the king is hastening in his chariot, drawn by two horses at full speed (fig. 71): he holds the full blown lotus, and two buds

Fig. 71.—KING FOLLOWING THE CHASE.

represented after the Egyptian mode of delineating the plant, and is accompanied by his charioteer and umbrella-bearer, clad in the long fringed cloak. The tiara and parasol are painted in red stripes; the flower in the king's hand is painted blue. The handle of the driver's whip is a gazelle's foot. Immediately preceding the chariot are two spearmen and two sceptre-bearers on foot, and following the chariot are three horsemen (fig. 72), perhaps two of the king's sons attended by a bearded domestic. Next follows a sceptre-bearer on foot, whom we take to be the keeper of the pleasure-grounds;[2] then a groom holding the horse of the king's son in one hand, and in the

[1] Hosea, iv. 13.

[2] Nehemiah, ii. 8.

other his whip and a hare; and next (fig. 73) we have the king's son shooting at a target, while over head are several birds upon the wing,

Fig. 72.—THE KING'S SONS FOLLOWING THE CHASE, PART OF PRECEDING.

and one which has been shot by an arrow. Of the fragment that remains there appears also to be a disc, in the middle of which it is

Fig. 73.—SHOOTING AT TARGET.

easy to distinguish the figure of a lion in which arrows are implanted. This may not have been the representation of a real lion, but of a target for the archers. The remaining portion of the division of the frieze on this wall, represents two eunuchs bearing game (fig. 74).

The adjoining side of the chamber is entirely defaced until just before arriving at the entrance. Two horsemen are seen galloping in the midst of trees; both are clothed in simple tunics fastened with girdles; they wear stockings made of rings of mail, and boots laced up in front. The first has a lance, the second is flogging his horse with a whip that has three lashes. The harness offers nothing

remarkable. Some birds are seen flying through the trees; and judging from the two long feathers in their tails, they belong to the

Fig. 74.—THE KING'S FORESTERS.

family of *katas* or partridge, so common throughout the East. In front of them we have a continuation of the forest, in the middle of which are two men on foot, one of whom holds a hare and the other a bird (fig. 75). Further on is seen a horse without a rider; on its head there is a bird of prey, which seems, by the shortness of its beak, to be a falcon.

Fig. 75.—HUNTING AND HUNTSMEN.

Returning through chambers IV. and VIII., we now visit

CHAMBER V.—THE HALL OF HISTORICAL RECORDS.

Entering from the Hall of Judgment (VIII.) through the central opening (U) we find each side of the passage of communication is sculptured with a representation of the king followed by his chief cup-bearer, walking into the chamber (V), and met at the threshold by the Rab Signeen, the chief of the governors or one of the תיכם,

Hakim, or wise men of the court. On the floor of the passage is a slab inscribed with two columns of cuneatic. The chamber itself has four openings, two with doors and two without, so that when the leaves of the former were closed, the chamber became the sole line of communication to the adjoining apartment (o). The smaller entrance (s) on the left we shall designate the sacred door, because it is guarded by winged divinities and their attendant magi. The decorations on the walls are divided into two lines of illustration by the text in the vernacular of Assyria, a text that we hope may soon be as intelligible as are the accompanying illustrations in the universal language of art.

Turning to the right so as to read the events in their proper succession, or chronological order, we perceive that a large piece of the historical record is wanting; nothing in fact being left until we pass the large door-way (E), and then, on the second slab of the upper line (Botta, pl. 89), nought but an indication of some chariots and horses which seem to belong to the king who is receiving a procession of tribute-bearers (Botta, pl. 88) clad in richly embroidered short tunics, with sleeves terminating above the elbow. They wear massive bracelets, a band round the waist, a short sword, but neither boots nor shoes. Their beards are short, but the head-dress cannot be discovered owing to the calcination of the upper part of the slabs. We may presume that the frieze represents the successful termination of the expedition against this people, and that the former part of the campaign was to have been read on that portion of the wall now defaced. The next slab affords us nothing but the feet of some figures, and then the advance of the regular troops under cover of tall shields to the attack of a city. In advance of these are those warriors who carry the round shield, and wear the crested helmet resembling the Greek in form, one of whom is, with terrible barbarity, plunging his sword into the throat of a supplicant (Botta, pl. 90). Almost the whole of the adjoining slab has disappeared, excepting a tower of the city seen behind two men in short tunics and oval shields, who seem determined to resist the furious onset of a charioteer (fig. 76).

The bas-relief being in a bad condition, it is difficult to make out the details; but it would seem that the vanquished are again different from any we have as yet seen. They have a short beard, and no hair visible upon the top of their head; they are clothed in a tunic descending only to the middle of their thighs; their legs are encased in short boots; their shields are of a pointed oval, and their sabres bent so as to resemble a Turkish yatagan. One of these vanquished people is

under the horses' feet, while another appears up in the air, through faulty perspective; a third is flying before the car; lastly, two of

Fig. 76.—THE CHARGE. Botta, Plate 92.

them are standing face to face with the enemy, and protecting their bodies with their shields, as if still wishing to defend themselves resolutely with the help of their lances.

This brings us to the end of the room and to the angle of the passage (o), on the sides of which the subject is continued (Botta, pl. 100), the chariots of the great king being opposed by another body of the same people, who are again seen routed by the regular cavalry (Botta, pl. 99), and also by the chariots of the king, interspersed with small detachments of cavalry (Botta, pl. 94); notwithstanding which successive disasters, they continue to oppose on foot the progress of the invader. We have now arrived at the small side entrance (s), which we have called the "sacred door;" on the jambs belonging to the room is sculptured the figure of a magus, his right hand elevated, as if reciting the incantation inscribed on the slab of the pavement, and his left holding the trilobed plant. Between this small recess and the entrance from the outer hall, the upper part of the slabs is entirely calcined. Here then from the entrance (u) whence we set out, we begin to read the lower line of illustration.

On the first slab the representation of a fort upon a hill is indistinctly traceable, and we have, then, nothing further till slab 21 at the end of the room, when we have the attack of a city by some of the regular troops, bowmen, under cover of a high curved shield. What is left of the city walls seems to indicate that they were accessible only by scaling ladders, which some of the crested spearmen with round shields are mounting under cover of the arrows of the naked bowmen; there is now an interval of a slab, followed by another fort

or city (Botta, pl. 97), situated on a hill, and also only accessible by scaling ladders. This city is defended by men wearing turbans. The subject of the next slab, 25, is misplaced in Botta in consequence of a mistake in the title. It represents the attack of another side of the same city by the crested spearmen.

Passing the door (E) we find a fortress of one range of towers situated on a rocky hill; the fort has been approached by a body of the regular archers, who wear a breast-plate (Botta, pl. 86) over a short tunic, and the pointed cap, and carry a round shield, with zigzag decoration round the inner margin. The towers are defended by men who use the spear. It is to be remarked that the Assyrians have not set fire to the gates of this city, as appeared to be their usual practice in attacking a fortified place. Behind the bowmen is the general of the Assyrian army, who heads the attack of the regular troops on this side the city; he wears a breast-plate and long tunic, and is sheltered by a high shield, curving over at the top, borne by a bearded man in a short tunic. Upon the rocks on which the fort is built is a native contending with one of the enemy bearing the round shield.

We next see that a troop of horse has been detached from the main army to the attack of a very remarkable place built upon a precipitous rocky eminence on the sea coast (Botta, pl. 89),[1] and that on their march they encounter a body of the natives, among whom is an African (Botta, pl. 88). The towers of the fort are defended by spearmen, and all the people on the walls wear a hood, or cover their

Fig. 77.—THE ATTACK OF AN ADVANCED FORT. Botta, Plate 93.

heads with a part of their cloak (fig. 77). As usual, the attack is led by

[1] The numbers that occur between ( ) refer to the number of the Plates in Botta's great work.

the crested warriors, who carry the spear and round shield, followed by long-haired bowmen, and the military tactics displayed are worthy of remark, the van discharging their arrows kneeling on one knee, while the rear rank stand up so as not to interfere with the free action of the line in advance. Though the place attacked is of small dimensions, it is evidently of importance, as it forms the landing-place guarding the pass to the interior of the country, and is besides contiguous to a much larger place, of which the citadel, built on a detached hill behind the town, is of considerable extent. Two battering rams have been propelled against the walls, up an inclined road built of hewn stone, and between the besiegers and the castle are some cuneatic characters. On the other side of the town the attack is conducted by the regular troops, under the command of the eunuch, who draws his bow from behind the shelter of the long curved shield. In advance of the heavy-armed infantry on this side also of the town, is a troop of crested spearmen. Nearer the passage of communication (o) is a group of inhabitants of the last town, carried away captive, and guarded by a bowman with pointed cap, and bearing a sceptre (Botta, pl. 92).

Fig. 78.—CAPTIVES AND SPOIL. Botta, Plate 92.

Both men and women are tall, and wear the fringed haram, or blanket, thrown over the head and left shoulder, exactly like that worn by the Arabs at the present day. One of the women is carrying a small girbeh, or water-skin, in her hand, and her feet, like those of the other prisoners, are bound with sandals exactly similar to those seen in Sennaar and Arabia. The sole is maintained in the middle by a band fastened on each side of the foot to a strap that goes round it, passing behind the heel; another strap secures the anterior extremity of the sole by passing between the toes. A second female, clothed in the same manner, is seen carrying a naked child astride on her left

shoulder, just as Arabian women do now. The child's body is certainly naked, but it has a small hood: this is one of the reasons which incline us to think that this head-dress did not form part of the robe, but was merely placed above it. Before this woman is a eunuch with a pointed helmet, raising his mace in his right hand. This eunuch does not wear his usual civic attire, but is completely armed: the coat of mail is seen on his shoulders, from one of which his quiver is suspended, and he holds his bow in his left hand; his legs are covered with a tissue of close rings of mail, over which are his half-boots, laced up in front. Three personages walk before the eunuch; they are men belonging to the same nation as the women; their dress is exactly the same, and their sex can only be distinguished by their physiognomy and their beard: the latter is shorter than that of the Assyrians; the hair cannot be seen, as it is hidden by the hood. We shall see these prisoners conducted into the presence of the king.

In front of this group, which is continued on the walls of the opening (o), is a chief of the same people, manacled and guarded by one of the king's officers. He is brought before the king, who obviously commands his immediate execution (Botta, plate 100), and the eunuch holds the beard or throat of his prisoner with one hand, while with the other he draws his sword from the scabbard to execute the order. The king is in his chariot, preceded by two grooms, and, as he is not in the act of fighting, accompanied by the servant carrying the parasol. The horses' trappings offer nothing new; only as the details are in a good state of preservation, we have a perfect view of the hook at the extremity of the yoke, to which hook is attached the tassel that hangs upon the horses' flank; it is also evident that the bridle passed into a ring inside this hook, and, after traversing it, divided into three thongs.

The two grooms, who are standing before the car, hold their arms stretched out and lowered before them. Perhaps this attitude was intended to intimate to the prisoner that he was to kneel down and undergo his fate. The dress of these warriors is simple: they appear to have merely a tunic tied by a girdle, but it is evident that, besides this, they wear a piece of cloth wrapped round their loins; otherwise it would be impossible to account for the appearance of the fringe, which hangs obliquely before and behind.

The eunuch is in his war costume, every detail of which can be beautifully made out. He has on a pointed helmet; a tunic fringed at the bottom comes down to his knees, and his breast is covered with a cuirass, formed of a tissue which is covered with regular rows of scales: both cuirass and tunic have fringe round the bottom. His

legs are defended, not by chain-armour, but by a stocking covered with imbricated scales; over this defensive armour are boots laced in front, and reaching up to the knee-pan. The unhappy prisoner appears to raise his hands in a supplicating manner. Passing the passage, we find the regular troops under the command of two beardless officers, the Rabsaris and Rabshakeh of the king (Botta, plate 99), advancing under cover of tall shields to the attack of a well-fortified, isolated hill (Botta, plate 93), the inhabitants of which wear caps and use the bow. Preceding the regular troops are some of the naked bowmen, their long hair bound up by a fillet, and in advance of them the crested warriors climb the rocks, and contend with the people upon the walls, while on the farther side the fort is attacked by a second party of bowmen. The successful termination of the siege is intimated by some of the chiefs being brought by two of the regular troops to the king, who, as on the former occasion, is in his chariot: these people, however, do not wear the haram or blanket, and their feet and legs are protected by closely fitting boots. Proceeding past the "sacred door," we come to the siege of a very conspicuous place, assailed on both sides by the regular troops. A battering ram has reached the walls by an inclined place of hewn stones; and immediately following this subject is the attack of another strongly-built place erected on still higher rocks, but the friezes are too much defaced to allow of any detailed description.

Quitting this chamber by the passage of communication (o) at the end wall, we enter the Chamber of Audience.

CHAMBER VI.—THE CHAMBER OF AUDIENCE.

Walking over the inscribed slab of the passage (o), the sides of which, as we have before seen, are decorated with a continuation of the conquests recorded in the last chamber, we find the apartment we have now entered has four openings, two of which are furnished with doors. Turning to the right, we see upon the wall two short bearded men (Botta, plate 103), each bearing two cups of simple form: they are habited exactly like the one of which we give an engraving at page 182, and are followed by two of the same race bringing sacks. The rest of the wall is defaced until we reach a doorway (H); and then, in the space between the door and the corner of the room, is another of the same people bearing a sack, and with his face directed towards the corner, from which we conjecture that he accompanies the group of five men sculptured on the adjoining wall (Botta, plate 106,) at the end of the chamber, the two foremost of whom carry

cups and the three others sacks. The centre sack-bearer (fig. 79), has his outer garment fastened by a clasp (fig. 80), a peculiarity of costume that leads to the surmise that these people are from the coast of Cilicia, and may be the people called Milyæ, who Herodotus tells us wore helmets of leather, and who had their vests confined with clasps.[1] Upon the wall between the second corner and the passage of communication (x) we have sixteen figures: near the opening the king, attended by his Cup-bearer and Selikdar, and before him seven officers of his court, the first three wanting the upper part of the figure, but the fourth is a governor or פחותא, Pachavatha or Pashaw, one who is set over provinces annexed to the kingdom by conquest; the fifth is a eunuch, and then another pashaw, or one of those called in Daniel,[2] אחשדרפניא, achashdarpenaiya, that is to say, one of those who has free access to the palace and is privileged to stand before the king. Next comes a eunuch, and then another governor or Hakim. These high functionaries we suppose to have had the administration of the principal province of the empire, offices which at a subsequent period were held by the three companions of the prophet Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who were "set over the affairs of the province of Babylon," (Dan. ii., 49,) probably in obedience to an ancient custom.

Fig. 79.—ONE OF THE MILYÆ FROM CILICIA.

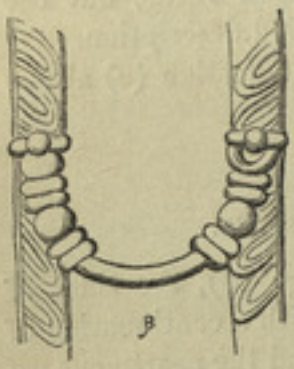


Fig. 80.—CLASP.

After these dignitaries comes the chief officer of tribute, with his insignia of office, the two wands, introducing two Sultans of Medinets followed by two men. Each carry two cups terminating in the head of a lion, and behind them again two other men with the more ordinary form of cup or tazza. Passing the entrance (x) we find the wall from the opening to the corner occupied by nine figures, and from the corner to the small door (y) at the end of the room by five more, which properly belong to the same group. The subject is nearly a duplicate of that we have just left, being the king attended

[1] Polyhym. lxxvii.

[2] Dan. i. 5.

by his cup-bearer addressing the seven chief officers of his household, who stand before him in the order invariably observed: the remaining figures are the deputy chief of tribute introducing two governors of provinces, followed by two men carrying lion-headed drinking cups. The small door leads into the Divining Chamber (IX) (see page 161), and the sculptures on the jambs of the room we are describing are occupied by two figures of sceptre-bearers. On the length of wall between the corner and the central entrance (O) there are twelve figures; the king, his right hand elevated and his left carrying a full-blown lotus and bud, is followed by his Cup-bearer and Selikdar; and in front are two persons of whom we are uncertain, owing to the defacement of the slabs; but following these is a eunuch, then a governor, and then the deputy Tartan, who is introducing four of the same tribute-bearers we have so often seen; the first one bearing a tray on which are rosette clasps, two others also with trays containing earrings, and the fourth two cups, thus completing the decorations of this chamber. We would point out to observation that the figure of the king is three times repeated on the walls, twice as walking out of the small divining chamber (IX), and once as coming out of the chamber (XI), in each instance to receive tribute from the race of people who wear the turban or cap; the only exceptions to this head-dress being two of the cup-bearers whose heads are bound with a fillet.

We now return to the centre passage of communication (X), in order to enter the Inner Chamber of Audience.

CHAMBER XI.—THE INNER PRESENCE CHAMBER.

Entering through the passage of communication (X) we are met on each side by the four-winged divinity, Ilus, and his attendant magus; and turning to the right we meet seven figures between the entrance and the corner. The first is a Sultan Medinet, whose insignia indicate that he is governor of two towns; then a Sultan, whose badges of office are effaced, preceding two men, each carrying two cups; and again a governor of two towns, followed by two men bearing sacks. This brings us to the corner, and to the end wall, on which we find four men bearing sacks; but they are proceeding in a contrary direction to those last described, and evidently belong to the long procession on the adjoining wall, of which little beside the feet remain: of these, we recognise the king with his two attendants, and before him the seven officers of his court, Tartan, and five tribute-bearers. From the third corner to the small door (E) are the figures

of two sceptre-bearers, and on one side of the recess of the door is another sceptre-bearer, while on the answering recess stands a beardless spearman.

This person we conceive to be one of the תרעיא, Teraaia[1] or porters, from his position at this important little doorway, and as the word teraania is derived from a Chaldee word signifying a gate, we have little doubt it was the name by which this officer was designated at the Assyrian court.

From the fourth corner to the entrance (x) are twelve figures; the king carrying the trilobed plant, followed by his cup-bearer and an armed spearman, probably the second door-keeper. Before the king are seven of his officers, the last but one being the deputy-Tartan. Having now arrived at the passage by which we entered, before leaving this quarter of the palace we will pass through the small doorway (E) and examine the chamber (XII) within.

CHAMBER XII.—THE PRIVATE COUNCIL CHAMBER.

Passing the armed Teraaia or door-keepers, we enter a small apartment, 29 ft. 3 in. by 19 ft. 6 in., which, from the representations upon the walls, we conjecture to have been the chamber where the king held council with his officers before giving audience, and to which he probably retired while the procession of tribute-bearers, or those to whom he gave audience, filed off. Upon the wall facing the entrance we see the king, attended by his cup-bearer, conversing with his chief minister, behind whom, on the adjoining wall, stand seven other officers, and two at the end between the corner and the door. On the adjoining wall behind the cup-bearer are six other attendants. It is to be remarked that the whole of the officers and attendants in this room, excepting the Rab Signeen, are unarmed, and that they are uniformly in the attitude of respect. We may suppose that they are ranged on the walls in the order in which they preceded and followed the king into the presence-chamber, where we have already seen them in the same order occupying the entire space between the passage x and the upper end of the room; the lower end of the room, beyond the opening, being apparently appropriated exclusively to the tribute-bearers.

Returning through the presence-chamber (XI) and the chamber of audience (VI) to the hall of passage (V) we enter the next hall (II), the Banqueting Hall.

[1] Ezra, vii. 24.

CHAMBER II.—THE BANQUETING HALL.

Placing ourselves in the central doorway (E) we find that this must have been the door of entry, as on each side of us is sculptured a full-length portrait of the king, attended by his cup-bearer, walking into the hall we are about to enter, and met by the Rab Signeen. Upon surveying the hall we perceive that it contains six entrances, three large and three small, all closed by folding doors; and that the walls are decorated with two lines of illustration, divided by a band of cuneatic. Turning to the right, we discover that the upper illustration, as far as the corner, is a representation of a banqueting scene, the details of which, as well as the upper part of the slabs at the end of the hall, are almost entirely obliterated until we arrive at the small door (B) on the opposite side, in one recess of which we see the lower part of the figures of some soldiers. All the sculptures, however, from this point to the central door (F), are too much injured to admit of description. The next two slabs we meet show the attack of a city (fig. 81) (Botta, plate 70,) on a less elevated promontory on the

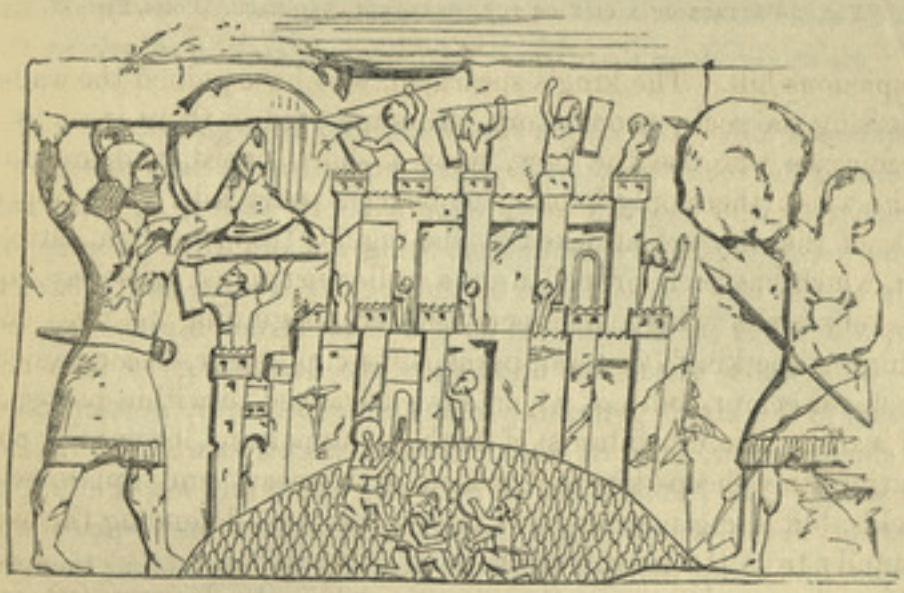


Fig. 81.—ATTACK OF A CITY. Botta, Plate 70.

river's bank than some seen in chamber V, and which is, therefore, more accessible to the infantry who have advanced to the very foot of the walls under cover of their tall shields. On the next three slabs we can trace the successful termination of the siege in the circumstance of some of the sheep-skin clad warriors being brought before the king in his chariot. We have now reached the second small door (G) on

this side, in the recess of which, and on the wall beyond, only the indication of figures can be discerned, till we arrive at the end of the hall, when we see some prisoners in the sheep-skin outer garment, short tunic, and boots, escorted along the banks of a stream: the foremost is carrying a girbah, or water skin, which had probably been used in crossing the river. Entering the recess of the gate (H) leading into the hall of audience, we find a representation (fig. 82) of the attack of a city built on a very precipitous headland, backed by a

Fig. 82.—ATTACK OF A CITY OF THE SHEEP-SKIN CLAD RACE. Botta, Plate 77.

conspicuous hill. The king's spearmen, who have gained the walls by traversing the rocky promontory, are supported in their onset by the mercenaries who use the bow, wear a short sword, and are naked to the waist, their only habiliment being a short kilt. The opposite walls of the city are attacked by the regular troops, and a battering ram, which has been propelled up a well-constructed causeway, up to the very walls where its operations are beginning to take effect. Behind is the king's general, perhaps his cup-bearer, accompanied by his shield-bearer, both of whom have advanced to within bow-shot of the walls. The inhabitants of both the upper and lower city, people wearing the sheep-skin and armed with spears and square wicker shields, but using neither bows nor swords, are defending themselves manfully from the assault of the king's forces.

Placing ourselves upon the cuneatic slab in the doorway (H), in the centre of the end wall of the hall, we see the representation of a large vase standing upon the ground, that evidently, from its dimensions, contained "royal wine in abundance, according to the state of the king."[1] Into this vase two eunuchs are dipping drinking cups terminating in the head of a lion. (See fig. 83.)

[1] Esther i. 7.

These cups resemble the terra cotta drinking cups of the Greeks (fig. 85) in so far as they also terminate in the head of an animal, but we

Fig. 83.—FEAST.—DRINKING CUPS AND WINE-VASE. Botta, Plate 76.

infer from the construction of the handle of the Assyrian cups (fig. 86), with a hinge-like articulation to the bowl, which could not be effective except in metal, and from their being used at the king's table, and likewise from the fact of their being brought as tribute, that they were made of gold, like those used at the royal feast given by King Ahasuerus.[1]

Fig. 84.—ASSYRIAN CUP.

Fig. 85.—GREEK CUP.

Two eunuchs, with replenished cups, advance into the room, preceded by another beardless attendant in the attitude of respect, carrying the minasha or fan. In advance of these are three short-bearded performers on the lyre ushered into the great chamber by two eunuchs. The musicians are clad in a short tunic held fast by a girdle, and their hair is drawn back and terminates above the shoulders, in a single row of curls. They proceed with measured step, singing and twanging their lyres, which are suspended by a

[1] Esther, i. 7.

broad band passing over the right shoulder. The instrument itself (fig. 86) somewhat resembles the Greek lyre: it has a square body and upright sides, the latter being connected by a cross bar, to which are fixed strings that seem to have been rather numerous, for we can count eight at least, and in the part that is corroded away there is room for three or four more. Exactly similar instruments are now seen in Nubia and Dongola; and the mode of playing is that the right hand holds a short plectrum to strike the intervals, while the left is used to stop and twang the cords.

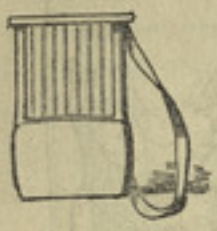


Fig. 86.—LYRE.

Next (fig. 87) are four bearded sceptre-bearers, in short tunics, holding up their drinking cups in the act of responding to the toast, or of pledging each other. Between the sceptre-bearers is one of the dishes with the food in it, placed upon the floor, where it was customary to

Fig. 87.—GUESTS AT THE TABLE—THE TOAST. Botta, Plates 64 and 65.

deposit them as they were brought in, or removed from the banqueting hall: then follow seven tables with legs terminating in lions' claws and apparently furnished with a cloth, on which the viands are placed. Four guests are at each table, sitting upon high seats richly carved and ornamented with bulls' heads: the feet are like cones formed of rows of imbricated scales or of gradually decreasing rings. An eunuch stands behind each seat, to fan and wait upon the guests,[1] and they, as well as the convivialists, are attired in the long robe and fringed scarf.

At the feast Ahasuerus made unto all the people that were present in Shushan, the seats were of gold and silver, and it would appear from the word used to express the kind of seat, מטות, matout,

[1] Esther i. 8.

a couch, that it was to recline on. Whether such seats were used on that particular occasion only, or whether the custom of reclining at meals, as we see represented in Roman bassi-rilievi, had at that time come into use, is very doubtful; but it is quite certain, from Egyptian and other sources than the present example, that the more ancient mode was to sit at meals in the way we here see, and on seats without backs. The fate of the prophet Eli also illustrates this practice of using seats without backs, and "he fell from off the seat backward by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died."[1] In the friezes before us the attitude of all the guests is similar, the left hand resting on the knee or on the bull's head at the end of the bar of the seat, while the right hand is raised in the act of drinking the king's health or in pledging those on the opposite side of the table. (Botta, plate 165.) Botta found the head of a bull in bronze, which might have belonged to one of these seats. The tables of guests terminate the scene, and it seems to us not improbable that every particular delineated upon the walls had been realised within them. Thus it was in this chamber "the harp and viol were in their feasts" in the days of their prosperity, that the original of the wine-vase of the king once stood within the very recess upon which we have now but the representation; that the tables and seats art has presented to view, once in substance occupied the centre of this hall; and that it was here, in this very chamber of his palace, that the great king was wont to feast the "nobles and princes of the provinces"[2] on his return from his conquests.

Having now accomplished the circuit of the apartment and returned to the doorway (E) whence we started, we will begin the examination of the lower line of illustration, as we conceive it was intended to be read so that the events of the campaign should follow each other in chronological succession.

In the first frieze we see the king, preceded by his standard bearer and accompanied by his other officers in war chariots, pursuing a troop of the cavalry of his determined enemies, the sheep-skin clad race, who had advanced to meet the invader, but who are routed and overthrown before they can gain the protection of a large and important city built on the shore of a lake or on the banks of a stream. The citadel, which is built on a fertile hill at the back of the town, is surrounded by a wall, and at one part of the sloping side of the hill is rendered inaccessible by a high wall from its base: the town itself is fortified by high embattled walls flanked by towers, which are pierced with square windows; the doors, on the contrary,

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 18.

[2] Esther, i. 3.

are evidently arched—a fact worthy of attention. There is a short inscription on the bottom of the hill on which stands the citadel. (Fig. 88.)

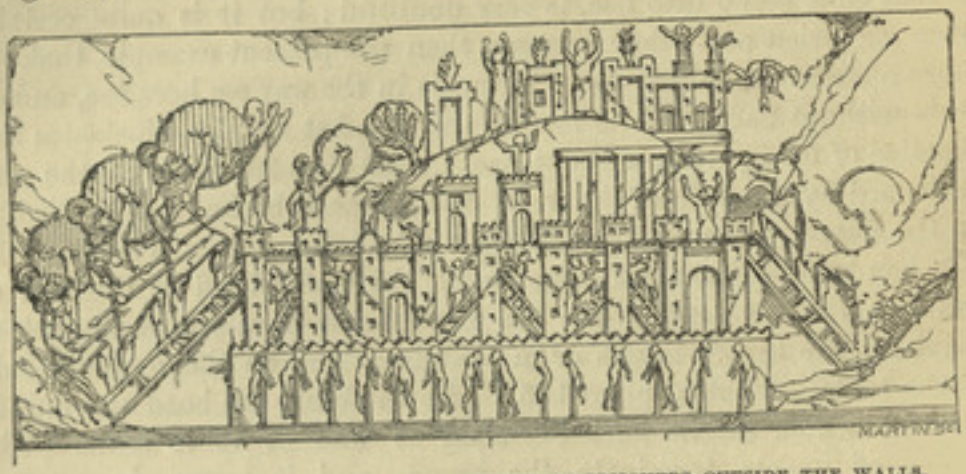


Fig. 88.—ASSAULT OF A CITY AND IMPALEMENT OF PRISONERS OUTSIDE THE WALLS. Botta, Plate 55.

Fourteen of the inhabitants, perhaps some of the cavalry which had attempted to arrest the advance of the king, are impaled in front of the city's walls. Frequent allusion is made in the Sacred Books to the enormities and cruelties committed by the Assyrians: we know from these authentic records and from profane history that the dreadful punishment of impalement was no uncommon practice. Darius impaled 3000 of the chief nobility of Babylon,[1] and this cruel death is not unusual in Persia and Turkey even in our own time. In the scene before us we find scaling ladders placed at different parts of the walls, and some of the bold crested mercenaries have already gained the second wall, seemingly without resistance. To the left, are seen three of them ascending one after the other. In their right hand they hold a lance, and in their left a large round shield, and which appears covered with regularly-disposed plates. They also wear a sword suspended to a belt, crossed on the breast by another, so as to resemble exactly the belts of modern soldiers.

The people within the walls have fled to the upper town and citadel, which is in flames, painted red, and the men are seen on the towers in attitudes expressive of the greatest consternation and distress. One man, wounded by an arrow, falls from the walls into the valley below, while others standing on the hill raise their hands in all the agony of despair. On the opposite side of the city the regular troops of the king have advanced under cover of the tall shields.

[1] Herodotus, Thalia, clix.

The next scene, sculptured on the wall at the end of this hall, represents the termination of the first part of the campaign against these people. The king in his chariot, attended by his umbrella-bearer and charioteer, stops to question some prisoners who are brought to him and to command a register to be made of their number, and of the number of the slain whose heads are piled up in a heap before him.[1] The custom of cutting off the heads of the slain still prevails in eastern warfare, and rewards are given to the soldier who can bring two heads from the field of battle, the numbers of the killed being ascertained by counting the heaps that are brought. The Mohammedans, who should always be ready to take the field against the enemies of their faith, leave a tuft of hair on the top of their heads in case they should die in battle, and consequently have their heads cut off, in order that the tuft might be used as a handle rather than the beard or mouth, as the touching these by the infidel would defile the dead body. This subject brings us to the small door (C) in the end wall, in the recess of which we see the escort of cavalry which accompanies the king. The succeeding friezes are all defaced until we arrive at the small side door (B), where we distinguish, on both sides of the recess, the king's cavalry following his chariot, which appears on the first slab after passing the door, but we have then nothing legible until the central opening (F) is passed.

We now reach a very interesting piece of sculpture, showing the speaking intelligibility of these representations. The king's troops, chiefly the light-armed infantry, have arrived at a well-built city on a hill, defended by a double wall flanked by towers. The vicinity of the city is distinguished by a remarkable irregularity of surface: hills of various shapes rise abruptly from the plain; one excessively steep hill is left unoccupied, but the next, which is more accessible, is occupied by the heavy armed troops of the king, while in advance, in the rocky plain, the crested warriors are attacking the upper wall, which is well defended by the square shield spearmen; on the lower battlements the inhabitants, seeing the soldiers setting fire to the gates, and the inevitable ruin about to befal the city, are earnestly entreating for mercy. The same hilly country continues on the further side of the city, but in a plain we meet the light-armed crested spearmen, as well as the naked bowmen, some of whom are stationed on a conical hill discharging their arrows at the inhabitants upon the walls. The next two slabs are defaced, but on the third we see the regular troops advancing under cover of both kinds of high shields—those which appear to be made of rushes, the smaller ends of

[1] 2 Kings, x. 8.

which are collected together in a sheath and bend over, while the lower are bound together by a similar contrivance. We have now arrived at the recess of the second small side door (G), in which we see some captives of the sheep-skin clad people, among whom is a woman and child, the foremost of the troop carrying a water-skin (Botta, plate 69), and the whole urged forward by one of the regular troop, a bowman wearing a pointed cap.

The next scene (fig. 89) gives us the capture of that remarkable city, surrounded by three lines of fortification rising one above the other. On the side that first comes into view, the people are in the utmost distress, for the flames, shaped like stag's horns, are rising out of the towers of the citadel; and the light-armed besiegers who have passed the tombs and suburbs of the place, and gained the hill on which the city is built, are setting fire to its gates.

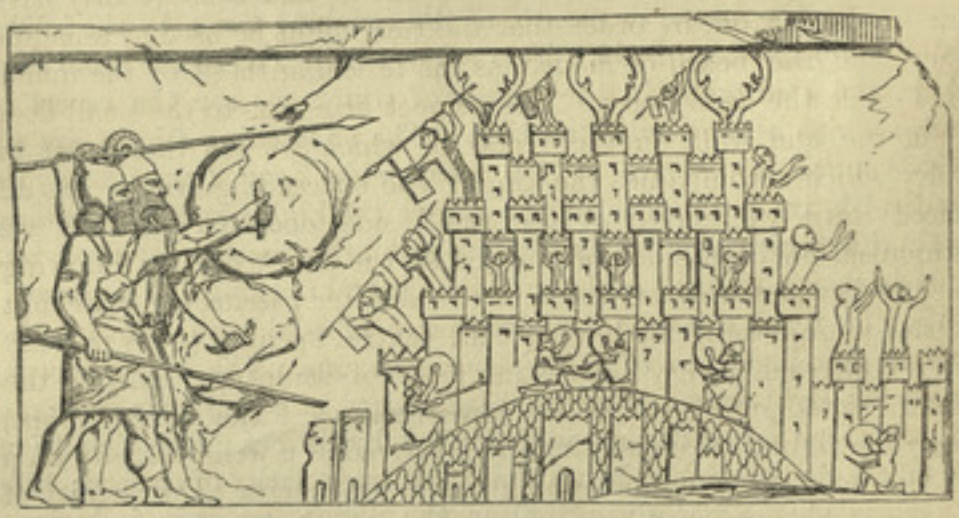


Fig. 89.—BURNING OF THE BESIEGED CITY. Botta, Plate 68.

On the opposite side the crested warriors, guarded by their round shields, are advancing to the attack, and behind them, in the recess of the door (H) at this end of the hall, we see the chariot of the commander of the regular forces, who, having alighted, is discharging his arrows under cover of his shield-bearer. Some cuneatic characters are engraved upon the upper walls of the city.

Passing on, we arrive at a rocky eminence, on which is a fort with eight circular towers, without windows, occupying the whole top of the hill. (Fig. 90.)

The fort has evidently been set on fire, for the flames are bursting from every tower, and upon the rocks lie, entirely despoiled, both the dying and the dead; while three bearded warriors, wearing the pointed helmet, are furiously driving their chariot in pursuit of the

remnant of the inhabitants, who are flying over a rocky plain, strewn with headless bodies; and farther on the pursuit is continued by a

Fig. 90.—BURNING OF A FORT AND PURSUIT OF THE CONQUERED. Botta, Plate 76.

detachment of cavalry, who carry both the bow and spear (Bot., pl. 67), the latter weapon only being used in the present pursuit.

The next slab, (66, Botta) exhibits the king in his chariot, driving furiously, and discharging his arrows under cover of his bearded shield-bearer, and preceded by the regular cavalry. The people, who from the towers of the city descry his furious driving,[1] and the terrible slaughter his troops are making among those who are sent to oppose them, are in the greatest consternation; but, the city being strongly fortified by nature, having on one side a deep ravine which forbids approach, the besieged still hold out, until in the next scene we have the king in his chariot dictating terms to them by the mouth of a gigantic warrior.

On the next slab (fig. 91) is seen the continuation of the hill strewed with dead bodies, and the fortress surmounting it: the fortress has but one row of towers, on which the besieged are beheld in attitudes of despair. In this city the king has at some former period set up one of those circular-headed tablets, such as have been found at Nahr el Kelb (fig. 32, p. 126), Cyprus, and elsewhere, and which were apparently chronicles or records of conquests, like those preserved in the temples of Byzantium.[2] From this circumstance we presume the people to have been a rebellious people, and to have more than once troubled the Assyrian monarchy, particularly as we find repeated representations of their chiefs in the halls of judgment, undergoing the severe punishment of rebellion, each representation, as we imagine, recording the punishment of a repetition of the crime.

Descending into the country, we arrive at an attack made on another considerable place (fig. 92) situated on an eminence, with an

[1] 2 Kings, ix. 20.

[2] Herodotus, Melp. lxxxvii.

oblique road up to its gate. The city has, first, one bounding-wall, which is battlemented; and, next, another, which is fortified with towers,

Fig. 91.—PART OF BESIEGED CITY, SHOWING CIRCULAR-HEADED TABLET. Botta, Plate 66.

above whose summit appear two or three flat-roofed houses. A few of the besieged still defend themselves with their lances, and cover

Fig. 92.—ATTACK BY BOW AND SPEARMEN.—SETTING FIRE TO CITY'S GATES. Botta, Plate 61.

their bodies with square shields; the surface of which is reticulated, most probably to represent metallic plates. Others of the besieged, placed upon the lower walls, appear already to despair of the defence. The costume of these individuals appears to consist merely of a simple tunic, scooped out between the clavicles. Their hair is arranged almost in the same manner as that of the Assyrians, but it is simply girt with a red band; it is also shorter, and does not fall upon the shoulders: the beard is short and curled. A few corpses are stretched on the flanks of the hill on which the place is built.

Among the besiegers there are two archers, all the upper portion

of whose bodies, as well as their legs, is bare; and they have only their waist covered with a piece of fringed cloth, which is very evidently wrapped round their body, and held in its place by a large girdle; the sword is attached to a narrow baldric, passing over the right shoulder, and traversing the breast, which is besides crossed by a cord, of which it is impossible to divine the use; the bow and the wood of the arrows are painted red; the iron is painted blue. The beard of these two archers is, as we have before observed, shorter than that of the Assyrians, and simply curled; they no doubt represent auxiliary troops. Before them, on the contrary, is a kneeling warrior, who has a casque with a curved crest, and furnished with a flap which covers the ears. Other soldiers, represented smaller, are kneeling near the gates, and covering themselves with their shields, while they try to set the place on fire by means of torches; indeed, the flames, which are painted red, are very plainly perceived beginning to consume the gates. Notwithstanding the vigour of the attack, and the firing of the gates, the besieged offer a determined resistance, both from the walls of the city, and of the citadel; but within the lower town the inhabitants manifest the greatest consternation at seeing the gates on fire.

The king himself does not appear to be present at this siege, which is conducted by his chief eunuch, who advances under cover of the great moveable breast-work (fig. 93). Farther on we perceive the

Fig. 93.—BOWMEN CHARGING UNDER COVER OF MOVEABLE BREAST-WORK. Botta, Plate 99.

successive ranks or stages of advance which the regular troops have made, under the protection of the tall moveable breast-work, each division being commanded by a beardless officer.

As this concludes our second circuit of the banqueting-hall, before leaving the main body of the palace, we will enter the small doorway (c), at the lower end of the room.

CHAMBER III.—RETIRING CHAMBER.

Upon finding ourselves within this chamber, we perceive that it has two entrances, both furnished with folding-doors,—one opening connecting it with the Chamber of Judgment, (IV.,) and the other, by which we entered, connecting it with the banqueting-hall just described.

This room, like the one we have left, was divided into two lines of illustration, by a band of cuneatic, the remains of which, with the figure of a warrior, are still visible in the recess of the door-way; and farther within the chamber the only fragment now existing is the subject we have engraved beneath (fig. 94).

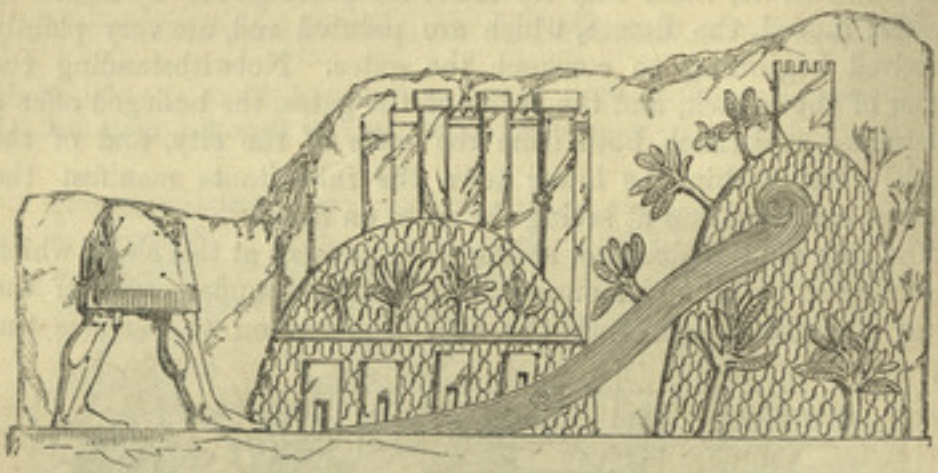


Fig. 94.—CITY ON A HEIGHT, NEAR A CASTELLATED HILL FROM WHICH FLOWS A STREAM. Botta, Plate 78.

The sculpture represents a fortified city, built upon a considerable elevation, opposite to which is a still higher craggy hill, surmounted by a castellated tower, from the base of which a narrow stream flows down into the valley that separates the two hills. It is especially to be observed that olive trees are growing upon both the hills, but more particularly on the one upon the summit of which is the tower; and that on the hill of the city is a walk, or road, about half-way up, below which, and at the side of the stream, is a row of tombs, or inferior houses. The relative situations of these objects exactly resembles the position of similar objects visible in approaching Jerusalem from the east. On our left we have Mount Moriah and the high wall of the Temple; at our feet the Brook Kedron, and the tombs of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, or some inferior buildings at the base of Mount Moriah;

and, on our right, the Mount of Olives. The chief objection to this interpretation of the scene is the circumstance of the stream taking its rise in the Mount of Olives,—a topographical inaccuracy, however, that might easily be pardoned in the Assyrian artist, if time and the Arabs had but spared us the other friezes to assist us in interpreting this relievo, and the other significant decorations of the chamber.

We will now return into the Banqueting Hall, and proceed through the central door-way (F) into the inner court (L).

THE INNER COURT (L).

Passing through the central opening (F) of the banqueting-hall, we find, from the winged bulls at the jambs, that it is an external door-way leading into an open court. In the recess formed at each side by the projection of the bulls, are three small figures, one above the other, probably the figures of priests; and, on the side of the projection, a representation of the winged man with the eagle's head, and wearing only the short sacerdotal tunic, his position and attributes being exactly similar to those already described. Upon turning to examine the entire façade, we find that instead of the bulls placed back to back on each side of the central opening, as in the King's Court (N), their places are supplied by a representation of the king walking out of the door, followed by his attendant Rabsaris and Selikdar, and met on the right by the Rab Signeen, with whom, as usual, he is in conversation. The whole of these figures are in high preservation, retaining colour upon the sandals, when found; and they have been admirably engraved in Plates 13 and 14 of Botta's great work. In our collection of the British Museum we have a precisely similar figure of the king and his chief officer, brought by Mr. Hector, from Khorsabad. In each case the king carries in his right hand a staff, which was painted red. Herodotus[1] and Strabo[2] inform us that the Babylonians bore in their hands a staff, ornamented at the head with some particular figures, as that of an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, &c.; nor was it lawful for them to appear abroad without one of these staves. In the Assyrian sculptures the staff is entirely unadorned, being simply a long stick painted red; and it is never carried by any one excepting the great king himself. Behind the Rab Signeen are two eunuchs, making in all a group of six figures, like that at page 139, which completes this side on the right as far as the projection of the central entrance extends. On the side of the projection is a beardless attendant, and on the receding wall beyond

[1] Herodotus, Clio, c. cxv.

[2] Strabo, lib. xvi.

are two others, the last of whom holds up his left hand, as if commanding those who follow him to advance. Continuing our course, round the recess of the small door (G), which, as far as the leaves, belongs to the court, we find on each jamb the figure of a winged man, with the eagle's head, followed by a magus with the tri-lobed plant, advancing to meet those about to enter the saloon, or chamber (II.) The dress of this and other eagle-headed divinities at Khorsábad is invariably the short tunic, and round the neck a pomegranate attached to a fillet. The remaining piece of wall to the corner of the court contains ten figures: first, two beardless men carrying each two cups, the foremost of simple form, the other the lion-headed vessels; and immediately following are two others, carrying on their shoulders a car, or rather arm-chair, placed upon two wheels, to be drawn by men, in which the king was wheeled over any difficult mountain-pass, or about the grounds attached to the palace (fig. 95). The following is the manner in

Fig. 95.—PROCESSION OF TRIBUTE-BEARERS. Botta, Plate 16.

which this sort of carriage is constructed:—The back is straight, and rises above the arm, which seems round, and is bent in such a manner as to join the anterior leg, which is square. Between the arm and the seat there are three little bearded figures, wearing a sort of tiara, garnished at the side with double bulls' horns. Between the seat and a cross-bar which connects the back leg with the front one, is the little figure of a horse richly caparisoned, who seems to push forward with his chest the leg against which he leans. The bar on which he stands is covered with ornaments resembling *fleur-de-lis*, placed base to base, and thus connected by a ligature; and lastly, the legs terminate in a conical mass formed of rows of scales, like those of a fir-cone, and becoming smaller as they near the point.

It is difficult to say how this chair is placed upon the carriage. It

is plain that the back legs may have been placed upon the axle-tree, but the front leg appears to be borne by the pole; this, however, is impossible, since the pole was a simple one, and necessarily fixed in the middle of the axle-tree.

The wheels have eight thin spokes, but the tire is on the contrary, very thick. To judge by the size of the eunuchs who carry them, these seats must have been made to contain only one person. As for the pole, it is at first straight, but afterwards curved and terminated, on a level with the arm of the chair, in a horse's head, as much ornamented as that of the horse placed under the seat.

Following these are two others, carrying an arm-chair, or throne, or seat of judgment, in which the king sat at the gate (fig. 96). A high

Fig. 96.—CHAIR ALTAR, AND CHARIOT. Botta, Plates 18, 19, 20.

seat, called Kursi, exactly like this, (excepting in the decorations, any representation of the human form being forbidden by the Korán,) is to be found in the court-yard of all respectable houses in Cairo, where the master sits to give judgment in domestic affairs. These seats are never wanting in the court-yard of the houses of Sheikhs, of heads of tribes, or of persons in authority, whence judgment is delivered on matters brought by any inhabitants of the district, or by any individuals of the tribe over which the master of the house presides. The seat is placed in some shady part of the court, against a wall or column, exactly as described in Scripture;[1] and in some houses it is converted into a high sofa, continued the whole length of one side of the court.[2] In the example before us, the back is not much raised, and is surmounted by a bearded figure, whose costume is similar to that of the personages we shall describe by-and-by. The head of this figure is covered with a tiara, surmounted by a double pair of bulls' horns, or crescent, in the middle of which is perceived the usual *fleur-de-lis*. Four similar

[1] 1 Sam. i. 9.

[2] 1 Sam. xx. 25.

figures support on their heads the arm of the throne, which is very low; they seem to walk with their right hands raised. Lastly, two other personages, standing on a thick transversal bar, appear to bear the bottom of the throne on their raised arms and open hands. They are clothed like those preceding, but they have no tiara, and their heads are encircled by a diadem or band, ornamented with rosettes. A little lower, another transverse bar is sculptured with double volutes, united back to back by ligatures.

The absence of the sword is the only peculiarity in the costume of the eunuchs who carry the throne; the rings on their arms are simple spiral stems, and the bracelets on their wrists are also simple rings.

Other eunuchs succeed them, carrying an altar, as we presume, from its basin-shaped top, and from its resemblance to one represented in the sculptures of the isolated chamber (XIV.,) in the king's court (N). The legs are terminated below by strong lions' paws, and seem placed on a plate which is itself supported by cones covered with imbricated scales, and resembling fir-apples. A strong bar joins the legs above the terminal lions' paws. On this bar there are two bearded figures, furnished with tiaras ornamented with horns and surmounted with *fleurs-de-lis;* they are turned towards one another, and their right hands are raised above their heads, to support the rounded under part of the table. These two figures are separated by a round fluted leg, which is, from time to time, encircled by rings ornamented by a row of scales of the fir-apple. This leg extends from the centre of the upper plate to the lower.

Next follow two bearded men, carrying a heavy chariot. These athletic muscular men are such as are intended to be represented by the word גברין (*giborin*), mighty men,[1] who were commanded by Nebuchadnezzar to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, and to cast them into the burning fiery furnace. These men, as we are informed, were selected out of the army, not for this particular occasion only, as there could not have been any necessity to employ the strongest and most gigantic men to bind the innocent and helpless; but, as the sculptures teach us, such gigantic or muscular men were always in attendance on the person of the king, or in the courts of the palace, in readiness to execute his special commands. It is still the custom, not only in the East, but also in Europe, to select men of gigantic proportions, as porters and servants in the palaces of kings and nobles. The dress of these men differs materially from that worn by the other attendants. They appear to have a tunic falling to their knee-pans, with short sleeves; an ample girdle encompasses their loins;

[1] Daniel, iii. 20.

and a piece of fringed cloth is perceived hanging between their legs. Such is the appearance presented: but, as it is very difficult to conceive what this fringe can be, if the costume is reduced to so great a degree of simplicity, it would seem that what appears to be the bottom of the tunic is, in truth, the fringed end of a piece of cloth twisted round the loins, and retained in this position by the girdle. It can be seen, in fact, that the fringes hang down from a similar edging to that of the bottom of the tunic,—that is to say, one formed of rosettes in squares. It is even possible for us to suppose that this supplementary piece of clothing is placed under the tunic, as is still the case, at the present time, in Yemen, where the inhabitants wear under their shirt a long napkin thrown around their loins; the legs and feet are bare.

The bracelets are very simple; on the arm they consist of a spiral stem; and on the wrist, of rings without any ornament. The earrings have a stem terminated by a small cone. The sword, the hilt of which is decorated with lions' jaws, is hung on a large baldric, ornamented with three rows of pearls, the middle row of which is broken by four plates of similar globules. The hair, as usual, is collected in a mass of curls upon the shoulders. The beard is arranged like that of the king, except that the terminal tresses are shorter, and have only two horizontal rows of curls.

The car which is carried by these two individuals is, unfortunately, mutilated, and the ornaments which formerly decorated it are no longer distinguishable. The body of the car is square, strengthened in front by a strong piece, from the bottom of which the pole rises obliquely, then forms an angle, and becomes perpendicular to the body. From the top of the anterior piece there descends a shaft which joins obliquely at the angle made by the pole, which is straight for the rest of its length.

The yoke, which is very much twisted, is straight in the middle where it joins the pole; it then presents on each side two semicircles, each separated by a straight portion; and, lastly, at each extremity there is a hook turned the opposite way to the semicircles. According to this arrangement, it is allowable to suppose that there was, under the yoke room for four horses, one under each semicircle; and this appears the more probable, as the hollows seem to be furnished with a pad; in this case, the half-rings which appear to close them, would represent the thongs which passed under the neck of the animal to support the yoke. As for the wheels, they have eight thin spokes, very broad tire, and appear larger in proportion than those of the arm-chairs already described.

The figures upon the adjoining wall, of which we are now about to speak, follow the preceding ones, and like them appear to be bringing presents to the king.

First (fig. 97) we have a bearded personage leading four horses; probably the four horses of the quadriga, borne on the shoulders of the Giborin that preceded. He is dressed like the preceding ones, with the exception of his tunic, which is simpler, and without embroidery

Fig. 97.—SERVANTS OF THE KING WITH HORSES, TABLES, AND VASES.
Botta, Plates 21, 22, 23.

on the sleeves. He is evidently one of the royal grooms, now denominated SAIS, derived from the Hebrew word for a horse.

The four horses are placed very evenly abreast, their heads and legs being all in a straight line, and in the same position, in the manner seen on ancient medals. By a peculiarity, difficult to account for, on the part of their sculptors, who have not spared their work, the four heads are distinctly seen, but there is only one breast, and the number of the legs is but eight. Further, it is impossible to understand the position of the individual who is leading the horses. His right hand holds the bridle on the right side of the neck of the first horse, and yet his body is, at the least, on the left side of the second horse, since his legs are partly hidden by those of the animals. It cannot be supposed this is an error: consequently, we must conclude that this manner of representing such subjects was conventional.

The caparisons of the horses are extremely rich; over the chest passes a band, fixed to the withers, with a double row of tassels, which appears to be terminated by small beads hanging from it. Another embroidered band comes from the top of the head, and supports under the jaws a tassel formed of three tufts placed one above the other, and terminated also with beads. The head carries a plume,

likewise of three tufts, on the top of which is a globule. The bridle appears to be formed of the same pieces as ours. The head-stall is trimmed with rosettes; a thick band, formed of imbricated scales, passes over the eyes, and, where it joins the head-stall, terminates in a small double-tufted tassel. The leather strap which supports the bit, and that which passes over the nose, are ornamented with rosettes; as for the bit itself, it is fastened to the bridle by three branches forming the radii of an arc. The tail of the horse, which is very long, is tied up in the middle by a broad strap.

We then arrive at a small door, the jambs of which are entirely ruined, but before it were the two holes for the Teraphim, and on the left side was a strong stone ring let into the ground. Passing the door, we see the figure of one of the king's cup-bearers, carrying a high vase, which he supports with one hand, while with the other he covers up the opening. After him came two eunuchs, in their ordinary dress, carrying a long table. The bracelets on the wrists of these personages are, like those on the arms, formed of wire transversely bound together. The table they are carrying is flat at top, and is ornamented with lions' heads at the angles. Paws of the same animal terminate the legs, which are square, and marked transversely with four rows of triple grooves. These legs are connected by a bar, on which are sculptured double volutes, placed back to back, and attached to each other by bands with vertical grooves. The whole is supported by imbricated scales.

Following are seen two eunuchs carrying a small table, and a sixth, bringing in his raised hands a large round vase, with a very simple border and no ornament; both of them, instead of the scarf and the bottom of the tunic embroidered with a series of rosettes, have bands of rosettes intertwined with concentric squares.

These are all the figures that remain on this side of the court; but in the line of wall there are indications of two principal entrances flanked by the winged bull; and of two lesser doors, without bulls, but the passages and chambers into which they led are more dilapidated than any other part of the palace. As, therefore, there is nothing further to be seen in this part of the court, we will place ourselves opposite the central gate of the principal façade, and describe the sculptures on our left.

We find that the arrangement from the centre to the small side door (B) is the same as that seen on our right, with the exception of the last figure, which is the native chief of some town, bearing the insignia of his office, and wearing the pointed cap and long flowing hair. The jambs of the small door (B) are decorated like that of the

door (G) with the eagle-headed divinity, and between the door and the corner of the court are the figures of two eunuchs and the governor of a province. In the adjoining wall, and quite in the corner, we arrive at an entrance to a small chamber, analogous in position to the chamber for the consultation of the victim in the king's court (N); that is to say, it is situated on the left hand of those who may be entering the principal apartments of the palace.

CHAMBER I.—DIVINING-CHAMBER OF INNER COURT.

In front of the door of this small chamber are the usual holes for the Teraphim, and the entrance is paved with the inscribed slab. The exterior slabs on both sides of the door are wanting, but within the recess we are met by the figure of a magus on each jamb. Upon entering the apartment we find it is furnished with two slabs of gypsum, inserted in the pavement, containing circular-headed cavities like that one in the divining-chamber attached to the king's court, and also that the rest of the room is paved with kiln-burnt bricks. The walls have originally been adorned with two lines of illustration, but all the friezes above the line of cuneatic are entirely calcined. On the right, behind the valve, is the figure of a soldier, and then we have the attack of a town with high walls. In advance of the tall shields are some bowmen wearing corsets and pointed caps contending with people on the battlements who use the spear and shield. Passing the angle of the room we see the first rank of some troops on one knee; and these, unfortunately, are all the sculptures left on this side of the room; but on the opposite wall we see the result of the campaign, in a warrior armed with a spear driving before him some women and a child, preceded by some of the sheep-skin clad people.

It is singular that this apartment, which resembles the divining-chamber of the king's court (N) in so many particulars, should differ from that in two important points, namely, that it should have no communication with any other chamber, and that the decorations should not be in harmony with what seems to have been the purpose to which it is so probable this room was applied.

On quitting the chamber (I), and directing our course across the court (L), in a line with the central doorway of the principal façade, we arrive at some steps which lead to a platform raised six feet above the level of the court itself. The sides of this upper platform are cased with slabs of limestone and finished with the Egyptian curvetto moulding. (Fig. 98.)

The surface of this platform, where there were no walls, is paved with irregularly shaped pieces of limestone, and the walls of the building, as in the other parts of the palace, were of brick. The peculiarity of the structure erected upon this base appears to have been that the walls were cased with slabs of a basaltic stone instead of gypsum, of which surface the only fragment discovered is a representation of the two winged figures making offerings to the symbolic tree. The number of chambers the building contained has not been ascertained, but M. Botta found traces of one apartment 40 ft. by 30 ft., which had in the centre of its south-western side a square block for an altar or statue; and likewise, among the ruins, the capital of a small column decorated with palm leaves. The durability of the material of which the edifice was composed, the subject of the sculpture, and the other indications on this upper platform, have induced M. Botta to call it a temple. The almost entire devastation of this building may readily be attributed to its being cased in a hard stone of especial value in a district where such useful material was rare; and also to the circumstance of its superior elevation and more exposed situation on the edge of the mound.

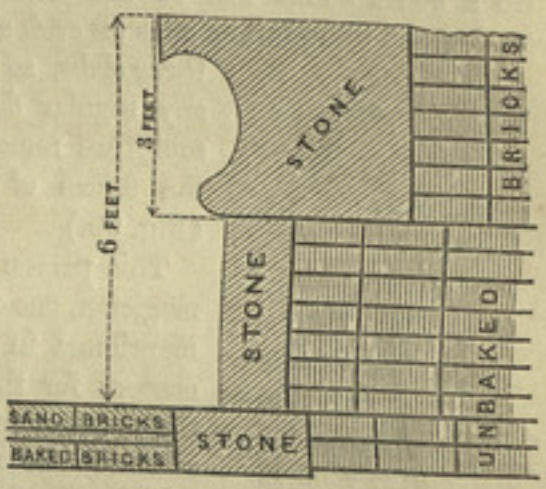


Fig. 98.—CURVETTO MOULDING.

It will be seen by the diagram (fig. 98) that the mass of crude bricks, of which the second elevation or base of the basaltic structure was made, was protected by a casing of lime-stone like those of the great mounds on which the palaces of Assyria were built. This engraving also shows the contrivance by which the upper surface of the mounds was protected, observable in all the courts and other parts of the mound unoccupied by building. A layer of kiln-baked tiles or bricks was placed on the top of the crude bricks cemented together and to the crude bricks below them, with bitumen. These tiles or bricks had the inscription upwards, and upon them was placed a stratum of sand five or six inches thick, upon which, again, another layer of kiln-baked bricks, with the inscription turned downwards, and, like the former, cemented together with bitumen, so that the interior of the mound was most carefully protected from damp, and the

buildings erected on these artificial hills raised above the miasma of the plain.

Before finally leaving this court we must turn to the south-eastern side, and enter the passage gate (v), of which the fragments of the two winged bulls are almost the only indication. This entrance leads into a court about 105 or 106 feet square, with a central major opening and some minor ones on each side; but all, excepting two or three slabs, so entirely ruined as to preclude any regular description. The only perfect sculpture remaining in this part represents the figure of a priest carrying a gazelle. (Fig. 99.)

Fig. 99.—PRIEST WITH GAZELLE—A MAGICIAN. Botta, Plate 43.

This person we take to be a diviner or magician, one of the four orders of Chaldæans mentioned in Daniel,[1] of whom it was the custom for the kings of Assyria to require the interpretation of dreams, or any events, whether the most important or the most trivial; all of which they pretended to ascertain by various processes, such as by an examination of the blood of the victims, the position of the stars, invocations of the divinities on whom we see them attending, and by other superstitious practices strictly forbidden by the law of God. These persons are distinguished by a peculiarity of dress, which we have designated the Sacerdotal Dress, for it is worn only by them, the divinities, and deified persons. It is likewise most remarkable that they retain more of the vermilion and of the black pigment in the hair and eyebrows than any other figures on the walls of Khorsabad and Nimroud, a circumstance which we think is not to be attributed to chance, for the prophet Ezekiel, in speaking of the figures of men sculptured on the walls of the Assyrian palaces, makes particular mention of "the images of the Chaldæans pourtrayed with vermilion."[2] Possibly this class of the subjects of the king of Assyria were, as in Egypt, the sculptors and painters, and therefore took especial care of their own portraits. Be that as it may, the fact is incontestable, and, as we conceive, highly illustrative of the passage quoted.

The countenances of the king, of the eunuchs, and of these persons are all strongly marked by those peculiarities which, in the present day, constitute beauty in the dominions of the Shah, and, indeed, in

[1] Daniel ii. 2. [2] Ezek. xxii. 14.

the East generally. They consist of large full black eyes, with thick eyebrows meeting over the nose; low forehead, that is to say, the space from the eyebrows to the beginning of the hair shorter than the length of the nose; aquiline nose; small mouth; compressed lips; prominent chin, and round face: in the last of these characteristics, however, the priests or soothsayers who attend the winged figures do not partake; on the contrary, they are of a thinner and less muscular form than any other of the attendants of the court. Beyond this figure of the priest and a representation of the king, followed by his cup-bearer and selikdar, there was nothing further discovered here, excepting some feet and the lower portions of slabs, affording indication that the walls of this court were decorated like the other portions of the palace, but few and imperfect as are the remains, they are yet highly interesting and singularly suggestive of the character of this quarter of the royal residence. We have already shown the Courts of Assembly and Judgment, and the public reception and banqueting-rooms of the palace; we have assumed the correctness of M. Botta's surmise, that the edifice which occupied the most elevated and prominent position upon the mound, is the Temple; but we have not, as yet, described any part of the structure that seemed suited for those mysterious precincts of an Assyrian palace—the private dwelling apartments of the sovereigns. It is our purpose, therefore, now to show that this small court belongs to the quarter of the palace which was expressly termed the "King's House."

It may be remembered that the first two courts we passed through, namely, the Court of Assembly (*n*) and the King's Court (N), were both described as open to the country on two sides, the remaining sides being occupied by the walls of the palace; that the third or inner court (L) is enclosed on three sides, that to the north-west alone being open to the country: whereas that the court we are now examining is enclosed on all the four sides, each having a principal and some minor openings. The remains of bulls at these openings are sufficiently indicative that they were external doors, and the whole arrangements show that the quadrangle into which they led was a central enclosed court, surrounded by chambers situated in the ruined spaces between the boundary of the court itself, and the walls of courts (L) on the north-west, and (*n*) on the north-east; and on the vacant surface of the upper platform on the sides to the south-west and south-east. The door-way by which we entered from the inner court (L) we consider to be the termination of a passage that we would call the king's private way from his own private apartments to the public quarters of the palace. Our reason for

concluding that this strictly retired enclosure was dedicated exclusively to the king, is derived from the walls themselves, evidence all but conclusive where every illustration is so pregnant with meaning. In the present instance, our inference is drawn from the particular place where we found the group of the king and his attendants. In every previous illustration the king is seen in the courts of the palace walking *from* the door; but in the present case he is walking towards the door of the private way, as if about to leave the interior. As we have no similar example of the king with his face thus directed towards the door in the act of departure, we think it may fairly be concluded that the quarter he is leaving, is his own special dwelling-place, and that the court itself is really that "inner court of the king's house," to enter which was death to all who were not called, "except such to whom the king shall hold out the golden sceptre, that he may live."[1]

We have now taken our readers through every court and room of the Palace of Khorsabad, in the same way that a cicerone at home would have conducted them through the chambers of Windsor Castle or Hampton Court. Our progress has been directed by the architectural arrangements of the rooms as found by Botta, and we have endeavoured to clearly indicate and elucidate our course by the various illustrations of the mode of decorating the apartments, which we have selected from the magnificent French work. It is almost needless to observe upon the extraordinary interest attaching to those illustrations in the historical chambers; but still we cannot leave this section of our subject without noting the varied and systematic care with which the Assyrian artist has described the leading features of the countries subdued and laid waste by the Assyrian conqueror, how carefully the peculiarities of costume of the different people have been pourtrayed, and the attention bestowed on the order of the conquest. The walls of the chambers were thus converted into a highly illustrated historical volume, unrolled and displayed for the benefit of the nations and languages of which the Assyrian empire was composed; where they might read in this systematised and universal language of art, the history of the conquests of their sovereigns; while to the learned Ninevites historical particulars beyond the reach of the pictorial language, were communicated through the medium of the band of cuneatic writing which is found in all the chambers dedicated to these historical records.

The animus discoverable in the details, in the execution of the bassi-rilievi, and in the choice of subject, is the same that prompted the message and letter which Sennacherib sent by the hand of his

[1] Esther, iii. 1; iv. 2

chief eunuch Rabsaris, and his chief cup-bearer Rabshakeh, to Hezekiah, "Behold thou hast heard what the Kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed; as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Thelasar. Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivah?"[1]

We have already noticed the Jewish and other nations represented in the sculptures, but the enemies of "the great king, the king of Assyria," who we see most frequently represented, and who seem to be most determined in their opposition, are the sheep-skin clad people whom we have designated Sagartii or Togarmah, a race of Scythians from the country lying between the Black and the Caspian Seas. They may, however, be the people of Gozan, mentioned in the epistle sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah,[2] whom we take to be a pastoral race inhabiting the hilly and well-watered districts of Asia. The other opponents of the great king, whose tribute consists of manufactured articles, may be the people likewise mentioned by the messengers of Sennacherib, under the name of Hamath,[3] a country including a great part of the coast of Phœnicia—a surmise supported by the illustration (fig. 53, page 147), where we find the Assyrian monarch employing the people in constructing some port or fortress under the auspices of the divinity of the coast, conjointly with the winged bull of the Assyrians. That the occupation of the people is peaceful may be assumed from their being entirely unarmed; besides which we have the evidence of both history and the monuments found at Nahr el Kelb and in Cyprus (see page 126), that the king of Assyria once held quiet possession of the coast of that part of the Mediterranean. Possibly the sculpture may represent the king building Tarsus, and bringing wood for that purpose from the forests of Mount Cassus, or some less distant province.

Thus far as regards the sculptures and the people represented in them; but before leaving this chapter we will venture to offer a few conjectures respecting the mode of construction employed in these Assyrian buildings, and likewise give M. Botta's opinions on the destruction of the Palace at Khorsabad.

The following section of the wall on which is the keeper of the door of the council chamber (fig. 100), will serve to explain the structure of the walls, as well as our own notion of the construction of the roof or

[1] 2 Kings, xix. 10, 13; 2 Chron., xxxii. 15, 19; Isaiah, xxxvii. 10, 14.
[2] 2 Kings, xix. 12. [3] Idem, xviii. 34; xix. 13.

ceiling of the chambers. It would seem from the examination of the existing ruins, that the walls of sun-dried bricks having been raised to the required height, were cased with slabs of gypsum to the height of ten feet; that from the line of slabs to the top of the wall, the unburnt bricks were cased with kiln-burnt bricks, the lowest course, which rested immediately upon the slab, being provided with a kind of projecting brick moulding or ornament, which curved over and beyond the slabs, so as to form a continuous lock, to prevent their falling forward, the moulding being retained in its position by the weight of the courses above; and, finally, that the baked bricks were painted on the surface presented to the interior of the rooms, in various colours and patterns including figures of men and animals. Thus far we have unequivocal evidence of the structure of the walls of the chambers, but for the remainder of the construction we are dependent entirely upon speculation and analogies with other ancient buildings. Our own conjecture is that the solid wall having been raised, the top was covered in with a course of bricks cemented with bitumen, upon which, as in the instance of the courts, there was a stratum of sand, and then another layer of kiln-burnt bricks, cemented with bitumen. Upon this thick wall we suppose the surface-bricks of the chamber to have been continued for some feet, occasional intervals being left for the admission of light and air; according to the plan exhibited in the centre part of the roof of the hall of columns, in the temple of Karnak, in the Memnonium, and in other Egyptian

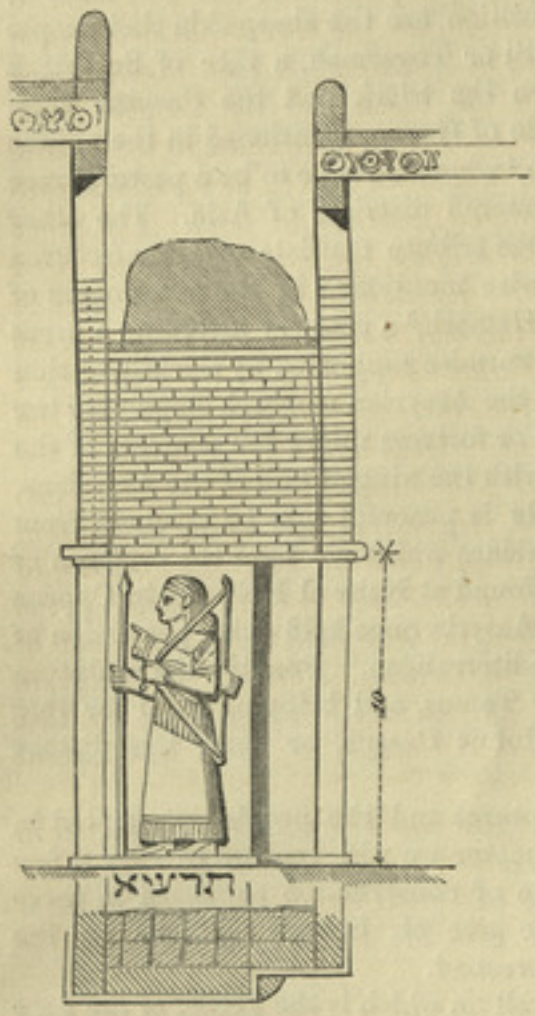


Fig. 100.—SECTION SHOWING CONSTRUCTION OF WALL AND CEILING.

temples. We conceive that the beams of the roof rested upon the dwarf walls, and reached across the entire width of the chambers—an idea that is sustained by the remarkable narrowness of all the rooms in proportion to their length, the extreme width of the largest not exceeding thirty-three feet. That the forests of the mountainous regions north of Nineveh would furnish an abundance of large timber, even of cedar, the approved wood for the purpose,[1] there can be no question; but even if the width of the chambers had exceeded the ordinary length of beams, it does not seem to us to present any objection, for we cannot admit that a people so conversant with the working of stone and of metals, could be ignorant of some of the most simple principles of carpentry—a science which must have preceded the ornamental arts, in which we observe so much progress had been made. In the larger apartments we cannot have any difficulty in adopting a wooden column, for Strabo tells us that the Babylonians supported the roofs of their houses by pillars of wood. The beams having been placed upon the dwarf walls, the rafters were next laid over them in the contrary direction, and upon these again the planks of cedar which, as well as the beams, we should ornament with vermilion,[2] still a common and fashionable combination with green, for the ornamentation of the ceilings in the best chambers of the houses in Cairo. Above the planks there was probably a course of burnt bricks, cemented with bitumen, and then a layer of clay and earth, in the way that the roofs of houses in Syria are now made, for Botta found among the rubbish in the interior of some of the chambers, the stone rollers called mahadalet, perfectly resembling our garden rollers, and those used at this day to roll and harden the roofs of the Syrian houses after the winter rains. This implement being always kept on the roof then as now, it is supposed fell into the chamber with the rafters at the time of the conflagration, which reduced the palace to a ruinous heap.

The top of the solid walls between the dwarf piers afforded ample space for shady passages and sleeping apartments during the hot months of the year, and at the same time gave every facility for regulating the shutters and other obvious contrivances for excluding the rays of the sun, and for preventing the snow or rain from drifting into the chambers below. No staircases, or means of gaining the upper apartments, have been discovered; but as so much of the building had disappeared before Botta began his investigations, we are not surprised at the absence of all indication of such important parts of the edifice, especially as we know from the

[1] 1 Kings, vi. 9, 10; vii. 2, 3. [2] Jer., xxii. 14.

Egyptian temples, and from the sacred text, that the staircase up to the roof was frequently contained in the thickness of the wall.[1]

As regard the courts, it is not improbable that wooden columns were used, particularly in this court and the court of the king's house, to support an awning which was held down and fastened to certain marble rings inserted in the pavement, and to the ring on the backs of the bronze lions. (See fig. sec. v.) We have an example of this mode of protecting a large assembly from the effects of the sun in southern latitudes, in the description of the feast given by king Ahasuerus, "both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace. Where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble."[2]

We have repeatedly, in the course of our progress through the chambers, had occasion to mention the door which closed some of the more important openings; we are, however, quite in ignorance as to the contrivance for the upper pivots of these doors, whether they were inserted into a slab which stretched across the opening from jamb to jamb, or whether certain copper rings, which we possess in our national collection, were not fixed into the walls above the slabs, for the purpose of receiving the pivots.

By reference to the detailed plan, it will be evident that the proportion of the voids to the solid of the walls is a remarkable feature, in which the Assyrian structures differ from all other ancient remains. Another leading characteristic of this palace of Khorsabad is the almost scrupulous symmetry of the plan, the chief openings being generally opposite to each other, those leading from the King's Court (N) to the Inner Court (L), forming a continuous line of communication; and, lastly, it will be found that the chambers are invariably rectangular.

Although in the foregoing description we have assumed that the roof of the Khorsabad palace was flat, we have evidence in the illustrations upon the walls that pitched roofs were, likewise, used in Assyrian buildings. In page 161, we have given a representation of a structure which we term a sacred edifice, from the symbols and vessels in front, and the shields suspended from the walls. This building is raised upon a platform resembling that of the palace we are describing; and the roof is pitched, the pediment or gable-end being presented to the spectator. The same illustration affords examples of flat roofs and of numerous windows.

It will be seen that our restoration of the roof is in many respects

[1] 1 Kings, vi. 8. [2] Esther, i. 5, 6.

analogous to ancient Egyptian temples, and to modern modes of construction in the East. In some points it nearly agrees with Mr. Fergusson's theory in his ingenious, and in many important parts, indisputable restoration of the palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis.[1] Mr. Fergusson has adopted dwarf columns where we introduce walls, making a covered way or terrace upon the top of the solid wall; and he lights the chambers beneath through the spaces between the columns, instead of through windows. He also supports the roof of the chambers by double lines of columns, and sustains his hypothesis by collateral evidence derived from the many existing buildings in India, particularly the mosque of Amedabad, and finally in the columns existing at Persepolis. Our space, however, does not admit of a full exposition of his views; but a perusal of the book itself will amply reward the reader.

We will conclude this chapter by a brief statement of M. Botta's opinion concerning the destruction of the palace of Khorsabad. "The want of consistence in the materials employed in building the walls of the palace of Khorsabad," says M. Botta, "rendered them insufficient to withstand the strain of an arch; they were, nevertheless, able, through their great thickness, to support any amount of vertical pressure." There is nothing, then, in the manner in which the supports are constructed which is compatible with any kind of roof, except with one of wood, for which it is particularly suited. The proofs obtained in the interior of the chambers tend to show that this was actually the system resorted to at Khorsabad. It is incontestable that, during the excavations, a considerable quantity of charcoal and even pieces of wood, either half burnt or in a perfect state of preservation, were found in many places. The lining of the chambers also bears certain marks of the action of fire. All these things can be explained only by supposing the fall of a burning roof, which calcined the slabs of gypsum and converted them into dust. It would be absurd to imagine that the burning of a small quantity of furniture could have left on the walls marks like those which are to be seen through all the chambers, with the exception of one, which was only an open passage. It must have been a violent and prolonged fire to be able to calcine not only a few places, but every part of these slabs, which were ten feet high and several inches thick. So complete a decomposition can be attributed but to intense heat, such as would be occasioned by the fall of a burning roof. When Botta began his researches at Khorsabad, he remarked that the inscriptions engraved on the pavement before some of the doors were incrusted with a hard

[1] Fergusson's "Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored."

copper-coloured cement, which filled the characters, and had turned the surface of the stone green. He now states that he had not at that time made sufficient observations to enable him to understand what he saw. In giving an account of his discoveries to M. Mohl, he said that these inscriptions had been incrusted with copper, and that the oxidation of this metal had produced the effect he remarked. This, he admits, was an error, and subsequent observation has shown that the copper-coloured cement was but the result of the fusion of nails and bits of copper. He also found on these engraved flag-stones scoria and half-melted nails, so that there is no doubt that these appearances had been produced by the action of intense and long-sustained heat. He remembers, besides, at Khorsabad, that when he detached some bas-reliefs from the earthy substance which they covered, in order to copy the inscriptions that were behind, he found there coals and cinders. These could have entered only by the top, between the wall and the back of the bas-reliefs. This can be easily understood to have been caused by the burning of the roof, but is inexplicable in any other manner.

But what tends most positively to prove that the traces of fire must be attributed to the burning of a wooden roof is, that these traces are perceptible only in the interior of the building. The gypsum also that covers the walls inside is completely calcined, while the outside of the building is nearly everywhere untouched. But wherever the fronting appears to have at all suffered from fire, it is at the bottom: thus giving reason to suppose that the damage has been done by some burning matter falling outside. In fact, not a single bas-relief capable of preservation was found in any of the chambers: they were all pulverised. Nearly all those of the outside might, on the contrary, have been detached and sent to France; for though a few were broken, yet the stone on which they were sculptured was in a state of good preservation. Is not this the effect that would be produced on an edifice by the falling in of a burning roof, and can this circumstance be otherwise explained?

M. Flandin, the artist who assisted M. Botta in his researches, was of opinion that the quantity of coals and cinders did not appear so large as might be expected to remain after the burning of a roof as immense as that of Khorsabad. He also considered that the half-burnt beams which have been found in the chambers belonged to the doors near which they were generally discovered. This assertion, however, M. Botta thinks is far from being supported. Before M. Flandin's arrival, M. Botta states that he had found coals, cinders, and the remains of burnt joists; and in a letter published

in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Paris, he had particularly noticed this circumstance, as affording proof that the state in which the palace was found had been occasioned by the burning of the roof. The place in which burnt joists were first discovered was in the centre of one of the chambers, as far from any of the doors as it was possible to be. The wood found there could not have belonged to the doors. With respect to the quantity, it will be easily seen that, after a fire, it will be more or less great according to circumstances that it is now impossible to account for. The relative rareness of these remains has doubtless been caused by the quality and dryness of the wood, by the influence of combustion—or the greater or less length of time during which the floor of the chambers was exposed to the action of the elements before the palace was ingulfed. What is certain is, that the whole interior of the chambers is calcined, while the outside walls are untouched. It is impossible to attribute this effect to any other cause but the burning of a wooden roof; and this supposition is corroborated by indications discovered during the excavations. The supposition of an arched roof, on the contrary, is supported by no evidence, and is incompatible with the nature of the materials employed in the construction of the walls, and with the entire absence of anything solid among the ruins. M. Botta therefore concludes that there is no cause for doubting that the palace of Khorsabad was roofed with wood. In this opinion he states that Mr. Layard coincides, for that several of the monuments found by him at Nimroud were covered over with pieces of wood, like those at Khorsabad.

Fig. 101.—PROCESSION SHOWING DIVISIONS OF SLABS. (The double line indicates a doorway.)

Fig. 102.—VIEW OF PYRAMIDAL MOUND AT NIMROUD. FROM A SKETCH BY MR. ROMAINE.

CHAPTER II.

NIMROUD AND THE ASSYRIAN SCULPTURES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THOSE readers who have gone with us through the preceding pages, describing what is left to us of Assyrian art in the ruins of Khorsabad, will turn with double pleasure towards those chambers of our National Museum which contain our share of the relics of ancient Assyria. Our friends, the French, are proud of the sculptures obtained by Botta, and now in the Louvre; but we may fairly and successfully challenge a comparison with them, by pointing to the British Museum. No one can visit that establishment without being reminded of the mportance and interest of our Assyrian acquisitions; for the great Winged Bull and Lion, which now grace the entrance hall there, attract the immediate notice of all who enter, and by their size, their antiquity, and their strange story, induce those who might otherwise

pass on to other objects, to stop and inquire for the companion antiques, which, once seen, cannot again be forgotten.

By devoting a chapter to the especial account of the Assyrian relics from Nimroud, we shall at once render our present work more complete, and fit it for the companionship of those who may think fit to go in search of the antiquarian treasures acquired by Mr. Layard for the Museum of his country. It may be premised, that while this book is passing through the press, the authorities of the British Museum are yet undecided how the Nimroud marbles are to be ultimately arranged, and that, meanwhile, the larger number of them occupy an apartment underground, the remainder being ranged against the walls of a kind of temporary passage-chamber to the left of the entrance.

In our descriptions we shall avail ourselves of the articles originally contributed to the "Athenæum" and "Illustrated London News," which, however, will be found to be copiously enlarged. The Assyrian collection in the British Museum was not all contributed by Layard; a portion of it is due to the exertions of another Englishman, Mr. Hector, of whom more presently. Let us, however, first consider Layard's contributions, adopting, as far as practicable, the same system of examination as we have pursued in Botta's contributions to the Louvre.

The object of the excavator being rather to obtain sculptures and other relics, than to gain a knowledge of the general plan of the buildings, we see less of the structural arrangements at Nimroud than we did at Khorsabad. Nevertheless, so much of the ruins as have been uncovered at Nimroud disclose a striking peculiarity, that we cannot allow to pass unnoticed,—the absence of that uniformity of plan which so remarkably characterised the Khorsabad Palace. There, most of the doors either faced, or were pendant to each other, and the principal chambers likewise appeared to correspond; while here, on the contrary, no two doors are opposite, and, apparently, no two chambers answer to one another.

The walls of the palace at Nimroud, from which these works of art were taken, like those of Khorsabad, are composed of unburnt brick incrusted with slabs of marble (gypsum) eight inches in thickness, and seven feet wide. Unlike the Palace of Khorsabad, however, that of Nimroud presents no grand portal to invite our entrance, and serve as a guide to our course. We shall therefore, in the first instance, proceed to examine what, on a general survey, appears to be the principal existing chamber of the north-west quarter of the palace. Entering through a small door-way in the western side of the excavation, we are met on each side by a winged figure with a

garland on his head, and having a pine-cone in his upraised right hand, while his left holds a basket; behind each figure is a slab covered with cuneatic inscription. Having passed the entrance, we find ourselves within a small chamber about 40 feet by 20 feet, which has three entrances,—one answering to that at which we entered, and a wider one on the opposite side, leading into a large hall. On the wall between the two lesser entrances we have a group of five figures, the centre being the king, holding a cup in his right hand, and his bow in his left, while on each side of him are a eunuch and a winged divinity. The remaining walls are occupied with thirteen slabs, containing colossal winged figures, wearing the horned egg-shaped cap, and carrying the fir-cone and basket, arranged in pairs facing each other, but separated by the symbolic tree described in page 159.

Proceeding through the central opening we are accompanied on each side by winged human-headed lions, and find ourselves in a large hall, 160 feet long by nearly 40 feet wide. The lions at the entrance are each 9 feet long, and the same in height. The countenance is noble and benevolent in expression; the features are of true Persian type; he wears an egg-shaped cap, with three horns, and a cord round the base of it. The ear is human, and not that of a lion. The beard and hair of the head are most elaborately curled; but the hair on the legs and sides of the statue represents that shaggy appendage of the animal: round the loins is a succession of numerous cords, which are drawn into four separate knots; and at the extremities are fringes, forming as many distinct tassels. At the end of the tail a claw is distinctly visible. The strength of the animal is admirably and characteristically conveyed. Upon the flat surface of this slab is a cuneiform inscription; twenty lines being between the fore legs, twenty-six in the middle, eighteen between the hind legs, and seventy-one at the back.

Fig. 103.—LION IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

"The first was like a lion, and had eagles' wings."[1] We have chosen this figure to commence our work, because it is an emble-

[1] Dan. vii. 4.

matic symbol of the Assyrian empire, as we learn from the book of Daniel, who, in the first year of Belshazzar, had a vision, informing him of the future destiny of the monarchy, which, at that time, had reached the pinnacle of its glory; and we present it here again as it actually occurs at the entrances of the palaces and of the historical chambers we are about to describe.

Turning to the right, we perceive an upright slab, 7 feet 10 inches high, and 2 feet 10 inches wide. It represents a winged human figure with the head of a carnivorous bird. This figure occurs very frequently in the Babylonish cylinders, and has been taken, in those less perfect specimens of the divinity, for the figure of a man with the head of a cock, the crest of feathers on the head having been supposed to represent the cock's comb. This was the opinion of Mr. John Landseer, who first made these works of art known to the world by his beautiful engravings and descriptions of them. The figure is clothed in a short, fringed tunic, reaching only to the knee, and tied at the neck with a tasselled cord; over which is an elaborate necklace with an ornament something like a pomegranate; and another of this favourite fruit, but quite distinct from the necklace, is hanging from a cord. Over the short tunic is a longer robe similarly trimmed, some part of which is shown at the back over the left shoulder. The whole is covered by an ample garment fringed and embroidered, which reaches to the ancle (in this respect differing from the eagle-headed figures at Khorsabad, which have not any long outer dress), leaving bare the right leg, which is advanced. The feet of the figure are covered with sandals, in every respect like those worn by the king and his attendants; and the remains of colouring matter are visible upon them. In the right hand, which is elevated, he holds a pine-cone, which he is in the act of presenting; and in the left hand, which is advanced across the body, is a basket, or bag with a handle. His wrists are decorated with the rosette-shaped bracelet; and on his right arm, at the insertion of the biceps, is a plain massive ring lapping over. The handles of two daggers appear on his breast, just above his mantle; and a double cord, knotted and terminating with tassels, is suspended in front of the advanced leg,—there being a similar one behind the leg, both cords apparently issuing from the girdle. The whole figure is less agreeable in its proportions than the divinity whom we shall presently describe;—and the muscles of the advanced leg are more harsh and globular than in that sculpture.

Several lines of cuneiform writing are engraved over the lower portion of the figure, entirely regardless of the hand, basket, and embroidered garment. The characters have a clearness and sharpness

inducing a belief that they are considerably less ancient than the figures; although the other divinity in this collection, and the Nahr el Kelb figure, as well as that recently discovered on the coast of Cyprus, have inscriptions beginning at about the same part of the figure, and carried all across the work. Whether the figure is much more ancient than the inscription engraved upon it, or whether the whole is altogether more ancient than the historical sculptures of this collection, are questions which a mature investigation of the inscriptions themselves may possibly determine. At all events, we are not prepared at present to enter upon their consideration; but we have no hesitation in asserting our conviction that this sculpture is a representation of that very Assyrian Divinity in whose house, and before whose altar, Sennacherib was murdered by his sons, Adramelech and Sharezer. Our reasons for entertaining this belief are chiefly derived from the word נסרך (Nisroch), the name of that divinity, as recorded in the Second Book of Kings, chapter xix., and 27th verse; which word is derived from the Chaldee root נסר (nisr or niser), signifying to lacerate and tear, as the birds of this class do their prey; from which circumstance the same word, by a natural succession of ideas, came also to signify victory or conquest, in Arabic and some of the cognate dialects of the Hebrew. Thus, independently of other considerations, we entertain little doubt but that this figure is the divinity of conquest or victory—the particular god of the victorious Sennacherib, to whom he most frequently sacrificed, and who was therefore called, in the sacred text, אלהיו (Aleioo), his god, and by the Hebrews, agreeably to the genius of their language, נסרך (Nisroch), that is to say "thy eagle," repelling, as it were, all participation in the worship of the idol. We take the ך (k or ch) at the end of the word to be the pronominal suffix, analogous to the י (i) at the end of the word בנ-אוני (benoni), son of my pain, and in other words, of which the pronominal suffix constitutes a part: or as the Chaldee masculine plural noun, סרכין (sarochin), is several times used in the Book of Daniel for overseers, or presidents over inferior governors, the termination, ך, may signify chief, and thus the word Nisroch would mean the eagle chief, the eagle lord. In either case the argument for the identification of this Ninevite sculpture with the Nisroch of the Bible, the god of Sennacherib, is not weakened.[1]

[1] The Garuda of the Hindus, and the Jupiter of the Chinese, united the head of an eagle to the body of a man.—*Moor's Hind. Panth.*, p. 343; and *Macartney's Embassy to China*, vol. iii., 8th edit.

The Nisr of the ancient Arabs is said to have been worshipped under the form of an eagle. —*Sale's Prelim. Disc.*, sec. i., p. 19.

The Nisroch of the Assyrians has been thought to have been also represented by the same

Passing the figure of Nisroch, we arrive at the corner, which is occupied by a representation of the symbolic tree; and the adjoining wall is divided into two lines of illustration, between which is a broad band of cuneatic inscription. The first subject on the upper line (fig. 105) represents the king, in the front of the battle, in his chariot

Fig. 104.—KING IN HIS CHARIOT BESIEGING CITY

with his charioteer and shield-bearer, who are both uncovered. The chariot closely resembles the Egyptian. (See fig. 106.)

To the sides are attached, crossing each other, two quivers full of arrows. Each quiver contains a small bow, and is likewise furnished with a hatchet. Proceeding from the front of the chariot, over or between the horses, is a richly-embroidered appendage, which seems to be an apparatus like that used in India, for preventing the horses coming together. The bossed shield of the king is placed at the back of the chariot, serving for further security: in front is the brass or iron bar fixed to the pole, as in the chariots of Egypt, and the pole in one example terminates in the head of a swan; in the other in a ball. The spear is inserted behind the chariot in a place appointed for it, decorated with a human head. The harness and trappings of the horses are precisely like the Egyptian. Pendant at the side of the horse is a circular ornament terminating in tassels analogous to that divided into thongs at the side of the Egyptian horse, which, we presume, may be intended to accelerate the pace of the animal, as in the case of the spiked balls fastened to the trappings of the race horses of the Corso in Rome. In both examples several bands pass over the

bird; and the Mithras of the Persians had the wings of an eagle.—*Beyer, Addit. in Selden de Diis Syriæ*, synt. ii., c. 10, p. 325; and *Montfaucon, Ant.*, vol. ii., p. 368; *Xenoph. Cyrop.*, lib. vii., p. 300.

chest, and, lapping over the shoulders of the horses, join the ligaments attached to the pole or yoke. A remarkable band and thong, through the

Fig. 105.—EGYPTIAN CHARIOT.

upper end of which passes a single rein, is the same in both harnesses. The tails of the Assyrian horses are fancifully compressed in the centre, while the Egyptian horses have a band round the upper part or root of the tail. Around the necks of the Assyrian horses is a string of alternately large and small beads, which appear to have cuneiform characters cut upon them—possibly a series of amulets, according to the custom of the oriental nations of the present day. The shield-bearer extends the bossed shield to protect his sovereign.

The king's surcoat is richly embroidered. He has bracelets with rosette-shaped clasps upon his wrists; and his bow arm is protected, as are those of his officers, from the recoil of the string by a close-fitting shield fastened to the forearm at the elbow and wrist. Above the royal chariot is the winged divinity wearing the double-horned cap. He directs his arrows against the enemies of the king. A broad flat ring encircles this figure, passing just above the feathery termination of his person, and behind and above his shoulders. Directly before the king one of the enemy—perhaps the chief—is falling out behind from his chariot; while his charioteer, unable to guide the horses, precipitates himself in front. Behind, one of the king's soldiers has seized a

flying enemy; and is about to kill him, notwithstanding the efforts of his companion to drag him off to the security of the city. Another

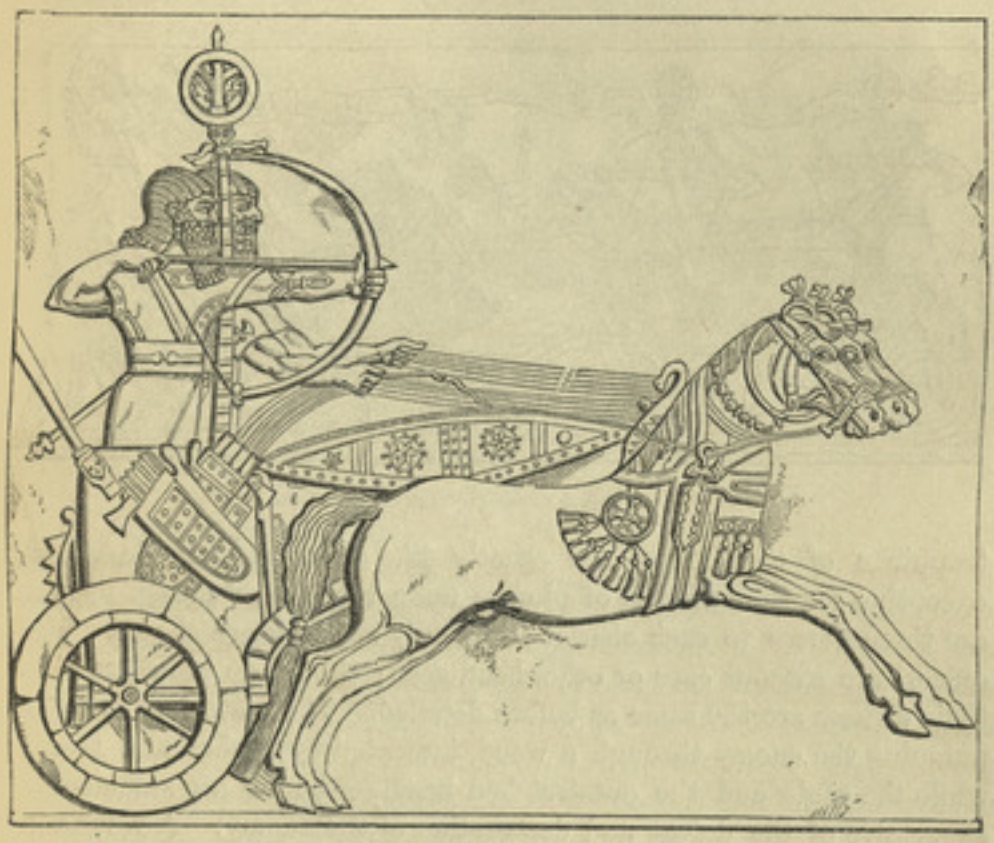


Fig. 106.—ASSYRIAN CHARIOT.

of the enemy lies dead; and others are actively flying for refuge towards the outworks of the city—which reach to the shores of a shallow stream running through a woody country. The victorious king has pursued the enemy up to the very confines of the city; which is further protected by a ditch and double wall—and from behind which the enemy are discharging their arrows. The city is represented with embattled towers and arched gateway. From the towers the enemy are shooting arrows and throwing stones, under cover of wicker shields. The last figure—as far as the fracture allows us to see—is that of a person endeavouring to obtain a parley. He holds his slackened bow in his left hand; and his right is upraised in the act of bespeaking attention.

The next subject (fig. 108) that engages our attention, is a continuation of the last,—as, without other evidence, may be readily perceived from the exactly corresponding parts of the chariot wheel on the two slabs. It represents the standard-bearers of the king, with their respective

charioteers. Each chariot has attached a distinct banner—the foremost being a bull and the second two bulls. The chariots and

Fig. 107.—STANDARD-BEARERS—CONTINUATION OF FIG. 104.

trappings of the horses are exactly like those already described, excepting for the addition of plumes upon the horses' heads. There are three horses to each chariot; but only six legs are shown. The officers are without caps or other head-gear; though in other respects their dresses are the same as before detailed. The victorious army is pursuing the enemy through a wood, indicated by bushes and trees; while the eagle and the outstretched headless bodies are sufficiently suggestive of the defeat and destruction of the enemy. A wounded leader of the adverse party is imploring for quarter. The officers of his chariot are represented as falling and struggling; and their action is in good opposition to the cool, steady array of the king's body-guard.

The third subject represents the king proceeding victoriously from the battle field. (Fig. 109.)

The king, who is in his war-chariot just described, is attended by warriors on horseback and on foot. In front, leading the horses of the chariot, is the king's groom clothed in a short tunic, bordered and fringed; belt round his waist, sword suspended from the shoulders, sandals upon his feet, and his uncovered hair elaborately curled. In advance is a sceptre-bearer, armed, and wearing a pointed helmet. Within the chariot is the charioteer, holding the reins, and with a whip in his right hand. His dress is a tunic, with a sash and belt round his waist, and sword by his side; but he wears no covering on his head, nor bracelets on his arms. The king is in his usual costume; and behind him stands an eunuch holding a parasol above his head. Immediately following the king is a mounted warrior

leading a richly caparisoned horse. Still further behind, but in the upper part of the slab, are two warriors carrying sceptres in their

Fig. 108.—KING IN PROCESSION AFTER VICTORIES.

elevated right hands, while the dead and dying are strewed above and around. Preceding the king is the emblem of the Divinity, with his right hand pointing onward, his left hanging down holding the bow.

The fourth scene is a continuation of the last, and shows us the "Standard-bearers of the king in procession after victory." (Fig. 109.)

Fig. 109.—STANDARD-BEARERS OF THE KING IN PROCESSION AFTER VICTORY.

In this frieze a war-chariot, drawn by three horses, conveys a standard-bearer, his charioteer, and an attendant, who seems holding on by a contrivance for the purpose, fixed in front of the car. The standard-bearer has his right hand extended, while his left sustains a standard with two bulls. In advance is another chariot, also drawn by three horses, in processional pace, and guided by a charioteer. It conveys a standard-bearer, whose standard is a Divinity drawing his bow, and standing upon a bull: it is especially to be noticed that

wherever this standard is seen, it invariably precedes that which contains two bulls, from which we infer that it is indicative of superior rank. All these figures are without any head-dress, and have their hair elaborately curled. Hovering over the foremost horse is a bird of prey, a trained falcon, carrying in his claw a human head from the field of battle. The fore part of the frieze is divided into two sections: the upper portion shows three musicians, the two elder of whom are each striking a nine-stringed instrument with a long plectrum, while the third, a beardless youth, is playing with his fingers upon a cylindrical drum, like the Indian tom-tom, which is suspended round his neck. Advancing towards the musicians are two unarmed soldiers, bearing human heads in their hands, the foremost holding one forward, as if in evidence of his prowess in the field. The lower division represents the two grooms belonging to the chariots, in advance of the horses, and before them are some of the king's soldiers in conical caps, their hands upraised, as if eagerly relating the occurrences of the day; between the figures human heads are strewn, indicating that this is a part of the field of battle. The last group on the frieze consists of two unarmed soldiers, one of whom holds human heads in his hands, while the other is addressing him with hands upraised, as in the preceding group.

The fifth frieze upon this upper portion of the wall is apparently divided into four compartments, each of which is in itself so curious and interesting that we present the detached sections on a larger scale than the accompanying illustrations. The first compartment that we shall describe (fig. 110) represents a soldier fully armed and holding a sceptre, introducing

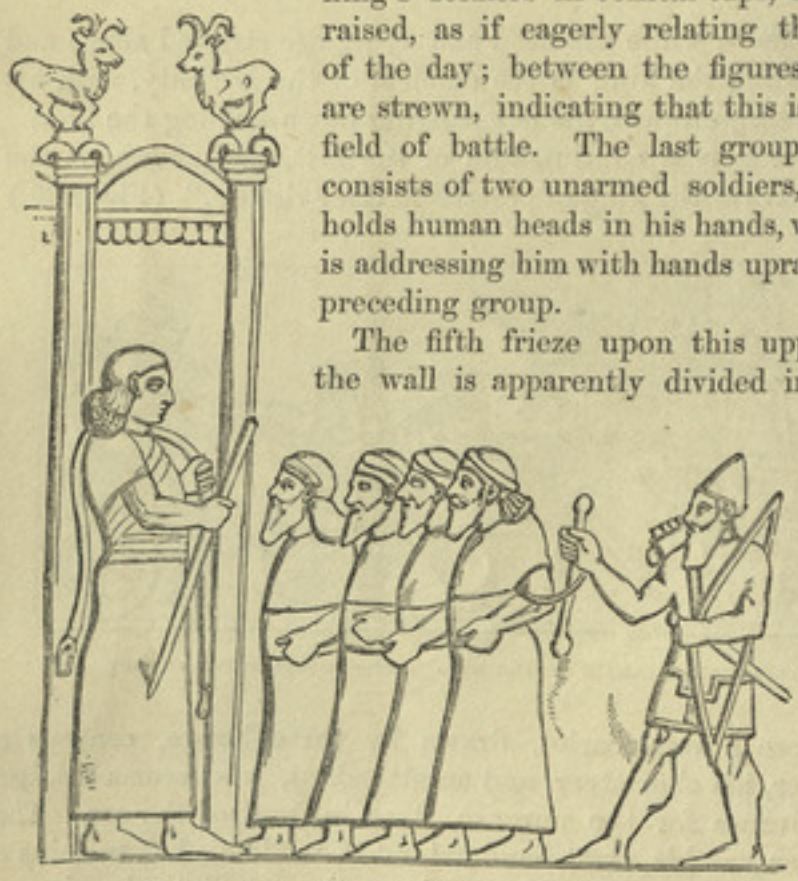


Fig. 110.—CHAMBERLAIN RECEIVING PRISONERS.

four captives of distinction, all clothed in long robes, and with their arms bound together by the rope which is held by their captor. The king's cup-bearer, of gigantic stature, receives the prisoners at the entrance of a pavilion, a mark of respect that leads to the conclusion that they are captives of note about to be led into the presence of the king. The entrance of the pavilion is formed of pillars ornamented up their entire shafts, and further enriched by highly decorated capitals, which are surmounted by goats very characteristically represented. A sort of tympanum to this temple-like pavilion is decorated similarly to the pillars, and the cornice beneath consists of suspended ornaments like pine-cones, alternating with tassels. The capital of the last column of the pavilion is ornamented with the heads of animals, but the fracture prevents our learning whether the top was likewise surmounted by an animal.

Fig. 111.—MUMMERS DANCING.

Immediately above the prisoners is the second compartment (fig. 111), containing two mummers clothed in lion skins, the heads forming masks. They are dancing a grotesque dance to the music of a man who accompanies them on a sort of cithern, played with a plectrum: the instrument is like the guitar with the long finger-board, still in use in Persia and Turkey, and played in the same way with a plectrum (figs. 112 and 113). This instrument,

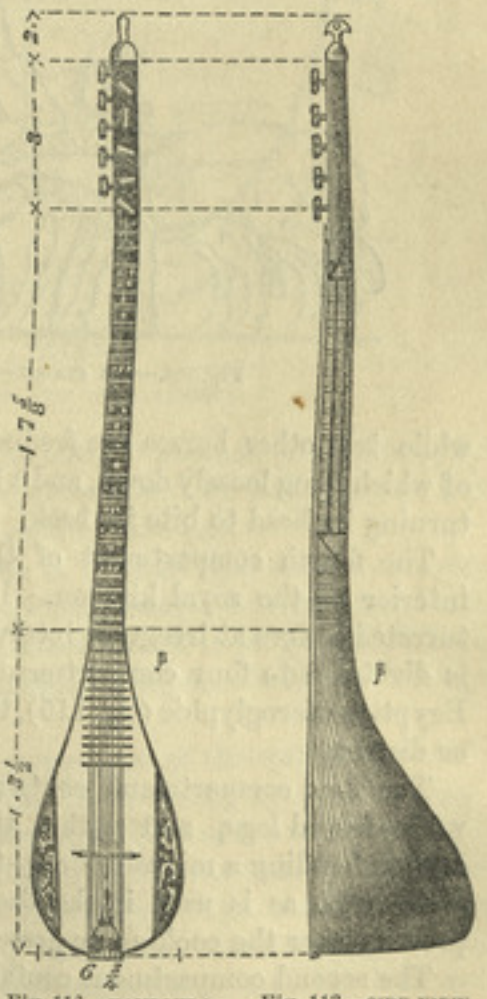


Fig. 112.—TAMBOURA. Fig. 113.—SIDE VIEW.

called tamboura, is 3 ft. 9 in. long, and its elegantly shaped sounding board is 6¾ inches wide; it has ten strings of small wire, 47 stops, and is invariably highly enriched and inlaid with mother-of pearl. The Tamboura is in common use upon the shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, but in Egypt it has almost totally disappeared, and in all probability ere long there may be no example extant of an instrument that is possibly coeval with the time of David. Our illustration is copied from a Tamboura, belonging to some Syrians recently exhibiting in the Egyptian Hall.

In the centre of the frieze, and before the pavilion, is the third compartment (fig. 114), showing a servant curry-combing a horse,

Fig. 114.—THE STABLE—CURRY-COMBING A HORSE.

while two other horses are feeding out of a sack of corn, the strings of which hang loosely down, and a fourth behind is admirably designed, turning its head to bite its back.

The fourth compartment of this frieze (fig. 116) represents the interior of the royal kitchen. It consists of a circle with thirteen turreted towers at irregular intervals, like a walled town. This circle is divided into four compartments, exactly resembling the Egyptian hieroglyphic (fig. 115), the determinative of country or district.

Fig. 115.

The first compartment contains a brazier and fire-place with clawed legs, and within the fire-place are several vases. A eunuch holding a minasha or fly-flap in one hand, and in the other a fan such as is used in the East at this day to revive the charcoal, presides over the cooking or preserving operations.

The second compartment contains a table with crossed legs terminated by cloven feet, and upon the table are cups and other vessels.

On one side stands a eunuch holding a long napkin, el marrhamha, over his left shoulder, and a fly-flap in his right hand. A second eunuch is sitting upon a low stool in front of the table, occupied in

Fig. 116.—INTERIOR OF THE ROYAL KITCHEN.

pounding in a mortar with his right hand, while his left holds a fly-flap over a small vessel before him, from which we may suppose that he is compounding sherbet or some sweet beverage.

Below, in the third compartment, is seen an aged eunuch, assisted by a young one, disjointing an animal which lies upon a table before them.

The fourth compartment or chamber shows a long-bearded man, evidently a common attendant, superintending the boiling of a large pot with two handles.

The last frieze (fig. 117) on this upper part of the wall represents a battle with the king in his chariot and the Divinity flying over head.

The sixth frieze (fig. 118) on this upper line of the wall shows the chief eunuch in battle. The eunuch is in his war-chariot with three horses, which are guided by his charioteer. The usual arms are attached to the chariot, all highly decorated; the breast-plate and tunic of the chief officer are richly ornamented, and his left arm

is protected by a plate of metal, from the vibration of the bow-string in discharging an arrow from his bow. Immediately over the horses

Fig. 117.—THE KING IN BATTLE: DIVINITY ABOVE—BIRD OF PREY PECKING AT THE DYING.

hovers a bird of prey; and above their heads and beneath their feet are two men falling, pierced by arrows, their arms scattered over the

Fig. 118.—EUNUCH WARRIOR IN BATTLE: BIRD OF PREY ABOVE.

battle-field. Behind the chariot, and with their backs turned towards it, are two of the enemy—one standing, the other kneeling—both discharging their arrows; and in front of the horses is one who has already been wounded by two arrows, and who holds his bow in his left hand, while with the right he endeavours to arrest the progress of the chariot. Another, likewise apparently in retreat, has turned to discharge an arrow at the conqueror; and before him is one of the king's soldiers deliberately plunging his sword into the breast of an adversary, whom he has driven down on his knees. Behind these is an earthwork or mound, upon which two are contending, both on

their knees; but the king's soldier retains his sword and wicker shield, which he holds between himself and foe, who is quite disarmed, his bow and quiver having fallen below. The king's soldiers wear the conical cap; the enemy the simple fillet.

The seventh frieze (fig. 119) is a continuation of the same battle.

Fig. 119.—THE ROUT AND FLIGHT OF THE ENEMY.

The conquerors are led by two horsemen—a eunuch, and his companion shield-bearer; after whom come two bearded warriors, each discharging arrows at the flying infantry of the enemy. The shield-bearers have their shields slung at their backs, and seem to be holding the reins of the horses of their fighting companions and the manes of their own. The bearded infantry wearing the conical cap and armed with bow, sceptre, and sword, follow in military order in pursuit of the enemy. Under the horse of the foremost is a headless body; and suspended from the tasselled breast-armour or ornament of the horse (precisely like that worn in the East at this day) is the head of one of the vanquished. In front is a wounded soldier endeavouring to shield himself with his hand. The bows and arrows of the fallen and falling are scattered about the field of battle; and a bird of prey hovers over head.

The traveller, Sir John Chardin, when in Persia, was informed, that, down to the sixteenth century, fierce falcons from Mount Caucasus were trained to fly at men. We are disposed, therefore, to regard these eagles, hovering over the chiefs, as birds trained to accompany them in battle. In other parts of these sculptures from Nimroud we find these birds contending with the wounded, and chiefly attempting to pick out their eyes, thus exhibiting their natural instinct, as eagles and falcons, when contending with large and powerful prey, at once attack the eyes of their victims. The custom of

employing fierce animals, that could be trained to aid in war, was not confined to the Assyrians, for Herodotus informs us that Sesostris went to battle with a lion, and we find, in the temple of Abou Simbal, a representation of Rhamses II., in his war-chariot, actually going to battle with a lion or panther under the chariot (see fig. 105). We have engraved this Egyptian picture for a double purpose; in the first place, as illustrative of this historical fact; and in the second, as affording our readers an opportunity of comparing the trappings of the horses and the construction of the chariot with those of Assyria. It is not a little remarkable that these birds of prey are no where seen in the sculptures of Khorsabad.

The eighth scene (fig. 129) shows the standard-bearers of the king

Fig. 120.—STANDARD-BEARERS IN BATTLE.

in battle. The chariots, and charioteers, and standards, in all respects resemble those shown in fig. 108; and the officers are seen discharging their arrows among the enemy, who are falling beneath the feet of the horses. In front is a foot soldier, and behind him two of the enemy, who are aiming their arrows at the officers of the king.

As this frieze terminates the upper line of historical subjects, we shall return to the corner whence we started, and commence the reading of the second line.

The first subject (fig. 121) represents the chariot of the king drawn by three horses. In front of the chariot is the king's groom; and in the chariot itself the charioteer holding the reins and having a whip in his right hand. He is clothed in a tunic, with a sash and belt round his waist, and a sword by his side, but has no covering on his head or bracelets on his arms. The head of the groom is likewise uncovered,

and his hair is elaborately curled. He is clothed in a tunic down to his knees, bordered and fringed; has a belt round his waist, a sword

Fig. 121.—CHARIOT AND OFFICERS OF THE GREAT KING.

suspended from his shoulders, and sandals on his feet. The body-guard behind the chariot wear bordered but not fringed surcoats; and have slung over their shoulders their shields highly bossed, and with a lion's head in the centre. Their swords are likewise enriched. Their feet are protected by sandals, and their heads by conical caps. They hold bows in their left hands, and in their right the sceptre already described. Before the chariot of the king are two soldiers clad in scale armour, which reaches from the very cap, covering the neck and shoulders, down to the ankles. The back of one is turned towards the spectator, so that the entire sword is seen hanging from the shoulders, and secured by a belt over the sash. He is directing his arrows upwards; whilst the other, who holds a dagger in his right hand, is protecting his companions with a thickly-bossed shield. It is to be observed that every bowman in all these sculptures appears to be accompanied by a shield-bearer. A third warrior, wearing a sword, but not clad in armour, is kneeling down in front, intimating military discipline and order. A bird of prey is directing its course towards the battle-field; where another, behind and above the chariot of the king, is already tearing a dying man, who appears to have fallen whilst in the act of flying for refuge to the city. He is clad in the costume of the enemy.

The next frieze (fig. 122) is a continuation of the foregoing. It represents the siege of a city situated in a plain, and protected on one side by either a marsh or shallow sluggish river. On one side a satrap, or ally of the king, attended by his shield-bearer, is vigorously pursuing the attack. He is habited in the long fringed and embroidered robe,

sandals, bracelets, circlet on his head, and long sword, and is discharging arrows under cover of the shield held by his attendant, who wears a helmet, and is partly clothed in mail. Immediately before

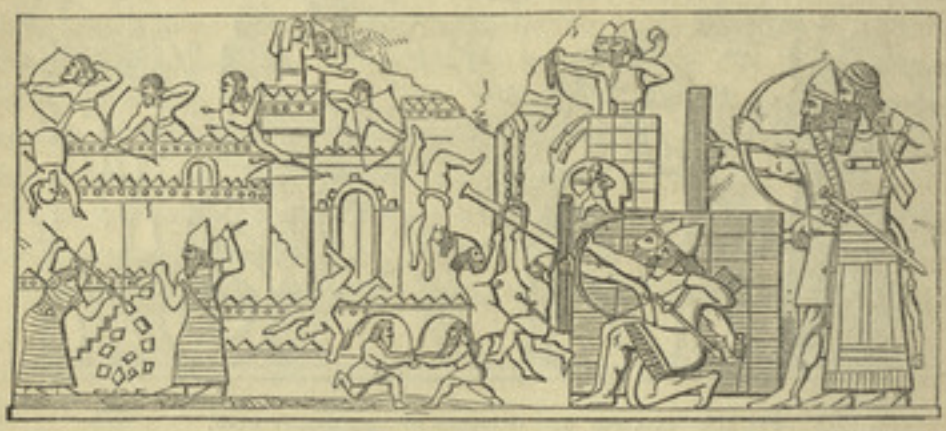


Fig. 122.—SIEGE OF DAMASCUS: FINAL ASSAULT.

the satrap is the standard of the Divinity upon the bull, like that which we have before observed to always precede the standard with the two bulls. The ensign is fixed to the head of a wicker war-engine and battering-ram, which has succeeded in effecting a breach in the walls. To divert the effect of the blows, the besieged are endeavouring to raise the pole of the ram by means of a chain, an effort that the besiegers are again counteracting, with the aid of large hooks, employed in pulling it down. At the side of the war-engine a bow-man on his knees, is discharging arrows, while his companion, armed with a dagger, defends him with his shield. From the foremost battlement the besieged are seen pouring some inflammable liquid upon the war-engines of the enemy, who, in their turn, are discharging water from the moveable tower, to extinguish the fire. In the highest tower of the war-engine are men clad in mail, discharging arrows and casting stones. On a lofty tower of the gate some women are seen tearing their hair in the agony of despair, while strenuous efforts to defend the citadel are being made by the men stationed on the walls. Beneath the towers of the gate are two men disputing the possession of a treasure which they have accidentally discovered, while engaged in undermining the wall; and farther on two men, clad in mail, are effecting a breach in the wall by means of celts, or bronze chisels fixed at the end of poles, as Mr. James Yates has satisfactorily shown in a paper read at the Archæological Society.[1] Notwithstanding the efforts of the besieged to defend the place, the

[1] "Archæological Journal," December, 1842.

outer works seem to be fatally bombarded, and the people are falling in every direction from the inner walls.

The city is surrounded by four rows of battlemented walls, the battlements, cornices, and gateways being richly decorated. The principal gateway between the two towers is, like the others, bivalved, and surrounded by an ornament commonly found in Saracenic architecture, the very same decoration being observable on the walls of the Alhambra and on various Moorish buildings and mosques in Cairo and Constantinople. It is particularly to be observed that on the side of the city which is already sufficiently protected by the river, the artificial fortifications consist of low walls; whereas on the side where there is no natural defence the walls are high and further fortified by numerous towers. Where the walls are high the besiegers are employing war-engines in the shape of moveable towers, and where they are low mining operations are actively pursued. The next slab (fig. 123) completes the subject.

Fig. 123.—COMPLETION OF SIEGE; PEOPLE LED INTO CAPTIVITY.

From a tower of the city the besieged are seen casting stones and discharging arrows upon the besiegers, who, armed with spears and swords, are mounting rapidly by their scaling ladders. One of these, of gigantic stature, protected by his wicker shield, heads the scaling party, while beneath mining operations are carried on under cover of the shields of the infantry. Behind the scaling party stands the king in his long embroidered robe: he is discharging arrows at the castle while his shield-bearer protects him with his square wicker shield, which he holds in his left hand. The shield-bearer is clad in a long coat of mail, and holds in his left hand a javelin with two streamers. A bird of prey hovers over head. "And I will give thee to the ravenous birds of every sort."[1] Immediately following the king are

[1] Ezekiel, xxxix. 4.

two eunuchs in long robes: the elder one, who is of gigantic stature, holds the umbrella over the king with his left hand, and in his right appears the handle of the sceptre or instrument of authority. The younger and lesser attendant carries the king's quiver of arrows. Further on, three women and a boy are being led into captivity by a soldier armed with sword and bow, who is also a sceptre-bearer, and therefore a person of authority attending the king. The women are bare-footed and wear long robes peculiarly ornamented, but without fringes; around their waists are scarfs, and their hair hangs over their shoulders in long tresses,[1] which they are tearing in despair. Among the captives is a mother and her child. "I will cast thee out, and the mother that bare thee, into another country;"[2] and the others may be supposed to be the maidens. "For lo! our fathers have fallen by the sword, and our sons, and our daughters, and our wives are in captivity."[3] Above the women are three oxen, part of the spoil.

May not these representations be a realisation of the prophecy of Amos,[4] "and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto *Kir*, saith the Lord," and the city of Damascus? "For the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin."[5] The site of Damascus resembles that indicated in the friezes: two very *shallow* streams called Abana and Pharpar run through and meander about the walls of the city. "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?"[6] Again, the liquid fire, poured by the besieged upon the besiegers, may probably be petroleum, with which the country abounds. Another corroborative point in support of this suggestion is the inscription on the obelisk, which, according to Rawlinson's reading, contains mention of Damascus, and likewise the name of the god Rimmon, the divinity of that city; and, lastly, it would seem that a large city was subjected to attack, since all the appliances of war have been brought into requisition.

The next friezes represent the king, who is followed by his chariot and attendants, receiving the prisoners who have been captured in the conquered city. The following illustration (fig. 124) is part of this scene.

The size of slab 8 ft. by 3 ft. The walls of the city extend entirely across the frieze, indicating that only a part of the subject is represented. Four battlemented towers are shown; and beneath the battlements are circular ornaments—a decoration that induces

[1] Isaiah, xlvii. 2.
[2] Jeremiah, xxii. 26.
[3] 2 Chron., xxix. 9.
[4] Amos, i. 5.
[5] 2 Kings, xvi. 9.
[6] 2 Kings, v. 12.

the surmise that these are not the walls of the city, but the external boundaries of the palace. The idea is in some measure

Fig. 124.—TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION TOWARDS THE CITY.

sustained by the figures of the women, as the upper story in eastern buildings is that appropriated to the females. On the walls are several groups of women, each having her hair confined by a fillet round the head, and flowing in long loose ringlets upon the shoulders. Their dress consists of a simple robe, with a scarf or broad band round the waist. They are in various attitudes; the first having her arms extended and palms open, in the posture common in the East in pronouncing a blessing; the second has her hands in the same position, but the arms are more advanced; and the third, who is alone, and apparently an older person, has only one hand raised. The gestures of the remaining two, evidently youthful figures, are far more animated; the foremost having her hands extended, as if pointing to the view without and the objects of interest still beyond, while her head is turned towards her companion,—who has one hand raised, and seems speaking. Passing before the walls is a procession of chariots; the first drawn by two horses led by a groom. In it stands the charioteer of a standard-bearer. The emblem is contained in a circle, and represents an armed figure standing upon a bull, and discharging an arrow from his bow. The next chariot resembles the last, but has no attendant groom. It, likewise, conveys the charioteer of a standard-bearer, the staff of whose standard is visible, though the emblem is broken away. The arms, appointments, and the trappings of the horses are the same as those described in former cases.

The three succeeding slabs present quite a new scene—the passage of a river by the army of the great king and his allies.

That the following (fig. 125) is the front division of the subject, is

indicated by the presence of the king, who is always placed foremost in every transaction, whether in the battle or in the chace.

Fig. 125.—THE GREAT KING CROSSING A RIVER. Size 7 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft.

Here he is in his war-chariot; which has been put into a long boat-like vessel. It is directed towards the coast by a strong and naked steersman, with a long paddle, propelled by three rowers, and further accelerated by men towing on the bank. The king himself is in full panoply of war; having his sword by his side, three daggers in his belt, his bow in his left hand, and two arrows in his right, while his battle-axe and quivers of arrows are attached to the side of the chariot. Before him stands his eunuch, fully armed, pointing out to his observation the position of the enemy; and behind him is another of his chief beardless officers, likewise completely armed. Four horses are swimming behind, being guided by the groom who sits within the boat; and above is a man swimming, supported by the skin which he is inflating.

Fig. 126.—TROOPS AND EQUIPMENTS CROSSING THE RIVER.

Then follows fig. 126. The soldiers have taken off their clothes and

accoutrements; which, as well as the chariots, are conveyed in boats. The horses, likewise, relieved of their trappings, are guided by swimmers; all these, whether soldiers or grooms, being supported by skins, which they inflate as they progress. In advance of the others is a boat rowed by two men, and conveying domestic furniture and bundles—possibly the clothes of the swimmers.

Lastly we have fig. 127. One of the king's beardless officers,

Fig. 127.—PREPARATIONS FOR CROSSING A RIVER, AND EMBARKATION OF THE CHARIOTS.

wearing the short-fringed upper dress, and holding a whip in his right hand, is superintending the embarkation of a royal chariot. The eunuch is preceded by an attendant in helmet and short tunic; he holds in his upraised right hand what appears to be the handle of a whip, and in his left a sceptre. Behind the eunuch is another attendant, dressed like the last, but fully armed, and holding a sceptre in his right hand. Before them is the river, upon which a boat has been launched; this boat contains two men, one managing the paddle, and the other aiding in placing the chariot; a third man of large stature is transferring the chariot from his shoulders to the boat. Around are men inflating skins, floating upon them, and swimming without their aid, all being quite naked, excepting the belts round their waists. The waves are large and turbulent, conveying the idea of a large river or body of water. The various boats represented in these scenes are singularly illustrative of the unchangeable habits of the people. We see on the sculptures the very boats of circular form which Herodotus tells us were "constructed in Armenia, in the parts above Assyria, where the sides of the vessels, being formed of willow, are covered externally with skins, and having no distinction of head or stern. The boats have two oars—one man to each; one pulls to him, the other pushes from him. On their arrival at

Babylon they dispose of all their cargo, selling the ribs of their boats, the matting, and everything but the skins which cover them;"

Fig. 128.—KUFAH, OR ROUND BASKET-BOAT, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. ROMAINE.

which they take back, to form into other similar vessels (Clio, cxciv). Fig. 128 shows the kufah, or modern round basket-boat, which is used

Fig. 129.—LARGE KELLEK, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. ROMAINE.

on the Tigris and Lower Euphrates. "They are formed," says Colonel Chesney, "of osiers plaited together like baskets, over a circular frame of stout materials. In some instances, the basket is covered with leather; in others only with bitumen. The vessel is guided by one man, who uses a large-bladed paddle alternately on each side."[1]

Colonel Chesney likewise informs us that small rafts are formed with four inflated skins, attached by withes of willow or tamarisk, over which are placed branches in layers at right angles to each other. "This constitutes the smallest kind of kellek, on one of which may be seen an Arab family, moving with the stream from one pasture-ground to another, carrying its bags of corn and other effects, the animals swimming by the side of the raft."[2] Kelleks of various sizes, figure 129, up to 36 feet and 40 feet in

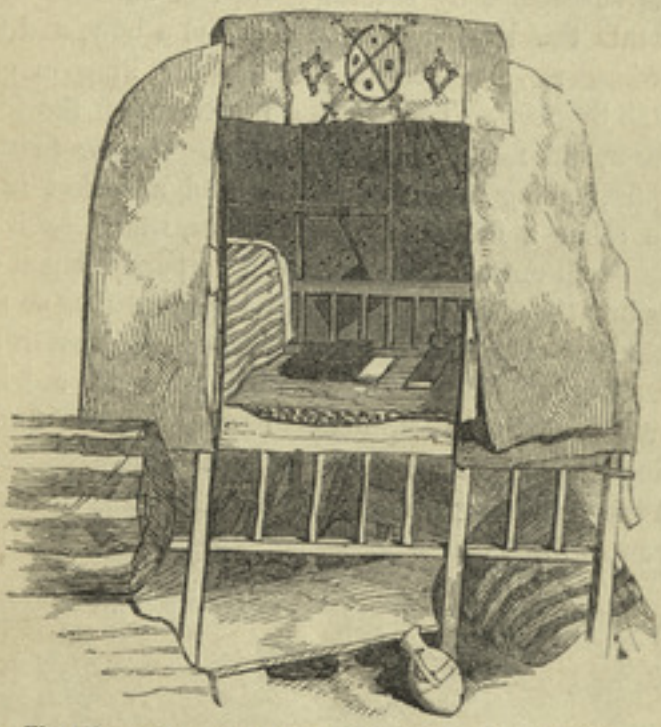


Fig. 130—TENT CABIN ON MODERN KELLEK, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. ROMAINE.

length, and supported by from 50 to 300 inflated skins, are also used to carry merchandise, and the river has, in consequence, been called the chief camelier. The skins are readily re-inflated by means of a reed pipe; and on the platform is a fire-place, within a little enclosure of damp clay, to prevent accidents. The rafts are

[1] See Isaiah xviii. 1, 2; also Exod. ii. 3.

[2] Col. Chesney, "Survey of the Euphrates," vol. ii., c. 20. We are indebted to Mr. Romaine for the foregoing and several other very interesting sketches, illustrative of the scenery and modern customs on the shores of the Euphrates and Tigris.

generally kept mid-stream by means of two rude oars, made of the rough branches of trees, a palm-branch fan at the end of each forming the blade.

As in the time of Herodotus, when the cargo has reached its destination, the materials composing the raft are sold for fire-wood, and the skins taken back by land for future use. The boat of the Lamlum marshes is a larger and swifter vessel; it is formed chiefly of reeds, small, low, and long, like canoes, with the exception of being covered with bitumen instead of skins. The stem and stern are alike, and the boat is propelled either by one man sitting towards the stern, or by one at each extremity, facing the direction in which the boat is proceeding, and using their paddles on opposite sides.

The double line of illustration on this part of the wall terminates here, and is succeeded by several groups of colossal figures. The first represents the king holding a cup and a bow, and followed by his armour-bearer. The second contains the king in conversation with the Rab Signeen. The third, a repetition of the king and his armour-bearer, but facing the reverse way. On the fourth slab is a winged figure, having a garland on his head, a basket in one hand, and in the other a flower of five branches, which he is presenting towards the small entrance we are about to pass. Upon each jamb, and looking into the chamber, is a winged bull, wearing an egg-shaped, triple-horned head-dress; differing only in the head-dress from the bulls so fully described at Khorsabad. Behind the bulls are large slabs, covered with cuneatic inscriptions. Passing on, we find a second colossal winged being, exactly like that on the answering side of the door; and the remaining portion of the wall on this side is lined with a double row of illustration.

Fig. 131.—FUGITIVES CROSSING A TORRENT.

The first on the upper line, fig. 131, represents three men swimming

across a mountain torrent, endeavouring to gain a stronghold built on its bank. Two of them, the chief and his attendant, are supported on inflated skins. The van-guard of the Assyrian army is seen descending from the hills, in pursuit of the unfortunate men, who are already wounded by their shafts. On the outer tower is seen the watchman; and on two other towers women extending their hands in prayer for the safety of the fugitives. In the hilly country of this region grow trees of the date and exogenous kinds. This city has strong foundations, built of hewn stones, and high battlemented walls, and the towers of the citadel have numerous windows.

The next frieze, fig. 132, represents the attack of a fortified city.

Fig. 132.—THE GREAT KING ON FOOT ATTACKING A FORTIFIED CITY.

The king, accompanied by his body-guard carrying his arms, and attended by a single eunuch, all on foot, directs his arrows against the city. The body-guard are clothed in surcoats reaching midway down the legs. Each has a round shield upon his left arm, which he holds upraised, to protect the sovereign from the shafts of the enemy. The one behind the king has a quiver of arrows, and a sword. He holds two arrows in his right hand, for the king's use, whilst the guard beside him bears the king's javelin, and is without a sword or quiver. Both guards wear sandals, and conical caps. The king's dress consists of a long robe, richly fringed, with a shorter tunic closing down the front, bordered and fringed. Two cords, knotted together, with tassels, are suspended from the girdle, in which he wears two daggers, and a sword at his left side. He has a second arrow in his hand, besides the one which he is in the act of discharging from his bow. He wears the royal head-dress, round the base of which passes a plain and undecorated fillet, tied behind with long ribands. Ear-rings and bracelets are worn by all; sometimes distinguished by a three-lobed termination, sometimes consisting of rings with broad pendants. Those

of the king, however, are longer than and different in form from the others. The bracelets on the king's wrists are conspicuous from the rosettes, whilst those on the arms of his guard are simple massive rings. The eunuch is habited in a robe down to his feet and fringed at the bottom, and a sash is round his waist, over which the belt of his sword is buckled. On his left side are a bow and a quiver of arrows, and in his right hand is an implement like a stick, with a rosette ornament at one end, and a loop at the other. This instrument we have designated a sceptre, because we remark that in all the sculptures the personal attendants of the king, whether his eunuch or his bearded guard, invariably carry it. Xenophon tells us, that 300 sceptre-bearers, richly dressed, attended the elder Cyrus upon every occasion. The eunuch's head is uncovered, and his hair is formally curled. He has ear-rings and bracelets, but wears no sandals. His garments, as well as those of the king, are elaborately embroidered and fringed. Immediately before the king is a castle formed of wicker-work protected in front by curved projections of some less fragile material. This structure, which runs on wheels, is as high as the walls of the besieged town. Both upper and lower tower have three loopholes for the discharge of arrows, and other missiles. The upper tower contains soldiers, bearing square wicker shields, and armed with bows, arrows, and stones. One soldier is discharging an arrow under the cover of his companion's wicker shield, while the latter is throwing a stone. The wicker engine likewise carries with it a battering-ram; the strokes of which have taken effect upon the walls of the town, as may be perceived by the displaced and falling stones. The embattled walls of the city have at intervals lofty towers. The entrance to the city is by an arched gateway, opening with two valves, and protected by a tower on each side. There are loopholes and windows both in the towers and in the walls above the gateway. The defenders posted on the walls (two men in each tower) are discharging arrows, with which their quivers, slung over their shoulders, are well stocked; and they also use the square wicker shield. The besieged are distinguished in their costume from the besiegers by the head-dress, for, instead of the cap, they wear a fillet round their heads resembling that worn by a people represented on the Egyptian monuments. In the front of the defenders is an elder of the city, who holds his slackened bow in his left hand, and who appears by the action of his right to be endeavouring to obtain a parley. He is closing it by bringing the four fingers and thumb together—an action still in use in the East to enjoin prudence, consideration, and invariably accompanied by some word implying patience.

The next scene is of a totally different character. It represents a lion-hunt. The king is in his chariot, drawn by three horses, which the charioteer is urging forward to escape the attack of an infuriated lion that has already placed its fore paws upon the back of the

Fig. 133.—THE LION HUNT.

chariot. The action and countenance of the charioteer are not without an expression of fear, and his flowing hair evinces the speed at which the horses are advancing. At this critical moment the royal descendant of the "mighty hunter" aims a deadly shaft at the head of the roaring and wounded monster, the position of whose tail and limbs is finely indicative of rage and fury. Behind the lion are two of the king's bearded attendants, fully armed, and holding their daggers and shields ready to defend themselves in case the prey should escape the arrow of the king. Before the chariot is a wounded lion, crawling from under the horses' feet; and the cringing agony conveyed in its entire action is well contrasted with the undaunted fury of the former. The existence of a claw in the tuft at the end of the lion's tail was disputed for ages, but here in these ancient sculptures is an exaggerated representation of it, in support of this curious fact in natural history. The peculiarity was first recorded by Didymus of Alexandria, an early commentator on the Iliad, who flourished 40 years before the Christian era. Homer and other poets feign that the lion lashes his sides, and Lucan states that he does so to stimulate himself to rage; but not one of these writers adverts to the claw in the tail, although Didymus, who lived 100 years before the last-named author, discovered it and conjectured that its purpose was to effect more readily what Lucan ascribes to the tail alone. Whatever may have been the supposed use or intention of this claw, its existence has been placed beyond all dispute by Mr. Bennett, who, at one of the

meetings of the Zoological Society of London, in 1832, showed a specimen of it, which was taken from a living animal in the Society's menagerie (fig. 135.) (See "Proceedings of the Council of the Zoological Society of London," 1832, p. 146.) It is no small gratification to be able now to quote in evidence of the statement of Mr. Bennett and his predecessor Didymus of Alexandria, this original and authentic document; and on the authority of the veritable descendants of the renowned hunter himself: a document, too, that any one may read who will take the trouble to examine the slab under consideration. The king's bearded attendants wear the conical cap, with a large tassel depending from under the hair at the back of the head. The king himself is habited as before described, and armed with a sword, the scabbard of which is adorned with lions' heads. In its groove behind the chariot is the king's javelin, decorated with two fillets.

Fig. 134.—CLAW IN LION'S TAIL. From Nimroud sculpture.

Fig. 135.—CLAW IN LION'S TAIL, full size.

The fourth scene, which likewise relates to the chase, displays a bull-hunt (fig. 136). The king is attended by his huntsman, who follows

Fig. 136.—THE BULL HUNT.

the chariot, riding sideways upon one horse, and leading another with embroidered saddle, and richly caparisoned, for the king's use in the chase. The king, in his chariot, turns round to seize a bull, whose fore legs are entangled in the wheels, and secures the infuriated animal by grasping one of the horns with his left hand, while his right inserts a small dagger precisely between the second and third vertebræ—just where the spinal cord is most assailable. He performs this dangerous feat with dignity—with that calmness and composure

acquired by long experience. Another bull, pierced with four arrows, lies dead on the ground. In the accustomed place is the royal spear, but like that in the hand of the huntsman, it has the addition of a fillet, to rouse and frighten the wild animals. The same deficiency in the number of legs, both of the chariot-horses and the saddle-horses, is observable in this sculpture.

As this completes the upper line of illustration, we return and commence reading the second line. Here the first scene relates to the conquests of the great king, fig. 137. It represents a procession

Fig. 137.—PROCESSION OF CAPTIVES WITH TRIBUTE. Size, 11 feet by 3 feet.

conveying prisoners and spoil to the feet of the conqueror. The procession is led by two officers of importance, habited in long fringed and embroidered robes, having swords with ornamented scabbards and handles slung over their shoulders, and sandals on their feet. The one is bearded and the other beardless; the latter having a turban of embroidered linen on his head. Both have their hands crossed in the attitude of respect. A double bale of embroidered cloth is placed above, but not resting on, their heads. Immediately succeeding these are two other officers, similar in every respect, excepting that the head of the eunuch is uncovered, and that he is on the right instead of on the left of the bearded figure. Three bars of precious woods are placed above these two. Following them is a single eunuch, clad in the same fashion, and having two tusks of an elephant placed above his head. His left hand is upraised, in the act of introducing a prisoner of distinction, as may be inferred from his flowing robes and the decorated fillet upon his head, above which are two square vases. The feet of this prisoner are bare, and his arms are tied behind him, the cord being held in the left hand of a gigantic soldier, who follows with his clenched right hand elevated, as if in the act of buffeting his prisoner. The costume of the soldier is the high

conical cap, a tunic reaching midway down the leg, quiver slung at his back, and bow on his arm; above his head is a semicircular vase of different form, with two handles. Then follows a eunuch,—excepting that he wears sandals, habited like the first prisoner, whose chief minister he probably is. Above his head is also a vase. His arms are bound and secured to the two barefooted, and evidently inferior, prisoners who follow in succession. These two wear short tunics and the fillet encircling the head. The cord which binds their arms and secures them to one another is held by another gigantic soldier, wearing the conical cap and short tunic, as in the former case; in the left hand he likewise holds his bow, the right being raised in the act of striking with the staff the captives before him. Some have considered that the vases and other implements above the heads of the people in this procession are intended to indicate the rank of each person; but, to our view, they represent the spoil taken and brought with the prisoners, and laid down on the ground before the conqueror, as in the battle scenes are represented on the ground the dead bodies of the slain. "I give him charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets."[1] We cannot leave this frieze without noticing especially the attitude of the principal prisoner who is brought before the conqueror by the gigantic soldier. The position of this prisoner suggests a passage in 1 Samuel (c. 15, c. 32), in which Agag is described as coming to Saul after the defeat of the Amalekites, "and Agag came unto him delicately."

The next subject, fig. 138, may be called the League or Treaty of

Fig. 138.—THE LEAGUE, OR TREATY OF PEACE.

Peace: for such is its evident import. The great king having pursued his enemies, who fled like wild beasts, as indicated by the spear

[1] Isaiah, x.

furnished with a fillet, into their strong places, has alighted from his chariot to ratify a treaty of peace with the Melek, or king, of the opposite party, particularly marked by his dress, but who, like the former, is attired in the richly embroidered upper garment, which is seemingly a royal vesture. Both kings are on foot; but the conqueror is distinguished by the implements of war which he still retains, while his adversary raises his right hand in the act of supplication. Moreover, the favourable conditions of the treaty are further intimated by the surrender of the prisoners—as expressed by the figure in the conical cap kissing the feet of his sovereign and deliverer. Immediately behind the great king stand his umbrella-bearer and a sceptre-bearer, (see fig. 139). Then follows the royal groom in front of the horses; then one of the king's body-guard; and, last of all at his post, the charioteer.

The relative importance and rank of each of these officers of the royal household are intimated by the height of the person of the officer. Each bears his appropriate insignia; and all are armed precisely as in the rilievo before described. The horses in this, and in the second rilievo have the full complement of legs.

Fig. 139.—A ROYAL SCEPTRE-BEARER.

The next slab represents the return of the king from the chase. It is a perfect *tableau de genre de haut ton;* portraying the manners of the Assyrian court more than 2,500 years ago; resembling in so many points the present customs of the East, that it is truly remarkable how little change the lapse of time has effected; and affords a most interesting illustration of the marked and peculiar characteristic of oriental nations, namely, their tenacious regard for the habits and customs of their forefathers. The king wears the usual truncated cap, long-fringed robe, and short highly embroidered tunic, with the cord and tassels suspended from his girdle; his sword is buckled over his sash, and the tassels of his sword-belt are hanging from his shoulders both back and front. Similar tassels are suspended from under the hair at the back of the head; and he has rosette-clasped bracelets, plain armlets, and a double string of beads round his neck. Fully armed, he stands in the centre of the composition; his bow being still in his left hand, while with his right he raises to his lips the cup which he has just received from the hand of the cup-bearer. At his feet lies the subdued lion. He is followed by two beardless

attendants, who have accompanied him in the chase, and who bear a reserve supply of bows and arrows, as well for the king's use as for their own defence. They, as usual, wear no head-dress, and are attired in very richly-embroidered robes reaching down to the ankles. Behind these are the king's bearded attendants, distinguished by their short surcoats, reaching but little below the knee, and, as well as the last two, carrying the sceptre. All these we may fairly presume have accompanied the king in the chase, and have arrived with him at the entrance of his palace, where he is met by the officers of his household. In advance of these latter stands the royal cup-bearer, (see fig. 140), the *sharbetgee* of modern times. This functionary, having presented his lord with the prepared beverage, is occupied in dispersing the flies, which, in hot climates, assail with uncommon avidity all cool and sweetened fluids. The instrument which he holds in his right hand for this purpose will be recognised by all travellers in the East, as the *minasha*—the very same fly-flap that is used at the present day. It is ordinarily made of the split leaves of the palm, fastened together at the handle, which in this representation appears to terminate in the shape of a ram's head. Over his left shoulder is thrown, exactly as in the present day, and as borne by the young Cyrus at the court of Astyages,[1] the long handkerchief or napkin (*elmárhama*), richly embroidered and fringed at both ends, which he holds in his left hand in readiness to present to the king to wipe his lips. Behind the cup-bearer stand two officers of the king's household in the attitude prescribed by Eastern etiquette —their hands folded quietly one over the other. The bearded person has a fillet round his head, with a double necklace, indicating, as we presume, that he is the chief of those who attend upon the king in the lower apartments (the *salámlik*) of the palace. The other beardless attendant is the chief of the king's servants (the *Kizlar Aga*), who superintends the upper apartments (the *hareemlik*) of his palace. They are both clad in the long dress, richly embroidered and fringed, and wear swords. Their importance in the household is again intimated by the relative height of their figures.

Fig. 140.—THE ROYAL CUP-BEARER.

[1] Cyropædia, bk. i.

Behind these stand the royal minstrels, who celebrate the king's prowess in the battle and in the chace, accompanying themselves on instruments of nine strings held in the left hand and supported by a belt over the left shoulder. These instruments appear to be played like the Nubian harp, the fingers being used sometimes to stop and sometimes to twang the chords; and a plectrum or stick is in the right hand, with which the chords are struck. The plectrum, in this instance, is apparently a stick, instead of a small piece of leather, commonly used at present. From the extremity of the instrument, into which the pegs for the strings are inserted, hang five tasselled cords. The instrument in the hands of the nearest performer terminates in a human head, probably to indicate that the bearer is the chief musician, or the leader of the chorus: for we apprehend that the *two* in this sculpture, as in all the representations of battles, sieges, hunts, &c., are put for the many. With regard to the capabilities of such an instrument it is difficult to form any notion; for before sufficient tension of the chords to produce sound could be obtained, it would break at the elbow formed by the arm and the body of the instrument. Either the sculptor has altogether omitted the column to resist this tension of the strings, or the angle formed by the body of the instrument and the arm is not faithfully represented. The minstrels are habited in long garments, fringed and embroidered; but they wear no bracelets or ear-rings. Their height however, is indicative of considerable rank in the Assyrian court; nevertheless, their efforts to record the deeds of their sovereign have not been so successful, in point of durability at least, as those of the sculptor.

Fig. 141.—THE KING RETURNING FROM THE BULL HUNT.

The last scene of this line of illustration (fig. 141), resembles in

most particulars, the previous subject, "The King returning from the Lion hunt."

The dress of the king is exactly the same as in that, and he raises the drinking-cup to his lips with his hand, while his left holds his bow. Behind the king is his umbrella-bearer, and following him are two eunuchs of lesser size, bearing sceptres and quivers of arrows. At the feet of the king is the bull which he has subdued, and before him stand the cup-bearer with his fly-flap, and Rab Saganeen, habited in a short surcoat like that worn by the king. He holds his hands folded one over another, in the conventional attitude of respect. Behind these is a beardless figure, entirely unarmed, and with his hands folded before him; and after him succeed two musicians, playing with plectra on nine-stringed instruments. The dress of the musicians is a long fringed robe, like those worn by the other actors in the scene, but in addition to it they wear short furred tunics, and their hair is elaborately curled.

This subject brings us to the corner of the room which is occupied by the usual representation of the symbolic tree.

Upon the adjoining wall, forming the end of the hall, we find, first a winged figure wearing the egg-shaped three-horned cap, and holding a pine cone and basket; then a group of two winged figures and two kings, before the symbolic tree (fig. 142); and finally, a repetition of the first-mentioned winged being; in all, six colossal figures. The large group forming the centre stone shows us the king, twice

Fig. 142.—KING AND DIVINITIES BEFORE BAAL AND THE SYMBOLIC TREE.

repeated, for uniformity sake, performing some religious rite before the symbolic tree, in the presence of the chief divinity, which we consider to typify Baal. The king holds the sceptre in his left hand, his right being upraised and his fore-finger pointed, as if in conversation

with the winged divinity above. Elijah apostrophises the priests of Baal ironically, by telling them to call louder on the divinity; for, he says, "he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked." (1 Kings xviii., 27.) We may judge now, with these authentic documents of the worshippers of Baal before us, how cuttingly sarcastic was this address of the prophet. Here truly he is talking; elsewhere he is pursuing, as we have seen; or on a journey; or peradventure sleeping: this is the climax of sarcasm, because sleep, as the priests of Baal well knew, is necessary to the restoration of the faculties of the mortal, and incompatible with divinity. "Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep."[1]

We have given three illustrations of this divinity or emblem. The first is taken from the most elaborate specimen we have yet seen, that in the above subject, in which the radiating lines within the circle conspicuously typify the rays of the sun. The second, which we conceive had the same intention, occurs in less elaborated sculptures; and the third is taken from the well-known figure that appears over the doorways of the most ancient, as well as of the more recent, Egyptian temples, and likewise over tablets. We have little doubt but that the Egyptian design is the original of the Assyrian, and that it substantially bears the same import. In every case this figure appears in the upper part of the field or ground of the basso-rilievo and over the head of the king, with whom he is always acting in unison; either aiding him in battle, admonishing the rebellious subjects of the distant provinces of the empire to yield ready tribute, or as if advising with him. It is remarkable, that in the sculptures of Khorsabad there is no single instance of this particular divinity, so often represented in the sculptures from Nimroud.

Fig 143.—BAAL.

Fig. 144.—SYMBOL OF BAAL.

Fig. 145.—EGYPTIAN SYMBOL.

In the floor beneath this mystic basso-rilievo was found a slab, 10 feet by 8, and 2 feet thick, which was ascended by steps, the sides being inscribed; around the slab was a conduit, as Layard surmises, to carry off some fluid, or the blood of the victim, and under the stone there were found some bones and fragments of gold leaf. Besides the

[1] Psalm, cxxi. 4.

above, there were two other hollowed square stones, in the north-eastern corner of the chamber.

Passing the symbolic corner-stone, we find on the northern wall of the hall a divinity with four wings; his right hand elevated, his left holding a sceptre, and his face directed, as usual, towards the adjoining doorway. The recess of this entrance is lined with inscribed slabs; and on the jambs beyond, and with their backs turned towards the hall, are winged human-headed lions, having likewise human arms, crossed upon their breasts. Proceeding onwards, there are no remains of friezes until we arrive near the second entrance on this side, where the first that meets our view is a portion of the lower division.

Fig. 146. The king's chief officer in his chariot, accompanied

Fig. 146.—THE FLIGHT: PARTHIAN BOWMEN. Size, 7 feet by 3 feet.

by his charioteer, pursuing the cavalry of the enemy, and driving it into a river. Four of the enemy are represented in rapid flight, while one of the infantry, who has been struck down, reaches out his hand for succour to a horseman, who attempts to aid him. One of the foremost of the fugitives seizes the opportunity to turn and discharge his arrows at the pursuers, and under the horses of the chariot is a wounded man, attempting to draw out the arrows with which he has been pierced in the side and in the thigh. The direction of the heads is reversed in this frieze: they here face to the left instead of to the right.

> "The Roman dreads the Parthian's speed,
> His flying war and backward reed."—HORACE, ii. Odes, 13.

> "Or Parthian, urging in his flight
> The battle with reverted steed."—HORACE, i. Odes, 19.

These two quotations from the Roman poet exactly describe our bassi-rilievi, and the Assyrian artist has not failed to represent this

peculiarity of Parthian warfare, although he does not acknowledge, like the Roman poet, any dread of the Parthian flight: a mode of warfare that made even the Roman soldiers fear the encounter, and which, we have little doubt, was equally a source of apprehension to the troops of the great king.

The next subject is a part of the last, and shows the siege of a castle near a river.

The double line of historical illustration concludes with this scene, and the next slab, fig. 147, shows us a colossal winged figure: size of slab, seven feet three inches by four feet four and a-half inches, having but two wings, holding on his right arm a fallow-deer, and in his upraised left hand a branch bearing five flowers erect. The figure faces towards the left, and is distinguished for the finished execution and high preservation of the sculpture. His elaborately curled hair is confined round the head by a circlet, with a rosette-formed ornament in front; and his mantle and robe, which resemble in form those already described, are both richly ornamented, fringed, and tasselled.

Fig. 147.—DEIFIED MAN WITH FALLOW-DEER.

This brings us to the fourth entrance, in the recess of which we again find the inscribed slabs; and on the outer jambs, with their backs turned towards the hall, are winged lions, with human heads and arms—the left carrying a stag, and the right a flower, with five blossoms. On the adjoining side of the door we meet a repetition of the divinity carrying the fallow-deer and branch, and then with its face directed the contrary way, a winged divinity carrying the fir cone and basket, fig. 148.

Fig. 148.—WINGED DIVINITY.

We have now reached the fourth symbolic corner-stone, and there, on the end wall, facing towards the large doorway by which we entered, we find a second figure of Nisroch, fig. 149. His right hand is elevated, holding the pine cone, and the left hangs down, carrying the square basket. The dress is similar in shape to those formerly described—consisting of the long robe, mantle, and ornaments; but the borders

of his garments are symbolically embroidered. One hem is decorated with the pine cone and lotus, another with the lotus and

Fig. 149.—NISROCH.

honeysuckle, tastefully intermingled, while a third portrays a battle between himself and the human-headed lion, in which the former is victorious. It is worthy of remark, that the eagle-headed human

figure in this embroidery has *four* wings: and we would further point out the extravagant development of muscle in the leg of the divinity. This exaggeration arises in no conceit or mannerism of the artist, for it is to be seen in all the statues of the divinities, and seems to be peculiar to the sculpture of this age, the characteristic not being so apparent in the examples at Khorsabad, although the same position is observed. It is evidently the conventional mode of indicating strength, and the irresistible power of the divinity is shown in the attitude of the figure. We take it that the pine-cones in the hand of the god, and upon his robe, are emblematic of the same strength and pride; for the Assyrians and other nations, as well as great kings, are constantly likened to cedars, to figure out their high station, glory, and protection of others. (See Ezekiel, xvii., xxxi.; 2 Kings, xiv.; Amos, ii.; and Isaiah, ii., x.)

The historical slabs in this chamber do not seem to relate throughout to one consecutive subject or campaign, each event following in easy succession or chronological order, as at Khorsabad. On the contrary, no single series seems to extend beyond three or four subjects, which then terminate abruptly by the commencement of a totally different scene. Again, in the case of the lion and bull hunts, the subjects do not follow one another, but are read up and down—the return from the lion-hunt being under the hunt itself, and the same order being observed in the bull-hunt. Another peculiarity is the irregular placing of the colossal figures: for example, on one wall we find eleven slabs of double lines of illustration, succeeded by four slabs containing groups of colossal figures, while on the answering side of the doorway there is but one colossal figure, succeeded by four slabs of double illustration; and on the opposite wall, the irregularity is almost equally marked, suggesting the obvious conclusion that the whole of the sculptures must have formed part of some earlier edifice. In quitting this great hall, we turn back to the side entrance where we noticed the Divinity carrying the fallow deer, and at once pass through, and station ourselves opposite the opening.

Fig. 150.—THE SELIKDAR, OR SWORD-BEARER.

On the portion of the walls still standing, we find, first in an angle to our left, a winged divinity, 14 feet high, wearing the three-horned cap, and carrying the fir-cone and basket;

then, on the adjoining side, the king holding his bow and arrow, and followed by his Selikdar (fig. 150); and facing the king, the bearded

Fig. 151.—CAPTIVE HEADING PROCESSION OF TRIBUTE-BEARERS.

dignitary whom we have elsewhere designated the Rab Signeen, who is followed by an eunuch. On our right we see the continuation of

the procession, the figure next the entrance being again a bearded dignitary, after whom comes an eunuch, followed by people bringing, as tribute, monkeys, earrings, and bracelets.

Fig. 152.—ATTENDANT WITH MONKEYS AS TRIBUTE.

In the first figure (fig. 151) the bended knee and uplifted hands

are expressive of submission and respect. Behind him follows an attendant (fig. 152) bearing on one shoulder a monkey, and leading another by a cord. The first wears a turban, and has a fringed mantle over a long under robe, while his attendant has a fillet round his head, a mantle short in front, and his under-dress reaching only to his knee. They both wear on their feet buskins, turned up at the toes, like the papusch of Constantinople. These figures are short and muscular in form, resembling very much in countenance the people of Caramania. Eighteen lines of inscription traverse this slab.

Proceeding to the second entrance on this side of the great hall, we find a repetition of the same subject, but as our purpose is only to describe in detail those sculptures actually in the British Museum, we will at once direct our course through the other chambers of the palace. Crossing the great hall to the doorway on the south side, we meet on each jamb a winged human-headed and eagle-winged bull (fig. 153). This animal would seem to bear some analogy to the Egyptian

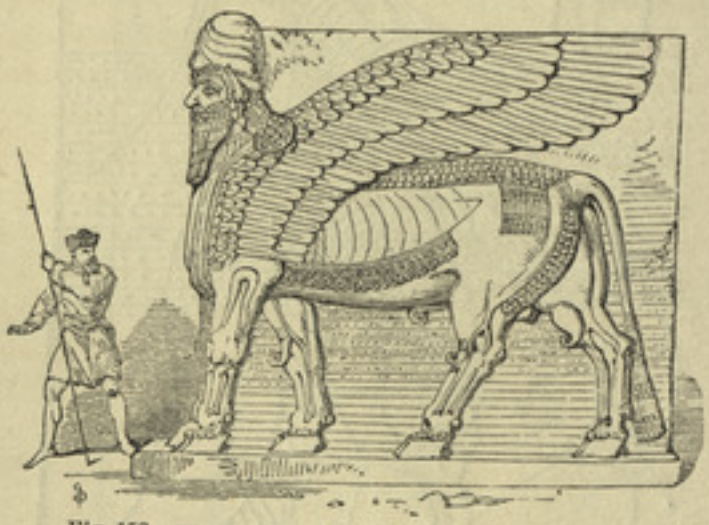


Fig. 153.—WINGED BULL IN HALL OF BRITISH MUSEUM.

sphynx, which represents the head of the king upon the body of the lion, and is held by some to be typical of the union of intellectual power with physical strength. The sphynx of the Egyptians, however, is invariably sitting, whereas the Nimroud figure is always represented standing. The apparent resemblance being so great, it is at least worthy of consideration whether the head on the winged animals of the Ninevites may not be that of the king, and the intention identical with that of the sphynx; though we think it more probable that there is no such connexion, and that the intention of the Ninevites was to typify their god under the common emblems of intelligence, strength, and swiftness, as signified by the additional attributes of the

bird. The specimen immediately before us is of gypsum, and of colossal dimensions, the slab being ten feet square, by two feet in thickness. It was built into the side of the door, so that one side and a front view only could be seen by the spectator. Accordingly, the Ninevite sculptor, in order to make both views perfect, has given the animal five legs, as before noticed in the examples at Khorsabad. The four seen in the side view show the animal in the act of walking, while, to render the representation complete in the front view, he has repeated the right fore-leg again, but in the act of standing motionless.

In this relievo we have the same head, with the egg-shaped three-horned head-dress, exactly like that of the lion, but the ear is that of a bull. The hair at the back of the head has seven ranges of curls; and the beard, as in the portraits of the king, is divided into three ranges of curls, with intervals of wavy hair. In the ears, which are those of a bull, are pendent ear-rings. The whole of the dewlap is covered with tiers of curls, and four rows are continued beneath the ribs along the whole flank; on the back are six rows of curls, upon the haunch a square bunch, ranged successively, and down the back of the thigh four rows. The hair at the end of the tail is curled like the beard, with intervals of wavy hair. The hair at the knee-joints is likewise curled, terminating in the profile views of the limbs in a single curl of the kind (if we may use the term) called *croche cœur*. The elaborately sculptured wings extend over the back of the animal to the very verge of the slab. All the flat surface of the slab is covered with cuneiform inscription; there being twenty-two lines between the fore-legs, twenty-one lines in the middle, nineteen lines between the hind-legs, and forty-seven lines between the tail and the edge of the slab.

The portions of the jambs forming the recess to the chamber within are lined, as in the other openings, with inscribed slabs.

THE HALL OF NISROCH.

The chamber we have now entered is apparently about 100 feet long, by 25 feet broad, and has three doorways, the one we have just described, another of similar proportions in the centre of the opposite side, and one in the corner of the end wall on our left. All the slabs upon the walls, excepting one, consist of figures of Nisroch presenting the fir-cone and basket to the symbolic tree (fig. 154). The exception is a slab at the side of the small entrance we have mentioned, which contains a representation of the king, wearing an emblematic neck-lace, consisting of the sun surrounded by a ring, the moon, a cross

like a Maltese cross, likewise in a ring, a three-horned cap, and a symbol like two horns.

Fig. 154.—NISROCH BEFORE SYMBOLIC TREE.

HALL OF DIVINATION.

Passing through the small doorway, we see on each jamb a magus wearing a wreath, his right hand raised, and his left holding a trilobed branch. The slabs on the recess, as usual, contain inscriptions. The apartment we are now in is about 90 feet in length, by 25 in breadth, and runs from north to south, instead of from east to west, like those we have just seen. It has five entrances, three on the west, one on the east, and the fifth in the centre of the south end. Advancing into the room, we find that the corners are all occupied by the symbolic tree, and that the entire north end is filled by three slabs, (fig. 155,) representing the king drinking or divining in the presence of the divinities of Assyria. At each end is the figure of a winged divinity, wearing on his head the horned cap, the symbol of strength and power; he is presenting the fir-cone with his right hand, and holds in his left a richly ornamented square bag; his tunic and long mantle have the usual fringe, and are besides embroidered with symbolic borders. The Assyrian monarch is represented as seated on his throne, attended by three of the principal beardless officers of his household. In his right hand is the cup that has been presented to him by the cup-bearer, who stands before him with the "Marhammah," or embroidered napkin, over his shoulder. The representation of this scene is most curiously illustrative of the following passage in Xenophon:—"Immediately Cyrus is equipped as a cup-bearer, and

Fig. 155.—THE KING DRINKING OR DIVINING IN THE PRESENCE OF THE GODS OF ASSYRIA.

advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and, holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king." In the right hand of this officer is the "Minasha," or fly-flap, while in his left he holds the under cup, or possibly the wine-strainer, an instrument in common use among the Etruscans, and of which there are many examples in the museums of Europe. Behind the throne stands the king's "Selikdar," (see fig. 150,) or sword-bearer, an officer of high rank in eastern courts. This functionary also is occupied in the same manner as the cup-bearer, that is, in dispersing the flies, and fanning the king. So likewise, at this time, the prime-minister of a Basha or Sultan would be employed while his master was drinking a glass of sherbet, or sipping a cup of coffee. Behind the Selikdar is another carrying arms, and in his right hand a sceptre. The robes of this last attendant are not so richly embroidered as are those of the cup-bearer and Selikdar, which are highly enriched with symbolic borders. The throne, or square stool, on which the king is seated, is decorated with a fringe, and surmounted by a cushion, ornamented with a honeycomb pattern. Each corner of the seat terminates in a bull's head, some of which, very beautifully cast, or wrought in bronze, were found in the excavations of Khorsabad, and brought to Paris by M. Botta; and some examples from Nimroud are in our own Museum. The king's feet rest upon a footstool, with clawed legs. His dress consists of the long fringed robe and furred mantle, the entire breast and broad borders adorned in the most elaborate fashion, and the usual truncated tiara and ornaments; but he is quite unarmed. Twenty lines of inscription run across the figures and ground of this work. These three slabs are not only interesting, because they are of the finest sculpture that has yet arrived in this country, and because they are in a high state of preservation, but more particularly because they embody a metaphor frequently used in the Psalms, and other sacred books of the Old Testament, expressive of the interference of the Divinity in human affairs. Thus, in the 16th Psalm it is said, "The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of *my cup*: thou maintainest my lot." And, again, in the 23rd Psalm, "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; *my cup* runneth over."[1]

The whole of the adjoining or eastern wall was covered by slabs representing in regular alternation the king with a cup in his right hand, his left resting on his bow, and attended by the cup-bearer and selikdar; and the king with two arrows in his right hand, his bow in

[1] Illustrated London News, Dec. 21, 1850.

his left, and attended by two divinities with fir-cone and basket. The south end of the chamber is occupied by the doorway, guarded on each side by a winged figure, and in the floor, at the corner, is a square stone with a hole in the centre. On the adjoining side, and next to the symbolic corner stone, is a figure of Nisroch guarding an entrance; on the opposite side of which is a corresponding figure of the same divinity. Between this figure and the next entrance we have a repetition of the alternate groups of king with attendants, and king with divinities, differing in no respect from the former, excepting that the hand of the king rests upon his sword instead of upon his bow. Upon the neighbouring side of the door we again find the Nisroch, and in the floor between this middle opening and that by which we entered, a square slab with a hole in the centre.

The evidences upon the walls lead us to suppose that in this chamber were practised the mysteries of divination, both by the cup and arrows. This idolatrous people, as we learn from the sculptures, and infer from sacred and profane writings, never ventured on the slightest matter in war or politics, either at home or abroad, without having recourse to some superstitious rite; and it is probable that, on the wall before us, may be a representation of the mode of divination by the cup.

Many cups of the form of those seen in the hand of the king were found by Layard, in the ruins of Nimroud, and are now deposited in the British Museum. They are made of bronze, of exquisite workmanship, embossed in separate compartments with numerous figures, representing men and animals. One of the most frequently-repeated figures is that so common in Egyptian sculptures, bearing reference to time, or cycles, or periods. Other cups are embossed with the Assyrian winged animals; and others, again different in design, but all of beaten work,[1] in which art the ancients had attained great skill and perfection, as these tazze assure us.

There can hardly exist a doubt, from the nature of the decoration, that these are cups for divining,—a practice common to Syria and Egypt as early as the time of the patriarch Joseph, as the stratagem of hiding the cup in the sack of Benjamin would lead us to believe. The question of the steward to the patriarch—"Is not this it in which my lord drinketh, and whereby, indeed, he divineth?"[2]—would lose half its force, if the custom had been unknown to the sons of Jacob.

Drinking-cups, both of brass and silver, and precisely the same shape, are in common use at present all over the East. They are

[1] Numbers, viii. 4; Exod. xxxvii. 17—22. [2] Exodus, xxv. 18; xxxvii. 17—22.

generally decorated with some Arabic sentence bearing a mystic sense; and in Persia, particularly, there is a tradition that there was a cup in which could be seen the whole world, and all the things which were doing in it. This wonderful cup is known in Persia by the name of "Jami Jemshid," the cup of Jemshid, an ancient king of that country. According to the same tradition, this cup, filled with the elixir of immortality, was discovered in digging the foundations of Persepolis. The Persian poets frequently make allusion to this cup; and they ascribe to it the prosperity of their ancient monarchs.

Babylon itself is called a "golden cup,"[1] in the figurative language of Scripture, possibly in allusion to her superstitious rites, and because of her sensuality, luxury, and affluence.

It is probable that these walls also show representations of that kind of divination by arrows that we read in Ezekiel was practised by "the King of Babylon, (who) stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright: he consulted with images (teraphim): he looked in the liver."

And, in confirmation of the occasions of such consultation, we will quote the next verse:—"At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem, to appoint captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter," that is, where to begin the attack; "to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering-rams against the gates, to cast a mound, and to build a fort."[2]

All these circumstances of Assyrian warfare we have seen described by themselves, in the course of our rendering of the sculptures; and we are very much inclined to consider that, wherever the king is represented holding two arrows, as in the rilievo we have designated the League, and in the Passage of the River, it is to be understood that he is divining.

THE HALL OF THE ORACLE.

Returning to the doorway on the east side, we are met on each side by divinities offering the fir-cone and basket, behind whom, in the recess, are the inscribed slabs. The chamber we have now entered is about a hundred feet long by twenty feet broad: like the last, it contains five entrances—that by which we entered, another on the same side, and three nearly equi-distant, opposite to us. An inspection of the walls shows us that the principal doorway is guarded by a divinity with a fillet round the head, and carrying the fir-cone and basket; while the rest of the wall is covered with representations

[1] Jeremiah, li. 7.

[2] Ezekiel, xxi. 21, 22.

of the king with cup and bow, standing between divinities precisely similar to the guardians of the door. The upper part of three of the slabs on the western side of the room has a recess.

INSCRIBED CHAMBER AND CHAMBER OF DIVINITIES.

The second opening in the western side of the room leads into a small chamber, the walls and pavement of which are entirely covered with inscribed slabs, one, on the northern side, being recessed. Leaving this apartment, we enter the doorway, which is nearly opposite, and find ourselves in a long chamber or passage, 20 feet long by 10 feet wide, which turns at right angles, and is continued thirty feet further, with an increased width of five feet. The walls are divided into two lines of symbolic illustration, with a band of inscription running between. The upper line consists exclusively of winged divinities (fig. 156) kneeling before the

Fig. 156.—DIVINITIES KNEELING BEFORE SYMBOLIC TREE.

symbolic tree; and the lower line, excepting in one slab, of figures of Nisroch standing before the symbolic tree (see fig. 154, p. 262). The exception is a recess containing two beardless winged beings, apparently females, wearing the horned cap, and carrying a garland. The upper part of two of the slabs on the north side are recessed; and in the floor, in the centre of the same side, is a large stone: a stone with a hole in it is also in the floor at the end of the room.

THE ORACLE

Before quitting this passage we have to enter a small chamber in the western side. The walls and pavement are entirely covered with

inscribed slabs, but in one side there is a recess so deep as to leave only the thickness of a slab intervening between this apartment and that which it adjoins. Each room was in itself complete, and the difference in the thickness of the wall was not apparent in the outer apartment. As the whole of this palace seems to be dedicated to religious purposes, the question naturally suggests itself whether the recess in this small chamber might not have been for the Oracle, which might have been delivered from the small chamber through disguised openings in the slabs. Such secret chambers occur in the thickness of the walls in the temple of Medinet Haboo at Thebes, and in temples of the Ptolemaic period, as well as in some still less ancient temples of Pompeii.

Returning to the Hall of the Oracle, we find that the centre opening, on the eastern side, leads into a small chamber of which the walls only are inscribed; and that the third door-way leads into a passage or chamber nearly identical in shape and dimensions with the chamber of divinities just described. Almost the whole of the walls are occupied by divinities separated by the symbolic tree; two of the slabs, however, are recessed, the lower part containing small winged figures and tree. One slab, however (fig. 157), 7 feet 9½ inches by 4 feet 6 inches, represents a young and beardless personage habited in a long robe, the bottom of which is ornamented with a tasselled fringe. At the back, and depending from his waist to his ancle, is a succession of five feather-shaped fringes—or embroidered cloth to imitate feathers; and a cord with two tassels is suspended in front. The dress fits closely to the upper part of the body; round the neck is a cord and tassels, and a necklace consisting of lozenge-shaped gems placed alternately; and round the waist is a broad girdle in which three daggers are placed side by side. He has sandals on his feet, and his arms are decorated with massive armlets and ornamented bracelets. On his head he wears the round cap with two horns, from under which flows the usual crisply-curled hair adorned by a more than ordinarily long pendent bunch tied with cords and tassels, and long pendent earrings. His right hand is elevated and open; and his left is extended, holding a chaplet, composed of large and small beads

Fig. 157.—BEARDLESS DIVINITY WITH FOUR WINGS.

placed alternately. The countenance of this figure is handsome and dignified: and he differs from the other winged figures in having *four* wings—two smaller elevated and two larger deflected and drooping; and also in that round his neck are suspended two rings, from the upper of which depend three circles, each containing a rosette-shaped ornament—and from the lower, four circles, each containing a star. The difference between the two is strongly indicated. Twenty-six lines of inscription run across the figure below the waist, avoiding, however, the left wing, with the exception of two or three letters, and only partially encroaching on the right wing. These star-like emblems seem to be connected with the worship of the Assyrian Venus, Mylitta or Astarte, whom Lucian believes to be identical with the moon or queen of heaven. The horned head-dress may, therefore, be a further emblem; as this goddess is sometimes represented with a bull's head, whose horns, according to Sanchoniatho, were emblems of the new moon.

From the situation of this slab in the deepest recess of the chamber, and the circumstance of its having a square slab of gypsum in the pavement before it, with a hole communicating with a drain, there can be little doubt that some mysterious rites—such as libations to the Divinity it represents—were enacted before it. Indeed, all the chambers, in this quarter of the palace, seem to have been dedicated to those idolatrous rites and ceremonies connected with magic to which the people of Assyria were addicted.

In the next five rilievi the figures are larger than those we have described—and represent winged men, two of them holding in the left hand a basket, and presenting with the right a pine-cone. They are exactly in the position and dress of that much larger figure of a divinity (*fig.* 159). Of the remaining three, two only wear the cap with two horns—which in this case are decorated. The third has a circle of rosettes round the head. The right hand of each of these figures is raised as in the act of prayer,—and the left holds a branch with five pomegranates produced from one stem: from which symbol we surmise that this divinity bears some affinity to that of Damascus, called in the Book of Kings, רמן, *Rimmon*, in whose temple the king of Syria was wont to lean on the hand of the captain of his host in prostrating himself before the image—"When my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon."[1] These probably came from the chamber we are now describing, which seems to have been specially devoted to the

[1] 2 Kings, v. 18.

worship of this particular divinity. We have likewise in the same apartment a colossal figure of the king (fig. 158)—size of slab, 7 feet 2½ inches by 4 feet 8½ inches. The king is here represented in the act of walking; his right hand being supported by a long staff, and his left resting on the hilt of his sword. The whole figure is in such perfect preservation and so wonderfully finished that we are induced to describe it in detail, especially as the embroideries on the garments appear to be legendary and symbolical:—The top of the truncated cap and the cone which surmounts it are surrounded with gems; and the tiara placed round the lower part of the cap is richly decorated and tied behind with fillets having several tassels at the ends. On the sleeves and breast of the king's under-robe is delicately traced the mystic tree; and the sleeve has besides a border, of the stag butting at the honeysuckle. The lower part of the under-robe is bordered by a fringe; and above the fringe is embroidered a procession of the king and his attendants receiving the homage of conquered nations. Another margin of his fringed mantle is embroidered with the lotus and pine alternated,—and another has the human-headed lion, the bull, and the sacred tree. The cords which confine his robe round the waist have large tassels depending; each end of his armlets is terminated by most admirably executed bulls' heads; upon his wrist are several small chains united by a rosette clasp; and the point of his ornamented scabbard has two fighting lions intertwined, and a small prowling lion—all exquisitely finished and highly characteristic of the animals.

The style and workmanship of this figure is so exactly like that of the king sitting on his throne, that we have no hesitation in attributing it to the same artist.

Before quitting the sacred and symbolic chamber, we have to enter a small inscribed room, containing a deep recess, as if for the oracle, adjoining the Great Hall of the Oracle, which thus appears to have had an oracle at each end.

Leaving this section of the palace by the opening facing the subject of the king upon his throne, we find ourselves in a small antechamber and passage lined with colossal figures of divinities like fig. 160. The only exceptions are the slab opposite the entrance, which contains the king holding his bow and two arrows, and two inscribed slabs at the entrance of a small side chamber, covered with inscriptions.

Turning to the right, we pass through an opening into a large court, about 130 feet square, of which so much of the walls as are standing are covered with inscribed slabs. On the north side of the court is an entrance formed by winged bulls; on the east are three

Fig. 158.—THE GREAT KING, FROM NIMROUD.

entrances communicating with the Hall of Divination, on the west the walls, excepting one entrance, have disappeared, and on the east are two doorways and the chambers we are about to examine.

SECOND HALL OF DIVINITIES.

Entering by the small side-door, we find on each jamb colossal divinities, back to back, one facing towards the court, and the other towards the interior, a hall about 90 feet long, by 30 broad. This hall has five openings, two on each side, and one in the western end. In the corner on our left we find the symbolic tree, then the king, with one hand resting on the hilt of his sword and the other holding his staff, and two eunuchs carrying arms, behind whom are symbolic trees. On the adjoining wall we pass a small doorway, guarded on each side by the colossal winged divinities so constantly presented to us. The next four slabs contain representations of the same divinity, separated by the tree; we have then a doorway guarded on each side by Nisroch; and on the remaining walls are sixteen slabs with repetitions of the winged divinities separated by the tree, and one slab divided by a band of inscription into two compartments, containing winged beings. The jambs of the chief opening into the court are formed by winged bulls, but the others have on them winged men holding a flower.

Passing through the central opening on the south side, we enter a hall about 65 feet long, by 20 wide, the walls of which are lined with slabs simply inscribed in the centre, and entirely without sculpture. In the western extremity of this apartment was a small opening leading into an unsculptured chamber, communicating with one, the walls and pavement of which were covered with inscriptions. In the floor of the recess on the western side, was a slab with a hole leading to a drain; and Layard informs us that it was in this chamber he found the ivories and numerous other small ornaments and articles now in the British Museum.

Returning through the two halls we have just described, we pass through the doorway at the western end of the Second Hall of Divinities, into a small long chamber, the walls of which are lined with the often-mentioned colossal winged divinity (fig. 159). In the floor at one corner is a slab with a hole in the centre. Passing out at the doorway that opens into a passage leading into the centre court, we observe on each side a colossal winged figure, (fig. 160—size of slab, 7 feet ½ inch, by 4 feet 2 inches.) The dress is nearly the same, excepting that he has a chaplet of flowers or rosettes upon his head. He faces towards the right, and holds a goat in his left, and an ear of wheat in his upraised right hand.

Fig. 159.—WINGED DIVINITY.

This we suppose to be one of those images to whom the king Nebuchadnezzar likened the fourth person he saw in the burning fiery furnace, into which Shadrach, Meshech, and Abed-nego had been cast by his order. "Lo! I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the son of God," or as the בר אלהין, Bar Alein may be rendered, a son of the gods, a divine person, or angel, מלאכה — Melakeh, angel, as the king calls this person in verse 28—(for what notion could the idolatrous king have of the second Person of the Trinity.) We apprehend that this particular figure, as was that in the great hall carrying the branch and fallow-deer, are the representations of men to whom tradition had attributed the cultivation of corn, and the means of preserving the fallow-deer, a semi-domestic animal, and who had consequently been deified for the benefits they had conferred on mankind. We may reasonably suppose that the figures of such persons adorned the walls of the palaces in Babylon, in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, as they did those of the palaces of Nineveh, with which the king must have been familiar. The following extract from the Chaldæan Fragments, given in Epiphanius, is curiously illustrative of this species of idolatry:—"And the followers of this (Hellenism) began with the use of painting, making likenesses of those whom they had formerly honoured, either kings or chiefs, or men who in their lives had performed actions which they deemed worthy of record, by strength or excellence of body. The Egyptians and Babylonians, and Phrygians and Phœnicians, were the first propagators of this superstition of making images, and of the mysteries."[1]

Fig. 160.—DEIFIED MAN CARRYING GOAT AND EAR OF WHEAT.

Most part of the passage leading into the court is completely destroyed, but four of the slabs found contained a double line of winged figures, divided by a band of inscription, and the remaining six slabs consisted entirely of colossal winged figures.

The only other ruins in this quarter of the palace are the fragments of two chambers, with inscriptions, in one of which has been read the name of the Khorsabad king. In the entrance of a third were three small winged lions.

We proceed to the south-western quarter and centre ruins of the

[1] Cory's "Fragments," p. 54, 55.

mound; but as the walls and chambers are generally too detached and scattered to allow of conveying any definite idea of the plan, we shall simply describe the remaining friezes in the order of their interest as historical subjects.

Fig. 161 is an impetuous assault upon a city and citadel, fortified

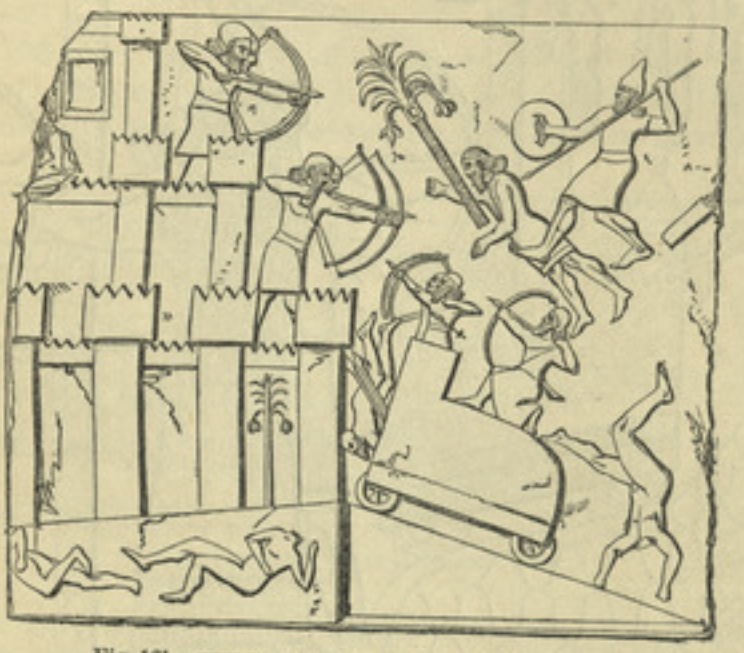


Fig. 161.—IMPETUOUS ASSAULT ON A CITY—ARTIFICIAL MOUNT—FELLING TREES.

by two ranges of embattled walls, the lowest of which is higher than a full-grown date tree. The city is built on a plain, as we gather from the ditch and well-constructed earthwork of the besiegers raised to a level with the base of the wall, and having an inclined plane, along which the wheeled tower is directed against the walls. The bowmen in this moveable castle seem determined in their attack, while in the besiegers no less activity is displayed—the fight being vigorously sustained by both sides on nearly equal terms. The dead are falling into the ditch beneath. Farther from the city, soldiers are felling the date-trees, and advancing with spear and shield.

"And I will camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee." [1]

"And lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set battering-rams against it round about." [2]

"For thus hath the Lord of Hosts said, Hew ye down trees, and cast a mount against Jerusalem." [3]

[1] Isaiah, xxix. 3. [2] Ezekiel, iv. 2; xxi. 22. [3] Jer. vi. 6.

The next (fig. 162) from the centre ruins, is an extremely interesting frieze, showing that the military tactics and discipline observed in

Fig. 162—SIEGE.—PRISONERS IMPALED BEFORE THE WALLS OF THE CITY.

those ancient days are but the prototype of our modern science. Here we have ranks of soldiers sheltered behind a wicker breastwork. The shield-bearer is clothed in the short tunic, while the bowman has long fringed dress and breastplate. Both wear a form of cap not before seen. The figures in the rearmost rank having been cut in two, no details can be furnished. Immediately before the soldiers is a war-engine on wheels protected by a hanging, which has been impelled against the wall of the fort up the steep ascent or rocky eminence upon which the city is built; an inclined roadway having evidently been formed by the besiegers for the purpose. The two spears of the engine have made a breach in a tower, on the top of

which a man is extending his hands as if imploring a cessation of hostilities. In front, and within a view of the citizens, are three men impaled, to strike terror into the besieged; while below, as if they had fallen from the walls, are seen a headless body and a dying man. This slab exhibits a cramp-hole, by which it was secured to the wall.

Fig. 163—the evacuation of a city—is likewise from the centre ruins, and occupies two slabs, both together measuring 9 ft. 8 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. The first part represents a city built on an elevation; but

Fig. 163.—THE EVACUATION OF A CITY.

not on a rocky eminence, like that last described. It contains a high building or citadel; and the walls are protected by a deep trench, and defended by towers at regular intervals, which, as well as the walls themselves, are surmounted by battlements. Directed against the centre gate, which, like all the other entrances to the city, is closed, are two of the moveable war-engines that we have before named. No person appears on the towers of the citadel, or on any part of the walls, nothing but a solitary date-tree in full bearing being visible within the city; but apparently issuing from some less important entrance is a car, drawn by oxen, and entirely different from a war-chariot, containing a young man, a woman, and child. Yet further in advance is a second car, drawn by oxen, and conveying women and a child, and some animals are quite in front. In the upper portion of the frieze are two scribes, under the superintendence of an officer of rank, noting the spoil—flocks of sheep, rams, and goats, driven by a herdsman; and still further forward are two men bearing plunder, but too much obliterated to enable us to distinguish their forms in detail. By these devices, and by the absence of people on the walls, we conjecture that the sculptor intended to intimate the utter abandonment of the city—that neither man, woman, nor child were left in it; and from the circumstance of the car proceeding in the direction of the

messenger or herald, who wears the long robe and sandals, and carries a wand in his hand, it would seem to us that the evacuation of the city is by command of the victorious king. "For now shalt thou go forth out of the city, and thou shalt dwell in the field, and thou shalt go even to Babylon."[1]

It was the custom of the Assyrian conquerors to carry away the inhabitants of a vanquished province or country, and place them in some distant region of the empire, to deprive them of all hope of returning to their own land, and likewise to replenish the less populous districts. An event similar to that here represented took place in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, when Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, "took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."[2] This rilievo was found in an underground chamber in the central part of the Mound of Nimroud; and we have, therefore, no sufficiently clear knowledge of the order of its succession on the walls of the building to afford a clue to the city intended to be represented. We are, however, of opinion that it cannot be any of the cities of Samaria, because of the fruitful date-tree seen within its walls, as that tree does not produce fruit in the northern district of Syria.

Fig. 164.—BOWMEN DISCHARGING ARROWS FROM BEHIND MOVEABLE SHIELD.

Fig. 164 represents two bearded figures and a eunuch. The centre

[1] Micah, iv. 10.

[2] 2 Kings, xvii. 6.

figure and his companion are discharging arrows at the walls of a citadel; while the third, habited in a short tunic, holds in his right hand a dagger, and with his left supports a shield or portable breastwork, which reaches from the ground to considerably above the heads of those protected by it. Between the shield and the fortress are three trees,—two of the endogenous class, which seem to be growing out of the water,—the mass at bottom resembling what is undeniably water in other friezes. We cannot, however, account for its abrupt termination, unless it is intended to represent a lake, or the rushing of a stream of water turned against the city by the besiegers. A man is seen on the wall directing an arrow at the enemy. This slab exhibits the cramp-hole by which it was secured to the wall, as well as two drill-holes by which it was attached to the slab above.

Fig. 165. Pursuit of an enemy: Vulture above. Size 5 feet 8 inches by 4 feet. This again represents another scene of defeat and flight.

Fig. 165.—ASSYRIAN MERCENARIES IN PURSUIT.—VULTURE WITH ENTRAILS.

Two horsemen armed with spears, and wearing the conical cap, are pursuing one whose horse has fallen. Behind is a falling figure; and overhead is a vulture carrying in his beak unequivocal evidence of having already preyed upon the slain. In the sculptures of Khorsabad and Nimroud the swiftness of the horses and ferocity of their riders are well portrayed. "Their horses also are swifter than the leopards and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they

shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat."[1] The Chaldean cavalry were proverbial for swiftness, courage, and cruelty. Oppianus, a Greek poet of Cilicia in the second century, in speaking of the horses bred about the Euphrates, says, "They are by nature war horses, and so intrepid that neither the sight nor the roaring of the lion appals them; and besides, are astonishingly fleet."

Fig. 166. Cavalry waiting the word of command,—represents

Fig. 166.—CAVALRY OF THE GREAT KING AWAITING THE ORDER TO MOUNT.

two soldiers of the cavalry of the great king, carrying bows and spears, and wearing the conical cap with ear-pieces and coats of mail or breast-plates—their legs being defended by chain armour, over which they have boots. Each stands by his horse, holding the reins in his left hand, in readiness to mount at the command of his general.

The next slab is nearly identical with fig. 166. It shows another division of the king's army, similarly appointed—excepting that, in addition to the bow and spear, these men carry a sword, as described in the book of Nahum:[2] "The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear." "Horses and horsemen, all of them clothed with all sorts of armour, even a great company, with bucklers and shields, all of them handling swords."[3] They seem, like the former, waiting the word of command to advance. The background of these two slabs is charged with a succession of regular conical figures like a diapering, with here and there a stunted tree. This, we apprehend, signifies that the country is mountainous and barren; and its great extent is indicated by the whole background being covered—hill after hill, filling up the space as

[1] Habakkuk, i. 8. [2] Nahum, iii. 3. [3] Ezekiel, xxxviii. 4, and xxiii. 12.

far as eye can reach. The absence of chariots is a further intimation that the nature of the country is such that only cavalry and infantry can be effective. No horse is seen on the monuments of Egypt before the building of the Temple of Karnak; and we know of no representation of Egyptian cavalry whatsoever. It does, however, happen that a single horseman or two are occasionally met with amongst the long-robed enemies of the Pharaohs in the battle-scenes upon the walls of Egyptian temples.

Fig. 167, Bowman, shield-bearer, and slingers. "And Uzziah

Fig. 167.—BOWMAN AND SLINGERS.

prepared for them throughout all the host shields, and spears, and helmets, and habergeons, and bows, and slings to cast stones."[1] One bowman wears the conical cap, with ear-piece, short tunic, and breastplate reaching to the waist. He differs from his companion, the shield-bearer, in having no beard and wearing greaves; the shield in this case is curved, and the top and bottom protected by leather sheaths. Behind the bowmen is a rank of slingers, bearded, and armed with short swords; their robes having a pendant fringe unlike any that we have seen in the other rilievi. Each slinger holds a stone in his left hand, ready to supply the sling. Underneath this sculpture is a second range of legs, totally unaccountable, unless they were left by the artist in revising his work.

Fig. 168 represents an Arab on a dromedary, in rapid flight from the

[1] 2 Chron., xxvi. 14.

hot pursuit of two horsemen armed with long spears. Dying and headless men are stretched upon the plain.

Fig. 168.—CAVALRY PURSUING MAN ON DROMEDARY.

The next frieze contains a barefooted captive, apparently a female, tearing her hair with her upraised left hand, while the right carries a wine or water vessel. Following her are four camels.

Fig. 169, Warrior hunting the lion. We have here a chariot drawn

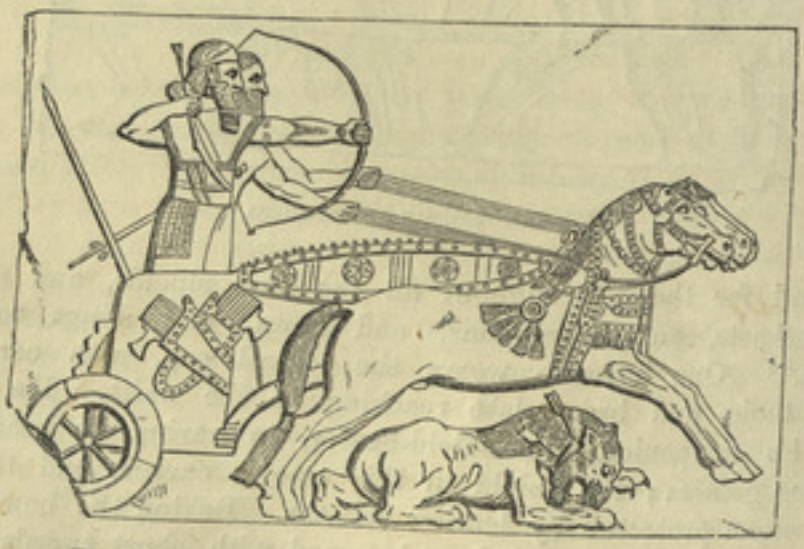


Fig. 169.—WARRIOR IN HIS CHARIOT, HUNTING THE LION.

by three horses, conveying a charioteer and bearded personage of distinction, who is discharging arrows. A lion, which has been wounded with several arrows, is struggling in the path of the chariot. All the details in this frieze are singularly perfect, but as they so closely resemble those previously described, it is not requisite to again particularise them.

The next frieze represents a eunuch introducing four bearded prisoners whose hands are tied behind them. Two hands of another figure and part of a foot likewise appear; showing that this is but a portion of a frieze, wanting the remainder of that figure and the margin of the top and bottom. The eunuch here wears the dress so often described; but his position resembles that of Tartan (page 149)—the left arm being elevated, as if commanding his prisoners to halt in the presence of some superior personage, who would probably appear on the adjoining slab. The prisoners are clad only in a short kilt, and wear no fillet about the head nor sandals. The execution of the work is barbarous in the extreme.

In the succeeding frieze we see the king holding in his right hand two arrows, and in his left a bow, engaged in addressing an officer in the costume of the enemy. The king is attended by his umbrella-bearer, and followed by his chariot, the horses of which are led by a groom. Above is seen the figure of Baal.

We have then a man driving before him a flock of sheep and goats. The neighbouring fragment, shows a warrior in a crested helmet, whose horse, pierced by the arrows of the Assyrians, is wounded and rearing, and behind are the fore parts of two horses apparently belonging to a chariot. The last rilievo is a representation of the king drinking. Behind him stands a beardless attendant, bearer of the king's implements of war (the *Silikdar* of modern times), together with the sceptre always held in the hand by the officers immediately about the royal person. The elaborate finish of this sculpture is beyond all praise; although there is much conventionality in the treatment of the hair and beard,—as, indeed, must always be the case in the art of sculpture. There is no doubt that the ancient Assyrians, like the modern Persians, bestowed much time and care upon their beards; as in these sculptures is sufficiently evident from the formal termination of the king's beard—always in four rows of crisped convolutions—and the precise intervals of plain hair. The hair, too, is not without its prescribed form,—wavy in front and terminating in a profusion of curls; from the centre of which a tassel is usually depended,—a custom still in use among the women of the East, who interweave with the hair skeins of black silk. The borders of the dresses of both the king and his attendant are furred, fringed, and richly embroidered in square compartments. The other portions of the dresses of the king and his attendant are the same as before detailed. The remains of the quiver and feather end of the arrows, with the groove for the bowstring, are perfectly represented.

The remaining sculptures consist chiefly of fragments of colossal friezes, the first being a rilievo showing (fig. 170) the head and shoulders of a beardless man, his robes richly embroidered. "And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the King of Babylon."[1] We have no hesitation in pronouncing this to be a person of rank in the court of the Assyrian monarch; and from what remains of the insignia of his office, and the evident *embonpoint* of his figure, he can be no other than the king's cup-bearer—one of those to whom was appointed "a daily provision of the king's meat and of the wine which he drank" in order that his countenance might appear fat and fair. This was a qualification apparently no less essential in the officers of the court of the King of Assyria than in those who stood

Fig. 170.—THE CUP-BEARER TO THE KING OF NINEVEH.

before the King of Babylon in the time of the prophet Daniel, c. i., v. 5. From the figure of a divinity embroidered on the neck-band of this person's robe, we would presume that he was called after the name of the god which it represents,—"But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my God, and in whom is the spirit of the holy gods."[2] So constant and unvarying are the customs of the East!

The next is a colossal frieze—5 feet 9 inches by 7 feet 10 inches—representing the king drinking and the attendant cup-bearer with his fly-flap. The king wears the usual truncated cap, surmounted

[1] 2 Kings, xx. 18.

[2] Dan., iv. 8.

by the cone and surrounded by a diadem, tied by a fillet, the ends of which are richly embroidered with the winged bull. The neck of his robe is bordered with the winged bull and antelopes, separated by the honeysuckle; and round the sleeve is the honeysuckle and pine-cone ornament. He has two daggers in his girdle, earrings and rosette bracelets. In his left hand is a bow, and in his right a cup. The eunuch varies in no respect from those which have been already described; but the fly-flap is very perfectly made out, and the animal's head at the end of the handle is beautifully finished.

The fourth, a bearded head, with a rose-decorated fillet. This is the head of one of the magi, or priests; as may be inferred from the absence of roundness in the features, and the black pigment on the beard and eyebrows being more conspicuous than in any of the other figures—peculiarities which we have already remarked in analogous figures at Khorsabad.

No. 5 is an admirably executed head of the king.

No. 6. A head and shoulders of an individual of the subdued nations. The hands are in that peculiar position which we have pointed out in describing the obelisk. This figure wears a turban of three folds, bracelets, armlets, and earrings. He has a short beard, and apparently woolly hair. A few lines of cuneiform have been cut over the lower part of the figure.

No. 7. Portion of frieze showing the winged emblem of the divinity in front: the king following—and after him a winged figure with three-horned cap. Round the king's neck are suspended mystic emblems—the moon, two stars, and the three-horned cap.

No. 8. The king, his umbrella-bearer, and his charioteer.

The next sculptures are not rilievi, but fragments *en ronde bosse.* They belong to one of those winged bulls with human heads, such as M. Botta discovered at Khorsabad. On the head is something like a turban, which seems surrounded by an ornament imitation of a cord or rope. The ears of a bull, instead of the human ear, as in the last-described divinity, and but one pair of horns, are seen. The beard is elaborately curled in the prescribed fashion. The countenance, when we are better acquainted with the sculpture, will in all probability prove to be the portrait of one of the Assyrian monarchs whose names Colonel Rawlinson is said to have deciphered .The other fragment is the head and neck of a colossal human-headed bull with wings. Both of these fragments are in a much harder material than the rilievi,—being a compact flinty limestone.

There were also several slabs of inscription—one a cuneiform inscription of twenty-two lines, exquisitely sharp in execution, together

with fragments of painted bricks, which formed a continuous decoration above the slabs round many of the halls and chambers of the palaces of Nimroud—and other inscribed titles of various dimensions. Some fragments of bronze, apparently belonging to the furniture of the palace—terra-cotta vases, some of which are glazed with a blue vitrefied substance resembling that used by the ancient Egyptians—fragments of glass—three engraved cylinders, or rolling seals, one of which is of transparent glass—beads, amongst which is an Egyptian ornament—a bronze nail with a gilt head—a silver ring—fragments of ivory, delicately carved, some being gilt—two small statues in bronze of stags—one of a sheep—and seventeen of a crouching lion, forming a series of various dimensions, from the largest measuring twelve inches, down to the smallest of one inch in length (fig. 171). These statues of animals are most curious, and evidently important remains. We are entirely at a loss to conjecture their purpose, unless it be that they are weights; an opinion which we hazard partly from our observations upon a large one in the French collection from Khorsabad, in which a ring is attached to the back, apparently for a handle—which is differently supplied in the case of these from Nimroud; and partly from the fact that on the tombs at Thebes there are representations of men weighing rings of gold, the weights used having, like these, the form of some animal, as stags, sheep, gazelles, &c.

Fig. 171.—LION WEIGHT.

Two of the slabs, about 18 inches long by 12 wide, are inscribed on both sides with beautifully cut cuneatic characters. The inscription is the same in both, and most important documents are they for the study of the language, because the termination of the words can be precisely ascertained from them, as the length of the lines varies in both inscriptions. A very cursory examination will satisfy any one that these inscriptions are to be read from left to right; for, in order to avoid breaking a word, the final characters are carried round the thickness of the slab. The story is continued on the other face, and is read by turning the slab over, as you do a medal or coin, so that what was the lower side of one page becomes the upper side of the next.

The basaltic sitting statue, from Káláh Shergat, and the inscription, need no special description here; but in addition to these are, as we have said, many painted bricks—some semi-cylindrical in form. The designs upon the bricks are handsome, containing the rosette and ornaments which we have been in the habit of considering Greek; but unquestionably the most interesting of these fragments are the written and stamped cuneiform writings. It is most remarkable that so near an approach to printing as was made by the Assyrians and the Egyptians, more than three thousand years ago, did not sooner produce the invention of modern times; especially when we find that, even in its infant state, the art was perfect so far as it went. The art of block-printing may have been transmitted to China at this early period; and may there have been advanced to that additional grade, namely, the transfer of the impression to paper, beyond which limit it has only recently advanced in that country. Besides the letters, another curious and interesting impression is observable on one of these bricks: it is that of the footsteps of a weazel, which must have sported over the recent brick before it had left the hand of the fabricator. The little animal and the mighty king have stamped the record of their existence on the same piece of clay![1]

THE OBELISK.

The Nimroud obelisk is 6 feet 6 inches in height; the greatest width at top 1 foot 5½ inches, and at bottom 2 feet, the width at the sides being somewhat less. It is made of a very defective piece of black marble, traversed obliquely throughout its length by a broad vein of whitish heterogeneous matter. The bad quality of the marble indicates not only the deficiency of good and suitable material in the neighbourhood, but an extreme paucity of resources in a nation apparently so great; for to no other cause can we attribute the use of such an unsightly and bad stone for the purpose of so small a monument. We have formerly pointed out that these sculptured remains are far from remarkable for artistic beauty—and this obelisk forcibly illustrates our observations; for, however interesting as an historical document, as *a work of art* no one can rate it highly; and we ourselves are by no means inclined to place it on a par with any Egyptian obelisk—or even to compare it with that of the Fayoum, which bears fully as many figures. There is a want of precision in the Nimroud specimen, shown in the lines

[1] For the above notices, see "Athenæum," Nos. 1025, 1027, 1098, and 1099; likewise "Illustrated London News."

intended to be straight, and in the spaces intended to be equal, but all far otherwise—a repetition and feebleness of invention, and a care-

Fig. 172.—FRONT VIEW.

lessness of execution throughout, that will ever keep it low in the scale of art. The form of this monument is not, correctly speaking, that of an obelisk; for the top is surmounted by three steps, and it is far from square in plan. The whole of the upper part, including the steps, is thickly inscribed with cuneiform characters. Each side

is then divided into five compartments of sculpture, with cuneiform characters between and along the sides, and the base for 1 foot 4 inches in height is surrounded by entablatures of cuneiform inscription, containing twenty-three lines.

The first compartment of sculpture represents the great king, who, holding two arrows and attended by his eunuch and bearded domestic, the captain of his guard, receives the homage of a newly-subjugated province, to the government of which the person standing erect before him is constituted governor. The king seems to be in the act of presenting the arrows and a bow, as insignia of office, or more probably using divination in the appointment of the new governor.[1] High in the background, between the great king and the satrap, are two emblems: one of Baal, resembling the winged globe of the ancient Egyptians—the other a circle surrounding a star; the emblems being the same as those which occur on other sculptures from Nimroud, and near the figures on the rocks of Nahr el Kelb. As regards the meaning of the emblems, we take one to be a contraction for that figure of the divinity which accompanies the king to battle in the various rilievi; but why accompanied by the globe—which in the representation on the next compartment is on the right instead of on the left side—we are totally at a loss to conceive, unless it be to signify that the presentation of tribute was so vast that it occupied from sunrise to sunset.

The second compartment comprises the same number of figures, and similarly arranged, excepting that the eunuch behind the king holds an umbrella, and in the place of his satrap stands the cup-bearer with his fly-flap. In this representation the forms of the cap and robe of the person kissing the feet of the king are more distinctly delineated, and furnish matter for consideration in describing another compartment at the back of the obelisk.

In the third compartment are two men, each leading a camel of the two-humped species. The men wear the fillet round the head and the short tunic, and are without boots and sandals—the dress being that of a people with whom the king is represented in many of the sculprures of Nimroud, to be at war.

The fourth compartment exhibits a forest in a mountainous country, occupied by deer and wolves. This is an episode in the story related on the monument, intimating the vastness of the dominion of the king of Nineveh, which extended not only over the people, but over the forest and mountains inhabited solely by wild beasts. Thus in Daniel: "And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of

[1] Ezek., xxi. 21, 22.

the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all." [1]

The fifth and last compartment on this side of the obelisk represents a people with whom we have made acquaintance in the Hall of Judgment at Khorsabad, and of whom we remarked that they resembled in costume some figures we had seen from the ruins of Nineveh that we were sure represented Jews. They are a short-bearded race, wearing long robes and boots, and a remarkable cap like a bag, the end of which is made to turn back instead of falling towards the front like the Phrygian. These people appear to be the same as those represented on the north wall of the small temple of Kalabshe as enemies of Rhamses II.; but until the inscriptions are deciphered this point must, we apprehend, remain in doubt. In this particular compartment the people carry wood or bars of metal, baskets with fruit, bags and bundles; but on others the tribute offered by the new race—the recent conquest of which the monument appears especially to commemorate—consists likewise of camels, fringed cloths, and vases of various forms and sizes. In evidence of the conquest, the actions of the figures must be particularly noted; the prostrate attitude in the first two compartments, and of those wearing the same costume who head the tribute-bearers in subsequent representations, being all indicative of fear or respect, as exhibited in the bended back and knee, which as they advance is exchanged for the prostrate posture of submission and homage yet common in the countries from which the monument is brought. The other people, of which we formerly spoke, as contending with the king in battle, bring elephants, monkeys, and baboons with human faces. They are clad in short tunics, and wear a fillet round the head, but are barefooted.

This completes the description of the front of the obelisk, and gives some idea of the people shown on the three other sides.

The first compartment on the left side contains one bearded and one beardless figure, apparently belonging to the suite of the satrap of the great king, together with a groom, in the vestments of the newly-conquered people, holding a richly caparisoned horse. The second compartment has a repetition of the bearded and beardless figures, ushering in three of the new race, the first of whom is in the attitude of awe before mentioned, while the remaining two follow with tribute in a richly ornamented box and basket. The third represents a bull decorated for the sacrifice, followed by a straight-horned ox, as we judge from the cloven hoof, length of leg, and position of

[1] Daniel, ii. 38.

the horn (not a rhinoceros, as has been surmised), and an animal of the gazelle class. It is to be observed that these animals are neither led

Fig. 173.—LEFT SIDE.

nor held, and that the bull, the aleph, the leader, the chief of his class, is decorated for the sacrifice—from which we infer that they do not appear as tribute, but as showing the abundance of food in the king's dominions—and that as it was the custom to sacrifice to the gods the animals intended for the royal table, the bull is decorated

accordingly. The fourth compartment contains four figures of the race wearing the fillet round the head, and with the feet bare. Two carry bundles, and the two behind bear a piece of fringed cloth slung upon a pole. The fifth again shows the bearded and beardless attendants, and three of the people wearing the fillet, with boots upon their

Fig. 174.—BACK OF OBELISK.

feet. The first is in the attitude of respect, another carries a bag, the third a basket. The inscription beneath contains twenty-seven lines. The custom of presenting robes as a mark of honour may be

traced to the remotest antiquity in eastern countries, and even still prevails. The Median habit was made of silk, and among the elder Greeks it was only another name for a silken robe. A Persian present is fully explained in the Anabasis (Book I.); it consisted

Fig. 175—FOURTH SIDE.

of a horse with a gilt bridle, a golden collar, bracelets, and a sword of the kind peculiar to Media, called acinaces, besides the silken vest.

The first compartment on the back of the obelisk exhibits two

camels of the Bactrian race; the first led by one of the newly-conquered people, wearing the peculiar cap and boots, but short instead of long robes; the second camel is driven by one in a similar costume. The second compartment contains five of the same people, clad in long robes, carrying bars of precious woods, vases, wine-skins, wine-cup and a long two-handled basket, empty. The third compartment shows an elephant, and two men wearing a fillet and short tunic, and having bare feet. Each man is leading a monkey, the hindmost having likewise a small monkey on his shoulder. The fourth compartment represents five of the same people, with long robes and bare feet, carrying, for tribute, baskets; what appear to be pieces of cloth; bags, probably containing gold dust, and bars of wood or metal. Herodotus mentions that Otanes, a Persian prince, himself and all his posterity, were annually presented with a Median habit.[1] He also states that the Ethiopians, who border on Egypt, and a people of India, "once in every three years present to the king (Darius) two choenices of gold unrefined, two hundred blocks of ebony, twenty large elephants' teeth, and five Ethiopian youths." The Arabians contributed every year to the same monarch frankincense to the amount of a thousand talents. The fifth compartment contains also five of the same people, similarly attired, and carrying single-handled and two-handled baskets, and large bundles. The lower inscription on this side contains twenty-nine lines.

The first compartment of the fourth side contains five of the newly-conquered people, capped, booted, and long-robed; bearing, as tribute, bars of metal or wood, round bundles, and long flat baskets with fruit. The second compartment is similar to the last; but the men carry square bundles and bags, like wine-skins, over their shoulders, and baskets in their hands—the last a long flat basket, containing fruit, like pines. The third compartment contains two men, without cap or fillet, barefooted, and clad in the short tunic, guiding two human-headed baboons, chained. The fourth has four men wearing the fillet and long robes, and bearing, for tribute, baskets, long bundles over the shoulder, and bars of wood. The fifth and concluding compartment resembles the last—but the tribute consists of baskets, sacks like the former, and bundles. "In the twelfth year of Ahaz, King of Judah, began Hoshea, the son of Elah, to reign in Samaria over Israel nine years. Against him came up Shalmaneser, King of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant, and gave him presents. And the King of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So, King of Egypt, and brought no present to the

[1] Thalia, lxxxiv.

King of Assyria, as he had done year by year; therefore the King of Assyria shut him up and bound him in prison." This quotation, from the 17th chapter of the second book of Kings, is so entirely in harmony with the illustrations on this obelisk and with the general tenor of the subjects on the walls of Assyrian palaces, particularly the palace of Khorsabad, that we have, without further comment, not hesitated to insert it. The entablature of inscription on this side contains thirty-eight lines.

This completes the details of the obelisk.

We will now turn our attention to the valuable addition to our collection, for which we are indebted to the enterprising spirit of Mr. Hector, an English merchant long established at Bagdad, whose antiquarian knowledge and love of research induced him to essay some excavations in the neighbourhood of M. Botta's rich but now entirely exhausted mine. It is not easy for a private individual to succeed in such tasks as Mr. Hector had undertaken; but he eventually surmounted all the difficulties in his way, and was rewarded by rescuing these, to us, *unique* remains (as all the other specimens from Khorsabad are already in the hands of the French government). The importance of his exertions will be justly appreciated by all who know that without them our collection of these historical records would have been deficient in some essential links in the chain of research. As soon as Mr. Hector had secured and packed his discoveries, he consigned them to the care of Mr. Stirling, of Sheffield—a gentleman distinguished alike for his intelligence and for a patriotic desire to secure to the nation any relics or information of value. Acting upon his knowledge of the interest entertained by the public on the subject, Mr. Stirling at once proceeded judiciously to negotiate the sale to the British Museum; and the trustees finally paid him 400*l.* for the curious property intrusted to him. The particular remains now under notice consist exclusively of isolated figures; although there can be but little doubt that these figures form portions of groups and of colossal ranges of sculpture similar in character to the smaller friezes from the walls at Nimroud.

The most important of these remains are three figures, 8 feet 11 inches high. The first is that of the king wearing the truncated cone-like cap, richly embellished, with the small cone quite perfect at the top, and the two long embroidered and fringed fillets depending from the back of the cap. He has long pendant earrings, bracelets with richly carved rosettes, and upon his arm is an ornamented armlet lapping over. His beard is very long, and, like the hair, formally curled. His under-dress, embroidered with rosettes in square

compartments, and bordered with a tasselled fringe, reaches to the feet: his mantle is decorated with rosettes, dispersed at regular intervals over the whole surface, and a fringe, with an embroidered heading, borders the mantle. He has sandals on his feet, of which the heel-piece is painted in red stripes. His left hand rests upon the hilt of his sword—the two-lioned scabbard of which appears at the back; and his right hand is raised, holding a long staff or sceptre.

The next figure is of the same dimensions as the last, and it appears that the two slabs adjoined, as the lower end of a staff is seen in front of the figure. At all events, the broken parts on these two and other slabs prove that they are but separated portions of continuous groups, telling a tale; and they represent an interview between the great king and the Rab Signeen, the governor of some province of the vast Assyrian empire; for his dress is that of an important functionary. His head is uncovered, the hair elaborately curled, and the beard of that length and prescribed form which denote a personage of rank.

This latter is still an infallible indication of rank, for down to so late as 1848, a little before the death of Mohammed Ali, an order from Constantinople obliged even the venerable pacha himself to reduce his white beard to a hand's breadth below the chin.

There are also indications of a fillet passing round the head, the two long embroidered and fringed ends of which hang from the back; and he wears highly-ornamented pendant ear-rings, a richly-carved armlet lapping over, and bracelets with ten strings connected by a rosette-shaped clasp. The robe, which reaches to his instep, is highly-decorated, and has a deep-knotted fringe with an embroidered heading; and over the robe is worn a peculiar article of dress, suspended from the neck to below the waist. It consists of a broad band of embroidery like that on the robe, from the whole of which falls a double row of fur or fringe reaching to the knee, and covering the entire back of the figure from the shoulder downwards, forming also a covering to the arm to a little above the elbow. The right hand of the figure is upraised; and the left rests upon the hilt of the sword, which is thrust into the band, and appears under and behind the surcoat.

The third figure of the same dimensions is beardless,—the face full and the hair formally curled in six rows, in the same fashion as all the other beardless figures. The details of the costume are precisely like the last—excepting that the robe is without embroidery, that the armlet wraps twice round the arm, and instead of being carved all over, is only decorated at each end, and that the bracelets consist

of four rings connected by rosettes. The feet are much mutilated, yet there remains an indication of the sandal. The right hand of this figure is clasped in the left, in the conventional attitude of respect, mentioned formerly; which would suggest that the person stands in

Fig. 176.—PORTRAIT OF THE CUP-BEARER OF THE KING OF KHORSABAD.

the presence of one of superior rank, and therefore belongs to a group of figures. Of this we are unequivocally assured, also, by a portion of a fringed garment, and part of the scabbard of a sword represented on the same slab before the figure.

The figures which we shall next describe are 3 feet 3 inches in height, two of them apparently representing priests. In the first, the hair and long beard are elaborately curled; around the head is a chaplet of twisted cords and rosettes, tied at the back where the tassel is visible, together with the large tassel under the hair. He wears long pendant earrings, overlapping armlets wrapped twice round the arm, and bracelets with three rings and rosette clasps. The right hand is open, and raised in the attitude of prayer; and the left is slightly extended, holding an implement like a whip with three thongs, with a large bead at the end of each; or, as is more probable, a branch of some plant, either a mystic emblem or an offering. The figure is clothed in a short tunic, with embroidery and tasselled fringe, with two cords and tassels depending from the waist; a long

robe with a simple fringe; and, passing under the right arm and over the left shoulder, is a deep fur or fringe headed by embroidery, the whole similar to the peculiar article of costume described in the second colossal figure. The feet are broken off. This figure our present knowledge of the plan of the palace of Khorsabad permits us to define as one of the priests sculptured on the recess formed by the projection of the bulls at the central entrances.

The second priest-like figure resembles the last in all particulars, excepting that the short tunic is without fringe, whilst the upper robe is embroidered above the fringe; that the bracelets are simple rings; and that the feet are perfect, and without sandals. In both these slabs a perforation has been effected near the upraised hands.

The third figure is attired in a long tunic, with embroidered and scalloped fringe, the upper dress being open in the front; the head is uncovered, and the beard is short and crisply curled. The left hand is raised, and holds a sack, which the right hand supports at the back. We are also enabled to assert that this person represents a tribute-bearer from the same part of the dominions of the King of Assyria, as those persons we first became acquainted with in the Court of Assembly, and subsequently met in the Chamber of Passage which connects the Court of Assembly with the King's Court. This figure, from its diminutiveness, must have belonged to an apartment in some part of the palace where the sculpture was divided into an upper and lower line of illustration by a band of inscription.

The fourth figure has likewise the head uncovered, the hair confined by an embellished fillet; and the short curled beard. In his left hand he holds a bow, and in his right two arrows; whilst his quiver is slung behind, and his sword is by his side. His fringed and peculiarly ornamental tunic reaches only mid-way down the thigh, and *wraps over in front*,—differences so remarkable, that we would venture to suggest the probability of the figure being an Egyptian; and shall await the arrival of further discoveries for refutation or further corroboration of a surmise which may greatly aid the reading of these records. We are still unable to give any precise account of this figure, for the nations with which we see the king at Khorsabad in conjunction have the spear and not the bow, and therefore we may conjecture it represents a person of one of the subdued countries, which, it would appear, were not represented in the chambers of that part of the palace at Khorsabad excavated by Botta; and consequently that M. Hector has found a new mine of historical rilievi, which we hope may be productive of further results.

The remaining sculptures are all detached fragments, as follow:—Two colossal horses' heads richly caparisoned in highly-decorated head-trappings, the parts of which resemble those at present in use in the East (fig. 177). A hand is seen holding the horses; but no other part

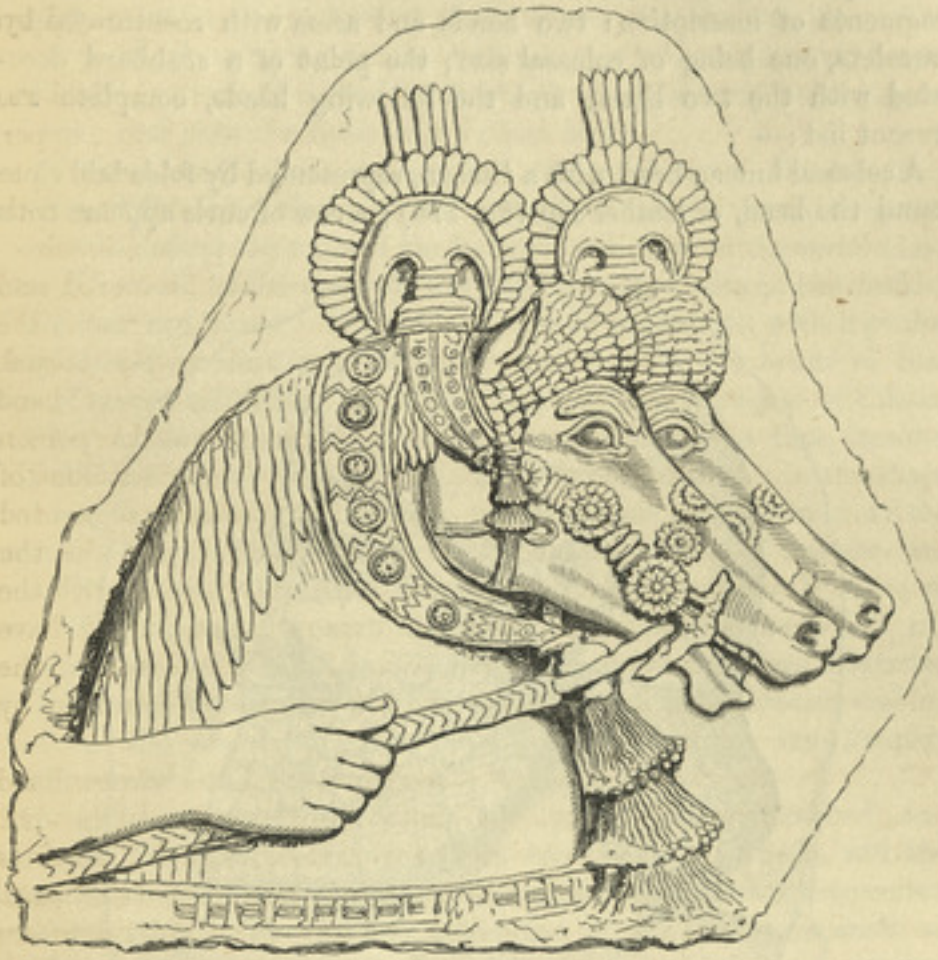


Fig. 177.—TRIBUTE HORSES.

of the figure remains. This, we presume, is a fragment of a similar group to that now in the Louvre; though in this specimen there are only two horses, while in that of the Louvre there are four. In this they both differ from the sculptures formerly described,—the number of horses in each chariot being invariably three.

Two fragments of horses' heads similarly decorated but of smaller dimensions.

A fragment containing two human feet and the fetlock of a horse. The foot of the horse with a portion of the tail are in front; and immediately behind is a human foot, with a part of the fringed and

embroidered robe above it. The second foot, which has a singular fringed garment above, belongs to a distinct figure. Three rows of cuneiform characters in a very perfect state form the base of this fragment. Fragments with horses' hoofs and cuneiform characters, probably belonging to the former. A few detached and unconnected fragments of inscription: two hands and arms with rosette-clasped bracelets, one being of colossal size; the point of a scabbard decorated with the two lions; and the following heads, complete the present list:—

A colossal human head, with a turban, represented by folds laid close round the head, or leather cap (fig. 178); a row of curls appears from

Fig. 178.—NATIVE OF THE COAST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN.

underneath the turban at the back, and the beard is short and formally curled.—This is the head of one of those colossal figures we were first introduced to in the Court of Assembly, and afterwards met in the Chamber of Audience at Khorsabad.

Three heads of smaller size, the details of which are like the last. In one, however, the shoulder indicates that the left arm is raised; and in another, the thumb and palm of the hand are visible upon the right shoulder.

Six heads, uncovered, the hair arranged in six formal rows of curls at the back (see fig. 176). The faces are very full, and quite beardless. In five of the heads the three-lobed earring is shown; whilst in the sixth it is the long pendant. In one, the neck of the robe is embroidered; on another, embroidery is visible upon the shoulder; and on a third, an ornament like a chain of metal plates appear over the shoulder. The remains of colouring-matter can be seen upon almost all these heads. —Finally, two smaller heads with chaplets, apparently belonging to priests; and part of a head with a short beard.

All these heads above enumerated, except those of the beardless figures, differ from those of the attendants of the great king, and those who defend the walls of the beleaguered cities in the bassi-rilievi from Nimroud, in the form of the head-gear, and also in the fashion of the hair and beard. We are now able to pronounce, with a probability almost amounting to certainty, that they are the heads of that race of people inhabiting Sidon and Tyre, or from the coast of Cilicia. Further acquaintance with the sculptures informs us that, besides this obvious variety in dress, there is a marked difference in the shape and length of the beard and hair, which cannot be attributed to the caprice of the artist; for everything in the East is of ancient and prescribed form. Even the colour of the robe is settled by law; so that Fashion cannot exert that capricious influence in which she indulges in the West. So likewise, in modern times, no Christian of Damascus would dare to wear other than a black turban; and no Moslem who could not make good his descent from the Prophet would venture on a green one.

In reviewing and comparing the palaces of Khorsabad and Nimroud, the general features which are common to both, and the characteristics which are peculiar to each, forcibly present themselves for observation. The leading principles of construction, such as the elevated substructure, thick walls, successive long and narrow chambers, the courts, and the mode of decoration, seem to have been so nearly alike in both edifices, as to indicate that the same principles were in force, and that the same rules of construction prevailed; but when we turn to examine the sculptures in detail, and their arrangement upon the walls, we at once perceive the most distinctly different features. In the example at Khorsabad, the palace was built according to a regular and well-devised plan, of which the sculptured decorations formed an integral part; whereas, in the palace at Nimroud, although the plan of the chambers and courts are evidently according to preconceived designs, the sculptures generally have the appearance of being adventitious adjuncts, probably brought

from other palaces, and adapted to the walls where they were found. Again, in the first building, the character of the illustrations is chiefly regal and historical,—the divinities which are represented being introduced only as guardians of entrances, and not in direct attendance upon, or ministering to, the king. At Nimroud, on the contrary, the historical subjects bear but a comparatively small part in the decoration of the walls, and, even when seen, are rarely found in consecutive order, while the king is almost invariably represented in conjunction with a divinity. In some cases the divinities are ministering to him; in others, he is in the act of adoration; and in others he is accompanied to the battle-field, or in victory, by the symbol of his god.

Another remarkable peculiarity is, that entire chambers at Nimroud are especially dedicated to particular divinities, or to representations of the king attended by divinities; whilst at Khorsabad there are no analogous chambers or representations. At Nimroud, the symbol, which we have designated Baal, is repeated in every historical subject where the king appears; but at Khorsabad there is not a single example of this symbol.

At Nimroud we have the beardless divinity with four wings, and the figures of deified men, while at Khorsabad none of these divinities appear; but we have, in their stead, the four-winged figure we have named Ilus, and the representations of Nimrod.

At Nimroud we have seen the king divining, both by cup and arrows; but at Khorsabad there is not one subject indicative of divination.

At Nimroud, trained birds of prey accompany the king, and hover over every battle-field; but at Khorsabad, notwithstanding the number of battle-scenes, not a single example of the bird is exhibited.

At Nimroud, the king is frequently seen in the act of drinking; but at Khorsabad he is never seen, otherwise than in battle, in the acts of walking, conference, and judgment, or in receiving homage and tribute.

At Khorsabad, the principal wars of the king seem to be with the pastoral people clothed in skins; but at Nimroud these people are never seen; and the contention appears invariably to be with the people who wear the fillet upon the head.

At Nimroud, the tribute or spoil laid before the king is always accompanied by captives, or people in attitudes bespeaking penitence and earnest entreaties for mercy; on the other hand, at Khorsabad, the numerous processions, carrying tribute, suggest the idea that the offerings are voluntary gifts of regular vassals, presented by the

governors of the respective provinces, acknowledging the rule of the great king.

At Nimroud we find the sculptures traversed by numerous lines of inscription, without any regard to the figures originally represented on the slabs; but at Khorsabad there are no examples of similar obliterative inscriptions.

At Nimroud we have seen a peculiarity in the chariots, the intention of which is not clearly understood, namely, an appendage to the pole, which seems to resemble the embroidered hanging,—and sometimes padded separation between the horses and bullocks, in the modern cars of India; but at Khorsabad this appendage is never shown, the chariots being in all respects more simple, and less decorated.

Finally, the very marked differences in the styles of art which the sculptures manifest, must strike every observer. At Khorsabad, the style is broad, simple, and flowing, the minor details being always rendered subservient to the more important features which the artist desired to present to the spectator; at Nimroud, on the contrary, almost everything was sacrificed to the minute delineation of the forms within the contour of the figure,—as, for example, the affectation of anatomical knowledge, and the multiplication of lines, particularly about the knee-joint.

The inferences to be drawn from a consideration of the foregoing analysis are, that though the distinctive characteristics of the sculptures of the two palaces bear the stamp of national peculiarity, yet that they were the works of the nation at different periods; and that these periods were sufficiently distant to admit of the introduction of new customs and innovations such as we have shown. It remains, therefore, to be determined, to which the priority of antiquity is due; and, to this end, we venture to submit the following observations, derived from our readings of the sculptures themselves, and entirely irrespective of the interpretations of the cuneatic inscriptions.

First, as regards the well-devised and systematic arrangement of the sculptures at Khorsabad, as contrasted with the irregularity and nature of the illustrations found upon the walls at Nimroud. At Khorsabad we are impressed with the conviction that a deliberate and mature design was methodically accomplished, in accordance with the original plan. At Nimroud, all that we see indicates haste,—the general plan being imitated from existing examples, and being, apparently, carried out with the materials which had adorned previous structures. Thus, we find some of the subjects placed in consecutive

order; some, one above the other; and others breaking off abruptly—a new subject commencing, without any connection with the last. In one instance the double line of illustration commences in the angle of the room, and, after continuing for some distance, is abruptly terminated by a succession of colossal slabs; and, again, colossal slabs are awkwardly placed in corners, regardless of architectural effect, as if the builders had been obliged to conclude their work with undue rapidity, and had taken the first materials that presented themselves. In support of these views of the hurried erection of the structure, and of the employment of the materials belonging to a previous building, we learn, from Mr. Layard, that he found in one part of the ruins several slabs, which were evidently in process of removal from one place to another; thus indicating not only that the palace was in actual progress, and being hastily constructed out of the ruins of an earlier and larger building, but that the work was abruptly arrested before completion; from both which circumstances it may be inferred that the Palace of Nimroud dates subsequently to that of Khorsabad, which was finished, and in its glory, at the period of its destruction.

Another important evidence in favour of the superior antiquity of the Khorsabad palace is the absence of the inscription running across the sculptures, which we have remarked at Nimroud. At Khorsabad it would seem that there were two classes of inscriptions, religious and historical. To the first class is to be attributed those inscriptions on the back of slabs, and those impressed on the bricks forming the pavement of the courts, and cut on the kiln-burnt bricks of the walls; as well as the four inscriptions on the bulls, which were apparently continuous portions of the same text repeated on each bull, and found more or less abridged on the paving slabs at the entrances. To the second class belong those on the walls of the chambers, generally forming a long band separating the two ranges of bassi-rilievi; and those engraved on the dresses of certain personages, over the heads of captives, and upon the walls of cities. These are all notoriously historical, for the texts vary with the subjects represented in the rilievi, and obviously relate to them; but instead of being placed so as to obliterate any part of the sculpture, when an inscription is seen upon a figure it is invariably upon a plain part of the dress, and bordered by a line, the whole presenting the appearance of a label containing the name of the person, or the sentence he is uttering.

At Nimroud, the inscriptions which appear are, possibly, also religious and historical. Those of a religious character occupy

positions at the entrances, upon the bulls, and in the pavement, as in the example at Khorsabad: but here the resemblance ceases. We do not find one single inscription upon any representations of buildings, nor on any special figure, but instead of these we have numerous lines of cuneatic running across the centre of the large friezes, without any respect for the subject underneath. Hence it may reasonably be conjectured that he who built the palace out of the ruins of a former one, did not scruple to appropriate the sculptures to himself, and to obliterate the monuments of his predecessor by the record of his own exploits; and if we consider these evidences, in conjunction with the different styles of art of the respective structures, it follows almost indisputably that the Palace of Nimroud is of more recent date than that of Khorsabad.

A third evidence we would deduce from the representations at both palaces, of the processions bearing tribute. At Khorsabad the offerings are the voluntary tribute of vassals from the very extremities of the empire, which extended even to the coast of the Mediterranean, showing that at that time the empire of Assyria Proper was in the plenitude of its power; whereas at Nimroud, the apparently forced tribute would seem to be rendered by revolted subjects, for there are no extant processions of voluntary tribute-bearers, like those so frequently seen at Khorsabad.

To descend to more minute particulars, derived from the customs which are exclusively exhibited in the Nimroud sculptures, we will first instance the trained birds of prey, a custom doubtless imported from some of the neighbouring nations conquered by the kings of Assyria, and which continued to prevail in Persia so late as the seventeenth century. The practice of training animals for the chase and battle-field has existed in various countries from the earliest times, and history tells us that the Egyptians, Indians, Romans, Gauls, and others, had animals especially trained for the battle-field: the presence of this bird, therefore, at Nimroud is another testimony in favour of the greater antiquity of Khorsabad, as obviously the custom did not prevail at the time the sculptures found there were executed.

Another innovation apparent at Nimroud, is the alteration of the chariot, probably copied from some other country. We learn from Xenophon (Cyrop. book vi.), that Cyrus built chariots of a new form, having found great inconveniences in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia; and we may easily surmise that the walls at Nimroud

supply examples of the Trogan, the intermediate stage between those pourtrayed at Khorsabad and those introduced by Cyrus.

The most important, however, of all the characteristics peculiar to Nimroud, are the divinities seen upon the walls, and the evidence thus afforded of the introduction of new gods, and of hero or demon-worship. In the very earliest stages of society the worship of mankind was pure and simple; but as the people spread over the earth, and became more corrupt, this primitive worship of the Deity gradually gave place to types and symbols more within the comprehension of the degenerate race. The learned Dr. Faber has supposed that the cherubim were used in the worship of the true God prior to the deluge, and presumes from this that when idolatry sprang up, the demon-gods would be worshipped by the same emblems that had been already consecrated to the true God. The uniform veneration of the world for the bull, lion, eagle, and man, he thinks, perfectly accords with the presumption that the common origin can only be found in a period when all mankind formed one society. The inspired writers inform us, that, when the Gentiles departed from the worship of the true God, they adored partly the host of heaven, and partly certain beings, called, in the New Testament, Demonia, and, in the Old Testament, Baalim, or Siddim; these demonia being the same as hero-gods, or the souls of eminent benefactors to mankind.

When we turn to Khorsabad, we find that the only gods represented on the walls are the human-headed eagle-winged bulls, which we regard as cherubic animals; the Ilus, or Cronus; the divinity with two wings; and an eagle-headed divinity, who, from his dress and the situations where he is found, would seem to be of inferior importance. Hence, from these few, simple, and generally noble symbols of the Divinity, we may infer that, at the time the Palace of Khorsabad was built, the religion of the Assyrians was comparatively pure. On directing our attention, however, to the walls of Nimroud, we at once perceive degeneracy in the system of religion, from the increased number of divinities, and from the evident manifestations of deified mortals, or hero-worship.

We have first, in addition, the divinities common to both palaces and to the Cherubic animal, combining the man, the eagle, and the bull; one combining the man and the eagle with the lion. We see no figure of Ilus, but instead, there is the four-winged beardless divinity, no where visible at Khorsabad, and therefore we may suppose, of more recent origin.

We have then the winged figures, which we consider to be deified

mortals from their wearing the head-dress, and bearing the insignia of the magi; the absence of these figures from the friezes at Khorsabad, we take to be an indication of the greater antiquity of those sculptures.

We next perceive that the eagle-headed divinity, so unimportant at Khorsabad, has become a leading and predominant divinity at Nimroud.

Finally, we have the feathered symbol always accompanying the king in war and triumph; and as we likewise find this particular divinity prevailing in the Persepolitan sculptures after the period when the Assyrian empire had become absorbed in that of Persia, the inference is obvious to us that the emblem of Nimroud occupies an intermediate place between Khorsabad and Persepolis, and consequently farther confirms our view that the palace of Khorsabad is more ancient than that of Nimroud.

Many other minor details could be adduced in further corroboration of the foregoing evidence; but the comparisons we have already instanced appear to us so satisfactory, that we have no hesitation in offering them to the candid consideration of our readers, nor in expressing our convictions that the palace of Khorsabad may be carried much farther back in the silent stream of time, than that of Nimroud.

We have been induced to enter thus minutely into the detail of these interesting sculptures, from the important light they throw upon our previous historical records; for, although they can in no way be available for their beauty as works of art, the high state of civilisation which they manifest as regards the ornamental and useful sciences will at once be appreciated by the intelligent and enlightened observer. In concluding, we will beg to offer a few remarks relating to the preservation of these antiquities, which have already sustained considerable injury since their exhumation and in their transit to this country. From the nature of the marble (gypsum), which has in some instances been exposed to the action of fire, we know that they are likely to suffer much damage from the moisture of our climate. Care should, therefore, be taken not to enhance this unavoidable source of injury by washing; or, if it is necessary to cleanse them, it should be done lightly and carefully, under the direction of an experienced person, and then by subsequently melting wax into the pores of the gypsum, they might be effectually preserved. It would likewise be desirable to suggest the propriety and advantage of performing this operation on the spot, in the event of any future discoveries, as soon as they are exhumed, or, at least, immediately

after drawings are made; the profusion of wax in the surrounding country would render this experiment easy of accomplishment, and the result would be an ample recompense for the slight additional labour required.

LIST OF SCULPTURES FROM NIMROUD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

	Size of Slab. Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Page.
1. Colossal figure of Nisroch presenting pine-cone and basket	7 10 ×	2 10	219
2. Ditto, with wings entire	7 7½ ×	5 5	256
3. Colossal divinity in egg-shaped cap, with three bulls' horns laid close round the base, and presenting pine-cone and basket	7 10 ×	4 2	273
4. Ditto, deified man, wearing a circlet with a rosette-formed ornament in front; he carries a fallow-deer on his right arm and a branch in his left hand	7 3 ×	4 4½	255
5. Ditto, deified man, wearing a garland and carrying a goat or gazelle on his left arm, and in his right hand an ear of wheat	7 0½ ×	4 2	274
6. Ditto, beardless figure with four wings; he wears a two-horned cap, and carries a garland in his left hand	7 9½ ×	4 6	268
7. Ditto, of the king walking, his right hand holding a staff, and his left resting upon his sword	7 2½ ×	4 8½	271
8. Ditto, holding two arrows, and followed by a divinity with the pine-cone and basket	7 9 ×	7 4	
9. Two figures of Nisroch before symbolic tree	3 6 ×	5 3½	262
10. Two beardless divinities holding garlands, described	3 7 ×	5 8	267
11. Two divinities with two-horned cap kneeling before symbolic tree	2 6 ×	5 2	*ib.*
12. Small divinity with a two-horned cap, and holding branch of five pomegranates in left hand; the right raised as if in prayer	3 5 ×	2 9	269
13. Ditto, similar in all respects			*ib.*
14. Ditto, similar, excepting the head-dress, which is encircled by a wreath, deified man	3 7 ×	2 4½	*ib.*
15. Ditto, with horned head-dress, and presenting pine cone and basket	3 7 ×	2 8½	*ib.*
16. Ditto ditto.			*ib.*
17. Two kings before symbolic tree; the emblem of Baal above; each king has a sceptre in his left hand, the right hand being open and elevated, and he is followed by a divinity carrying the pine cone and basket	6 0 ×	14 2	252
18. King drinking attended by his cup-bearer	7 10 ×	5 9	
19. Divinity with pine-cone and bag, following the royal cup-bearer, who holds a wine-strainer and fly-flap	7 9 ×	6 8	263
20. King seated upon his throne, and with his feet resting on a footstool; he holds a wine-cup in his right hand, and behind him stands a eunuch with a fly-flap	7 10 ×	5 9	*ib.*

	SIZE OF SLAB. Ft. In.	Ft. In.	PAGE.
21. Sceptre-bearer and divinity with pine-cone and bag	7 9 ×	6 8	263
The foregoing three slabs form one subject—The king drinking or divining in the presence of the Gods of Assyria.			
22. Captive and attendant, with monkeys as tribute			258, 259
23. Winged human-headed bull	9 0 ×	9 0	218
24. Winged human-headed lion	10 0 ×	10 0	260
25. King in his chariot, besieging city	3 0 ×	7 0	221
26. Standard-bearers of the king—continuation of the above	3 0 ×	7 1	224
27. King proceeding victoriously from the battle field, followed by a saddle-horse	2 11 ×	7 1	225
28. Standard-bearers in procession after victory—continuation of the above	2 11 ×	6 11	*ib.*
29. Eunuch receiving prisoners; mummers dancing; grooming horses; and the royal kitchen	2 11 ×	7 1	226, 227
30. Eunuch warrior in battle; above is the trained bird of prey	2 11 ×	7 1	228, 229
31. A charge of cavalry followed by infantry; above trained bird of prey	2 11 ×	7 0½	230
32, 33. King in his chariot, and preceded by his standard-bearers; he is discharging an arrow at the enemy, who are furiously repelling the attack: on the ground are the dead and dying, upon whom the birds are preying, pecking out eyes	3 3 ×	7 1	231
34. Chariot of the king and Assyrian soldiers following mailed warriors; birds of prey above and tearing the dying: joins 35	3 1 ×	7 0½	230, 232
35. Siege of a city, possibly Damascus; warriors defending the walls and endeavouring to impede the action of the war-engines of the besieged	2 11½ ×	7 0½	233
36. Continuation of above—King discharging his arrows at the city; besieged mounting by scaling ladders; women and children led into captivity	3 0 ×	7 0	234
37. The king holding two arrows and followed by his chariot, receiving a warrior: above is the emblem of Baal with ring (woman on walls)	3 0 ×	7 1	235
38. Triumphal procession towards the city: women on walls	3 0 ×	7 1	
39. Passage of a river by the king and his allies	3 0 ×	7 10	237
40. Continuation of above, showing round boat	7 3 ×	3 0	238
41. Do., Preparations for departure	3 0 ×	7 0	*ib.*
42. Fugitives crossing a torrent, castle	3 0 ×	7 0	239
43. King on foot, attacking a fortified city	2 10 ×	7 4	242
44. The king hunting the lion	3 0 ×	7 4	243
45. The return from the lion hunt	3 0½ ×	7 4	245
46. The king hunting the wild bull	Do.	Do.	249
47. The return from the bull hunt	Do.	Do.	246
48. Procession conveying prisoners and spoil	Do.	Do.	251
49. The League, or Treaty of Peace	7 4 ×	3 0	247
50. The Flight—Parthian bowmen	3 0 ×	7 3	248
51. Evacuation of a city; scribes taking account of the spoil	7 0 ×	3 0	254
52. Eunuch introducing prisoners	9 8 ×	3 3	277
53. Horsemen pursuing a man on a dromedary	3 0 ×	7 4	
	3 4 ×	3 9	282

	SIZE OF SLAB. Ft. In.	Ft. In.	PAGE.
54. Female captive followed by camels			
55. Man driving a flock of sheep and goats	3 2 ×	5 3	
56. KOUYOUNGIK Cavalry of the king waiting the word of command	2 0 ×	3 6	280
57. Ditto, armed with a sword, as well as bow and spear	2 0 ×	3 6	
58. Bowmen and slingers, and a partially obliterated subject	2 0 ×	2 5	281
59. Two horsemen armed with spears, pursuing a third; above, a bird of prey, with entrails of the slain	4 0 ×	6 0	279
60. Impalement of prisoners before the walls of a city	3 7 ×	3 7	276
61. Fragment: Two warriors, protected by a moveable shield, discharging arrows at a fortress near a stream, on the banks of which grow three trees			278
62. Impetuous assault on a city in a plain; moveable tower, artificial mount, and soldiers felling trees			275
63. Warrior in his chariot, hunting the lion			282
64. Fragment: Warrior, in a crested helmet, on horse, which is rearing from the wounds of its pursuers			
65. Fragment: Head and shoulders of a man, holding two richly caparisoned horses			
66. Fragment: Head and shoulders of the king's cup-bearer			284
67. Fragment: Head and shoulders of an individual of the subdued nations			300
68. Head of Priest with garland			
69. Colossal head with horned cap			
70. Head and neck of colossal human headed bull			
71. Cuneatic inscription of twenty-two lines			338
Numerous tablets of inscriptions, and fragments of painted bricks			
An obelisk in black marble, 6 feet 6 inches in height; greatest height at top, 1 foot 5½ inches, at bottom, 2 feet			91
Sitting statue in basalt from Kalah Sherghat			99

MR. HECTOR'S COLLECTION OF SCULPTURES FROM KHORSABAD.

1. Colossal figure of the king	8 11 high.	
2. Ditto, Rab Signeen, the governor of a province	same size.	
3. Ditto of a eunuch		
4. Figure of priest, wearing a wreath of rosettes and cords; right hand elevated; left with trilobed branch		297
5. Ditto, ditto	3 3 high.	
6. Ditto, left hand carrying a water-skin, which the left supports at the back		
7. Armed figure, with bow in left hand and two arrows in the right; his dress resembles that of an Egyptian		
8. Two colossal horses' heads, richly caparisoned		299

	SIZE OF SLAB. Ft. In.	Ft. In.	PAGE.
9. Colossal human head, with cap laid in folds close to the head			
10—12. Three heads like the last, but of smaller size .			
13—18. Six ditto, uncovered and beardless . . The remains of colouring matter appear on almost all these heads.			
19, 20. Two smaller heads of priests wearing chaplets			
21. Part of a head with a short beard . . .			
22—23. Two fragments of horses' heads, resembling No. 8			
And numerous small fragments			

Fig. 179.—VIEW OF THE TOMB OF THE PROPHET JONAH ON THE MOUND OF NEBBI YOUNIS, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. ROMAINE.

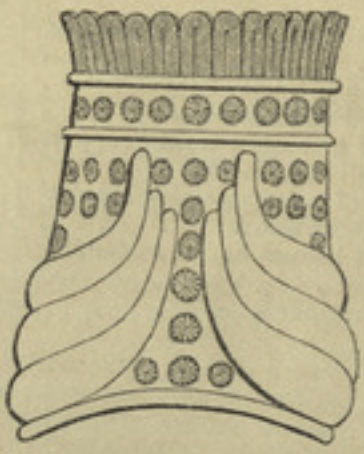


Fig. 180.—HEAD-DRESS OF KHORSABAD.

SECTION V.

COSTUME.

ASSYRIAN ART, INDUSTRY, AND COMMERCE.

THE most striking facts that present themselves to our imagination, in contemplating the remains of the Assyrian Palaces, are the perfection to which the art of sculpture had arrived at that remote period, and the important evidence they afford of conversance with the most refined arts of life; both indicating a pitch of civilisation that we should find it difficult to reconcile with the most extended scheme of chronology, if, at the same time, we were bound to suppose that the first settlers in the land were in a parallel state of ignorance and degradation with the inhabitants of New South Wales, or with those of the back-woods of America. The Scriptures, however, afford ample evidence of a primitive civilisation, especially in the knowledge of the working in metals, and of other refined arts (Gen. iv., 17, 21, 22,) even before the Deluge; and this testimony, we apprehend, sufficiently accounts for any degree of proficiency we find in the works of art of these remote ages, and for that early civilisation of the human family which the contemplation of these sculptures suggests.

The objects of sculpture in the more remote ages being simply to record the remarkable events in the history of the people and their sovereigns, and to make the record intelligible to those who could gain the required information from no other source, the necessity

for presenting the events vividly to the imagination of the spectator, unavoidably induced a conventional mode of representation, that, in course of time, became settled and determined by certain laws. To this circumstance we attribute the mode of portraying the human figure, such as we find in these and in the Egyptian rilievi, and even in those of Greece, which, when once adopted, was never after wholly abandoned,—because the art itself imposes certain limits, that the moderns have in vain endeavoured to remove, by the introduction of perspective, so essential an element in the sister art, but which is entirely incompatible with sculpture. It was not till this primitive object in the practice of sculpture had ceased in some measure to be so rigidly observed, and the beauty of the human form[1] had become the more important aim of the artist, that sculpture began to leave the rigid trammels imposed upon it, and ultimately to attain that perfection we admire in the statues of the Phidian age, when the beauty of the human form, in all its endless varieties, was pourtrayed in the statues of the gods and heroes,—its chief aim being to assign to each a peculiarity of excellence which eventually became as much the attribute of the particular divinity as any emblematic attribute peculiarly belonging to it, as the thunderbolt to Jupiter, the caduceus to Mercury, or the breast-plate to Minerva.

From the very beginning, the Greek sculptors seem to have possessed a nicer perception of this quality, and a greater facility in expressing it, than the other people of antiquity, and they quickly freed themselves from the bonds which shackled them. The Egyptians, on the contrary, tied down by a system of theocracy which regulated every action of their life, never shook off the prescribed rules; their sculpture was always influenced by them; and their productions, in the time of the Romans, were but imperfect copies of the works executed during the reign of the most ancient Pharaohs, influenced in a still more eminent degree by prescribed and time-hallowed conventionalities. Thus, at the present day, the painters who decorate the Greek or Armenian churches bend to consecrated rules or habits, and are content to copy and reproduce the old Byzantine types in all their stiffness; wanting always a certain natural simplicity, which renders their copies inferior to the originals.

The Egyptians, like all other people in their infancy, attached importance to the exterior line only. In their paintings and sculptures they made simple strokes of astonishing boldness and character, by which both proportions and action were rendered with great perfection. But here their science stopped; and in later times, as in

[1] Isaiah, xliv. 13.

the most remote, they never thought of completing these outlines by an exact representation of the anatomical details contained within them. Their finest statues are, in this respect, as defective as their bas-reliefs and paintings. Seizing on the characteristic forms of objects, they never varied them under whatever aspect; thus the front view of the eye was always introduced in the profile face; the profile foot in the front view of the figure; and but extremely rarely does the front face occur, although the body may be facing,—a law which seems also to have considerably influenced the Greek sculptors in their compositions for basso-rilievo; and, as it appears to us, one imposed by the art itself. All the necessary details, however, for characterising the objects in Egyptian and Assyrian rilievi are always made visible, whether they could in the particular view be seen or not. Lastly, always sacrificing truth to the desire of hiding nothing which in their eyes appeared the more important, the Egyptian painters and sculptors have carefully avoided crossing the figures by accessory objects which would have hidden any part of them,—a law which the Greeks also observed; and, possibly, to the same law may be attributed, in these and Egyptian representations of battles, the larger dimensions they have given to the conquerors than to the conquered.

Most of these characteristics are found in Assyrian as well as Egyptian art; but they are less strongly marked; and the careful observer can perceive that the art is emerging from its state of infancy. The bodies are no longer all full-face, if we may so express it, and have less conventional stiffness. The figures consist no more of mere outlines; the heads are well modelled; and the anatomical details of the limbs, the bones, and the muscles are always represented; though coarsely and ignorantly expressed, and with a conventional exaggeration indicating a greater knowledge of anatomy, but a less artistic mode of conveying their knowledge, than is found in Egyptian figures of the same age. The reader need only compare some Egyptian figures in the British Museum with some of the Assyrian bas-reliefs in the same establishment, to convince himself how superior the latter are as representations of real life; but, on the other hand, they are decidedly inferior in justness of proportion and purity of drawing. In the Assyrian bas-reliefs the figures are generally too short, and the artist has not always succeeded in endowing them distinctly enough with animation.

In both schools animals were represented with more fidelity than men. The reason of this is, doubtless, that in this branch of his art the sculptor was not shackled by rules and prejudices of so precise a description. The muscles and bones of the symbolic bulls are

admirably modelled, although, it is true, a little exaggerated; the statues of the symbolic lions, however, are inferior to them, and the paw, in every instance that has yet arrived in Europe, is anatomically inferior to the lions in the Egyptian saloon; those of Assyria representing the paw of a dog instead of the claw of the cat, to which class the lion belongs.

Let us mark a peculiarity, which proves how tenacious these ancient sculptors were of making the objects they represented appear perfect from whatever point they were contemplated; for this purpose they gave these animals five legs, in order that, whether seen in profile or in full, they should leave nothing for the mind of the spectator to supply.

In the bas-reliefs at Nineveh may be seen, as it were, the first essays of that system which, brought to a state of perfection by an intelligent people, deeply enamoured of physical beauty, produced the *chefs d'œuvre* leagued to us by Hellenic antiquity. There is, however, between these two schools the whole distance which separates the results obtained by the first timid efforts of a novice from the perfection attained by genius favoured by the most fortunate circumstances; and whatever partiality we may entertain for Assyrian art, we are far from putting it on a footing of equality with that of Phidias and Praxiteles.

As regards the age of these specimens of Assyrian sculpture, we recognise in them a degradation from that simplicity of style which characterises the earliest specimens in other countries; we are therefore inclined to suppose that the art had passed that stage of early simplicity at a period anterior to the examples before us, and we regard Persian art, its immediate successor, as a continuation of the degradation we observe in the sculptures from Nineveh; but we anticipate that the excavations which are now in progress at Kouyounjik will disclose remains bearing those distinctive features, and a simplicity in style indicative of an earlier stage in art than any we have yet seen.

After having compared the art of the Assyrians with that of contemporary nations, it will not, perhaps, be out of place to compare it also with that of a people who succeeded them in the empire of the world—the ancient Persians.

The sculpture of Persepolis is seen accurately in the drawings of Ker Porter and in the fragments in our Museum; and these are sufficient to show that the Persians borrowed this art from their predecessors, the Assyrians, and that it only degenerated in their hands. There is the same difference between the bas-reliefs of Persepolis and

those of Khorsabad as between the Egyptian bas-reliefs sculptured in the time of the Ptolemies and those of an anterior age; the falling off is the same in both cases. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to look at the figure of a man leading a horse, sculptured at Persepolis; it will then be seen, that if the school of sculpture is the same as at Nineveh, the drawing is less pure, and the forms heavier, while the anatomical details are altogether wanting, or badly-indicated; it is, in fact, but a clumsy imitation of immeasurably superior models.

Though the sculpture of the Assyrians was in some respects superior to that of the Egyptians, and though it incontestibly surpassed that of the Persians, their architecture, judging from our present knowledge of it, was much inferior to that of both these people. While describing the edifices found by Layard and Botta, we cannot fail to remark how much the simplicity of their construction contrasted with the richness of their decorations; mud walls, covered with sculptured slabs of gypsum, and a roof probably made of wood. How meagre! This poverty at Nineveh could not be owing, as at Babylon, to the want of solid materials proper for building. Besides, when it is seen that the Egyptians have fetched and worked immense blocks of the hardest substances, it cannot be supposed that the Assyrians, who were more numerous and powerful, could not have used the same means; and it becomes most difficult to account for their relative inferiority with respect to architecture. Perhaps it is only apparent, and after discoveries may possibly yet show us that architectural art at Nineveh had made as much progress as other arts.

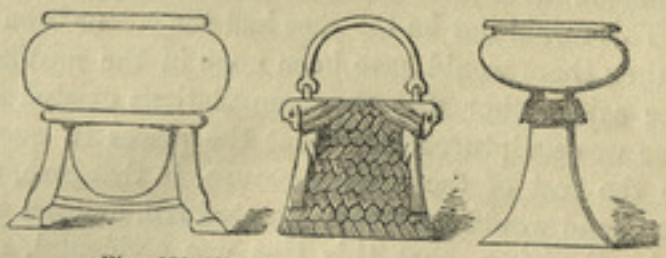
As we have already observed, the edifices discovered by Layard in the mound of Nimroud are of similar character to those at Khorsabad, and are built in the same manner. It has, no doubt, been remarked that the external and internal bas-reliefs bore evident traces of colours. The Assyrians, then, employed the style of decoration which appears to have been used by all the people of antiquity; and we ought, besides, to have expected to find it at Nineveh, for the Bible expressly mentions it in a passage which seems to be a description of the sculptures that we have seen. The apostacy of Jerusalem is compared with the debaucheries of a painted courtezan (Ezekiel, xxii. 14, 15). This remarkable piece of evidence, added to the traces of colour still subsisting, proves without doubt that the Assyrians were accustomed to paint their bas-reliefs. But another important question now presents itself. We did not find on the sculptures of Khorsabad any colours but red, blue, and black, and these merely on the hair, the beards, and a few accessories. Must we, in the first place, believe that these were the only colours employed, and, in the second, that

they were only used in those places where we found their traces, while the remaining portions of the figures and the background of the bas-reliefs were entirely colourless? We are without facts to enable us to give a decided answer; but it appears probable that the colours were more varied, and that the whole surface of the bas-reliefs was covered with them. Thus, on the bricks there are other tints than red, blue, and black: we found yellow, white, green, &c.; and there is no reason why the Assyrians should have used these latter colours on their bricks, and not have employed them to paint their sculptures. It is much more natural to suppose that the portions not at present coloured were coloured formerly, and that this was done with some substances which, being less lasting than the others, had been destroyed, either by fire at the time of the conflagration, or by time and the earth, in which they have been so long buried. This, however, is but a conjecture; and, consequently, not wishing to have anything hypothetical introduced into his work, Botta insisted that, in restoring the façades and the chambers, no colour should be employed where he had perceived none. M. Flandin would have acted otherwise, because he believed that he had found a proof of the former colouring of the whole surface of the slabs, and principally of the figures. The following are his reasons for this belief. They had found at Khorsabad a head, on which not only was the black colour of the hair and the beard perfectly preserved, but there was, besides, a yellowish crust spread over the whole surface. Flandin thought that this yellow tint had been purposely applied to represent the colour of the flesh. Botta examined this fragment carefully at Khorsabad before packing it up, and afterwards at Paris, where it is at present; and it appeared certain to him that the bistre tone of the surface was purely accidental. The head was bound with a red band, part of which had been carried away; a portion, also, of the cheek was wanting. Now the places thus left empty by the missing fragments were covered with the same yellow crust as the face itself. This would not be the case had the colour been purposely applied, for then there would have been none in the mutilated parts. It cannot be said, either that these mutilations existed at the time that the stone was sculptured, and that the places in question were painted like the rest of the head, because, in that case, the broken portion of the band would have been painted red, and not yellow. It is most likely, therefore, that this tint was accidental, and that it was owing to some incrustation or other—a supposition which is rendered still more probable by the unequal and wrinkled surface of these portions of the face. This fragment, however, is at present

in the Museum at Paris, and the colours have not been injured by the voyage.

It is unnecessary to assert the perfection of the arts at Nineveh, since we have just seen the proof of it; yet we must call attention to the splendour of the costumes, the richness of the ornaments, and the good taste of the details, because these facts are new to us. We can now better understand what the Sacred Books say of the splendour of the court of the Assyrian kings, and the effect that it must have produced on the Hebrew people. But let us give a few details on this head, and pass in review what these newly-revealed facts have taught us.

We have already remarked that the architecture of the palaces of Nineveh was not so perfect as that of Egypt at the same epoch; yet it is not the less certain that the Assyrians, by the dimensions of their buildings and the richness of their decorations, equalled, if not surpassed, all that the various people of antiquity ever built. The *ensemble* of their edifices must have been as imposing as it was magnificent; and the effect that must have been produced by their paintings and sculptures well corresponds to the idea given by the descriptions in the Bible of the court of the kings of Assyria. Their furniture, by the richness of its nature, differed completely from what is now seen in the East; for the Assyrians used arm-chairs or stools, and ate, like us, off tables: the representation of the banquets allows of no doubt with respect to this. It will be seen, from the detailed descriptions we have already given of some few articles of furniture, that the tables and chairs were ornamented with as much richness as taste, and, what is very singular, with the same objects as our own furniture is now—that is, with lions' feet, animals' heads, &c. These models might be studied and copied at present with advantage. The vases of different kinds, already minutely described, were not less remarkable for their elegance.



Figs. 181, 182, 183.—VASES. Botta, Plate 162.

The ghirah, plural ghirbeh, or bottles, of various sizes and shapes, made of leather, for containing liquid butter or water, are now in use all

over the East, more particularly in travelling, as any other kind of vessel, of less tough materials would be comparatively useless. These modern examples have been introduced with a view of affording a comparison with the ancient representations of similar vessels, occasionally seen in the hands of the sheepskin-clad people in the sculptures from the walls of the Palace of Khorsabad.

Figs. 184, 185.—GHIRAB, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. ROMAINE.

The dresses also, at least those of the personages attached to the court, furnish us with the proof of a state of great luxury, and remind us strongly of Xenophon's description of the Median court. He says, "Astyages himself was richly clothed; had his eyes coloured, his face painted, and his hair embellished with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life,—to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets."[1] The robes of the Assyrians were generally ample and flowing, but differed in form from those of the Egyptians and the Persians. They consisted of tunics or robes varying in length, in mantles of diverse shapes, of long-fringed scarves, and of embroidered girdles. Ornaments were scattered with profusion over these dresses, some of which appear to have been emblematic of certain dignities or employments. Thus the double mantle with the points thrown over the shoulders is never worn except by the king, and that on state occasions only. This principal personage, too, is the only one who wears the pointed tiara, which

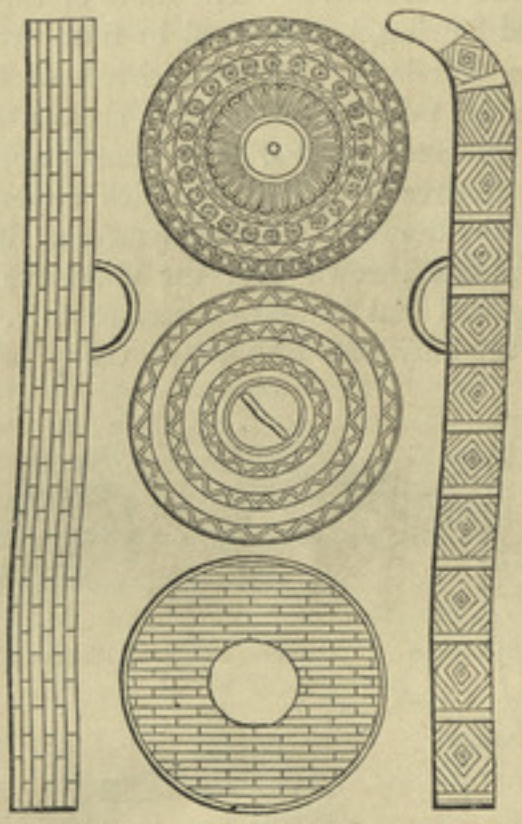
Figs. 186, 187, 188, 189, 190.—ASSYRIAN HEAD-DRESSES. Botta, Plate 163.

resembles in shape the Persian cap of the present day. Xenophon tells us that Cyrus wore "his upright tiara upon his head, encircled

[1] Cyrop. bk. i.

with a royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered." Cyrus likewise gave each of his superior officers and allies a dress of the Median fashion, *i.e.*, "long robes of a variety of the brightest colours, and richly embroidered with gold and silver."[1] Other shaped head-dresses were appropriated to the deified men and priests, who alone wear the robe scooped out in front, and the divinities the tiara girt with horns. The eunuchs—who, as might have been expected, from the frequent mention of them in holy Writ, appear so often—always wear the long robe, and have nothing different from the guards, or from the principal personages.

The warlike weapons in use among the ancient Assyrians have been described from time to time in a preceding chapter. Many of these, however, were richly ornamented, and require some present

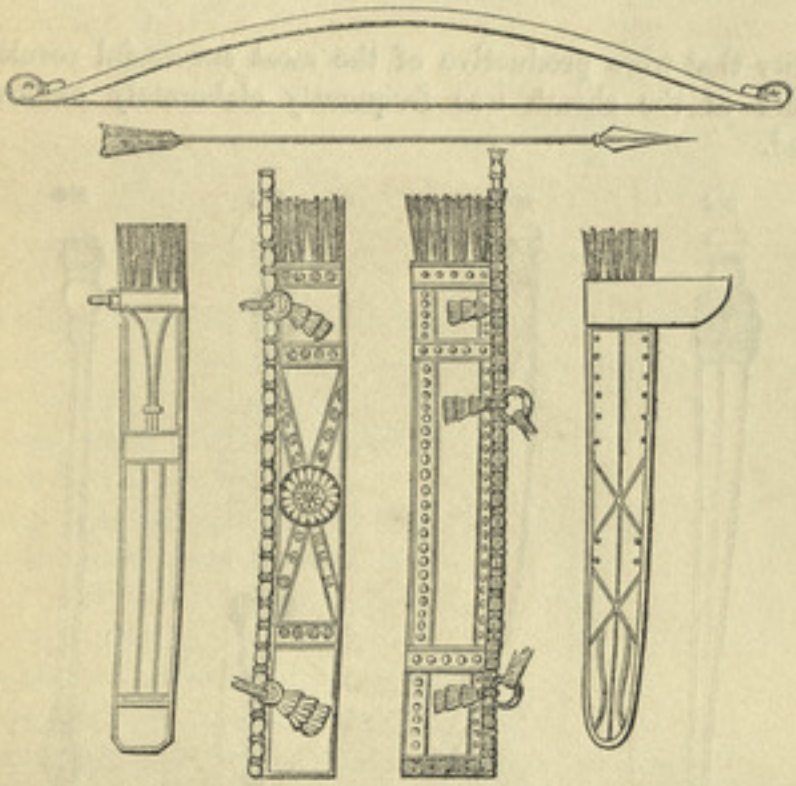


Figs. 191, 192, 193, 194, 195.—ASSYRIAN SHIELDS.
Botta, Plate 160.

allusion on this account. The shields and bucklers, for instance, were often of the most enriched character, and it is supposed that these

[1] Cyrop. bk. viii.

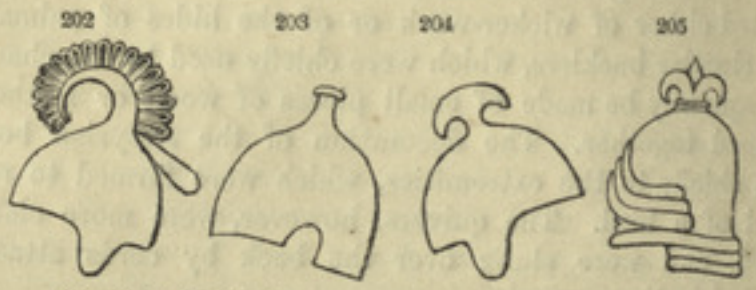
were formed occasionally of the precious metals. The tall oblong shields, however, that were used during a siege to protect the entire person of the besieger from the spears and arrows of the enemy, were constructed either of wicker-work or of the hides of animals; and even the circular bucklers, which were chiefly used by the charioteers, would frequently be made of small pieces of wood or leather, carefully joined together. The decoration of the Assyrian bows was confined chiefly to the extremities, which were formed to resemble the head of a bird. The quivers, however, were more elaborately decorated, and were slung over the back by cords attached, as represented in the engraving.



Figs. 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201.—ASSYRIAN BOW, ARROW, AND QUIVERS. Botta, Plate 159.

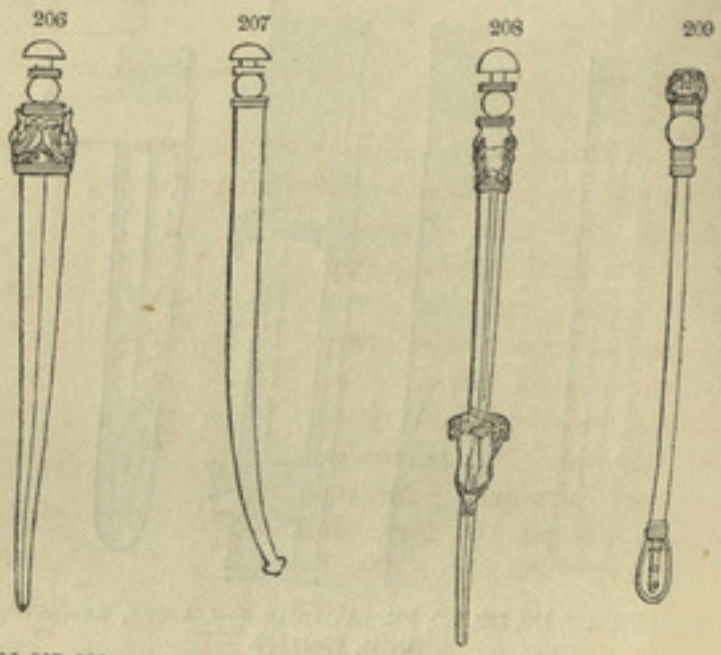
The helmets of the Assyrians were of various shapes, and some were particularly elegant in form, so much so that they furnished models to the Greeks. Herodotus describes them to have been made of brass; those, however, which were discovered in the ruins appear to have been of iron, occasionally inlaid with copper. The Assyrian swords and sceptres were often richly decorated, as will be remembered by calling to mind the descriptions of them given in a preceding chapter. The sword-hilt was generally ornamented with several lions'

heads, arranged to form both handle and cross-bar. Figures of lions were also introduced about the scabbard with a boldness and



Figs. 202, 203, 204, 205.—ASSYRIAN HELMETS AND HEAD-DRESS. Botta, Plate 163.

originality that were productive of the most successful result. The remainder of the sheath was frequently elaborately embossed or engraved.



Figs. 206, 207, 208.—ASSYRIAN SWORDS. Fig. 209.—SCEPTRE. Botta, Plate 159.

Like all Orientals, the Assyrians appear to have taken extreme care of their beard, which, to judge by the bas-reliefs, they allowed to grow long, and arranged in so regular a manner, that the representations of it might almost be regarded as merely conventional. Their hair was not less carefully attended to, and was always gathered up on the shoulders in a large bunch of formal rows of curls.

Their eyelids, according to the ancient and universal custom of the

East, were stained black with *khol*, a composition of powdered antimony and lamp-black. Their arms and wrists were encircled

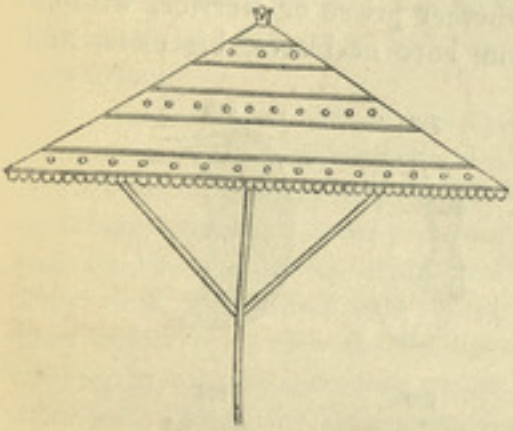
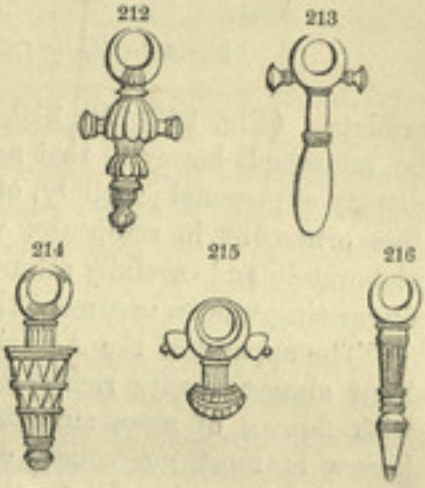


Fig. 210.—UMBRELLA.

Fig. 211.—ASSYRIAN STANDARD. Botta, Plate 159.

with amulets and bracelets of various simple forms, and probably of massive gold; and the men also wore ear-rings varying in the richness of their design, but most of which might serve even in the present day as models for similar ornaments.

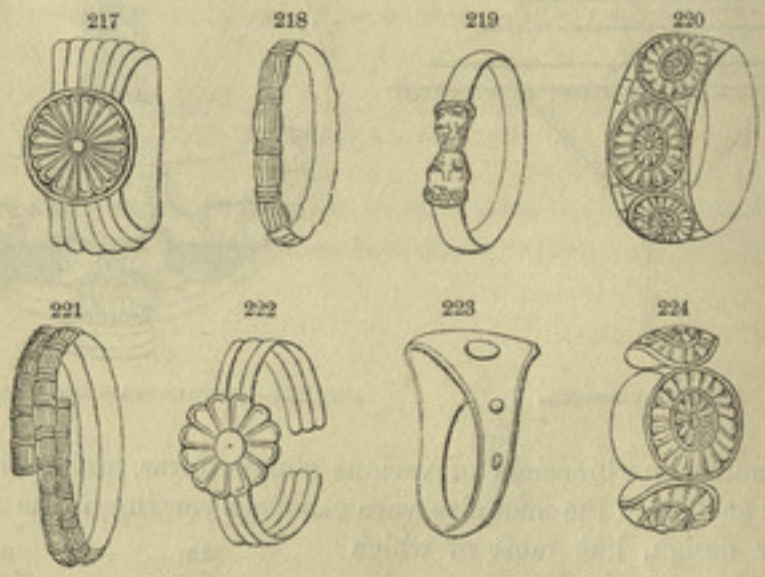
Among this latter is a kind very commonly seen, that seems composed of wire, most probably gold, bound at intervals by transverse wires, which we presume, from that circumstance, are of the form and kind called פתיל, "Pathil, or Phatil," Nos. 218 and 219, derived from a word signifying to twist, and commonly worn not only by the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, but also, as we learn from the sculptures and the Book of Genesis, by the people of other countries. The ladies of Syria and Egypt wear bracelets of this form, sometimes representing a twisted cord, and usually made of massive gold of the purest kind, the ductility of the metal permitting the ornament to be bent round the wrist with the greatest ease. We have given an engraving of the kind most commonly seen on the arm of the great



Figs. 212 to 216.—ASSYRIAN EAR-RINGS. Botta, Plate 161.

king, terminating in the head of a bull, which, massive as it is, if made of the purest gold, could be opened sufficiently to allow it to be placed over the arm.

In Mr Smirke's interesting review of the Assyrian sculptures, he remarks:—"Very few female figures occur; but scarcely a male Assyrian figure is represented, whether priest or warrior, without large ear-rings, and most of them have necklaces, bracelets, and



Figs. 217—224.—ASSYRIAN BRACELETS. Botta, Plate 161.

armlets. (Fig. 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224.) It is to be remarked, however, that not a single case occurs, amidst all this display of personal jewellery, of a finger-ring; the entire absence of this ornament in sculpture, wherein details of this nature are so elaborately and carefully attended to, leads to the conclusion that the finger-ring was an ornament then unknown.

"The apparel of the Assyrians appears by these sculptures to have been almost always richly fringed, with wide borders ornamented with figures of men, animals, and foliage. The caparison of their horses is most gorgeous; every strap of their head and body-housings is enriched; to the chariot horses there is usually seen attached, apparently either to the extremity of the pole or to the trappings of the neck, and to the front of the chariot itself, a long fish-shaped piece of drapery, fringed and embroidered. Layard is at a loss to designate this object. Perhaps 'the precious clothes for chariots,' alluded to by Ezekiel as being obtained by the people of Tyre from Dedan, may have reference to this singular piece of horse-furniture.

"The same love of ornament above alluded to is apparent in their pavilions, of which there are specimens in these sculptures; also in the fashion of their armour; the hilts, handles, and sheath-ends of the swords; their knife-handles, their slings, and their quivers. There are in the British Museum some lions' feet of bronze, apparently belonging to furniture, which formed part of Layard's collection at Nimroud, and are equal to Greek workmanship in execution."

In some things, Assyrian industry had attained a high degree of perfection. The Assyrians were able to work the hardest as well as the softest substances, with a view to their employment in building or other purposes. This is proved by the jasper or crystal cylinders, and by the bas-reliefs sculptured on gypsum or siliceous basalt. They were acquainted with glass, and various kinds of enamels. They could bake clay for bricks or vases, the quality of the clay varying in fineness according to the purpose for which the vases were intended. Thus, the bricks employed in building were simply burnt in the sun or slightly baked, so as to remain tolerably soft, while those intended for paving were excessively hard. Thus, again, the large funereal urns were of but middling consistency; while, on the contrary, the cylinders of baked clay on which were any inscriptions were manufactured out of a very fine and very hard kind of earth. Lastly, the art of varnishing pottery, and covering it with paintings by means of coloured enamels, was known at Nineveh.

The Assyrians were also acquainted with the art of founding, of working, and even hammering out various metals. This branch of manufactures had acquired great perfection among them, as can be seen by the little statue of the bronze lion, the nails, calf's head, &c. The metal most frequently used appears to have been copper, as was the case with all people of antiquity: this fact is easily accounted for, with respect to Mesopotamia, by the proximity of the celebrated mines of Argana-Maaden, situated near Diarbekir, in the lesser chains of the mountains that border the plain on the north. These mines, even now, not only supply the whole of the Ottoman empire, but considerable quantities of metal are also exported from them. Iron appears to have been used more rarely; but this metal oxydises quicker than copper, and cannot resist a long sojourn underground; it is probably on this account that so few objects fabricated in this metal have been found. Lead was evidently known to the Assyrians, for the bronze lion was fastened with this metal to the stone which formed its base. It is now known that that there are lead-mines in the mountains of Kurdistan, at a little distance from Mósul.

It was natural to expect that when the buried city was exhumed, a great number of small objects would be found, interesting from the materials of which they were made or the uses to which they were formerly applied: the excavations, on the contrary, have been in this respect very unfruitful. The reason of this is probably to be attributed to the fact, that the edifices were pillaged before being destroyed by fire. The despoilers, whoever they were, would naturally carry off everything of any value or interest, prior to completing their work of devastation by setting fire to the place. This explanation seems the more probable from the fact that Layard, while excavating the mound of Nimroud, found numerous curious little objects in a monument that had not undergone the action of fire, while he found nothing in another, which like that of Khorsabad, appeared to have been purposely destroyed.

If the palace of Khorsabad was pillaged, it will easily be conceived that everything made of the precious metals was taken away first; but still it is singular that Botta should have found so few cylinders, or rather small relics, and only one bronze lion. We have shown at page 78, two of the cylinders, and beneath is the bronze lion.

Fig. 225.—BRONZE LION ON STONE ENGRAVED WITH CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS. Botta, pl. 151.

This little statue was found fixed to a flagstone that paved the recess formed by the projection of a winged bull and pier on the right side of a doorway. There had been similar ones not only on the other side of this doorway, but at all the grand entrances of the monument, for the flagstones on which they had been fixed still remained. The present statue is the only one that had not disappeared; and nothing proves more than this fact with what avidity everything of any value was carried off when the edifices were destroyed. This lion is represented in a quiet posture, with his fore-feet stretched out, on a square base, beneath which there is a stout conic stem that entered a hole in the pavement. The animal's posture is perfect, and his head full of expression. With the exception of the mane, which forms a sort of pad round the neck, and the claws, there is nothing conventional in the workmanship: it is a true representation of nature. The statue is massive, and cast in a single piece, with the plinth and ring in the middle of the back.

It appears to us that the purpose to which these bronze lions, fixed in the pavement, was dedicated, was to attach the cords of such temporary awnings and hangings as are described, in Esther, to have been in the court of the palace (Esther i. 6). There are some rings in the British Museum, found by Layard at Nimroud, which may probably have been applied to the same purpose.

Another relic was a bronze calf's head. This is not cast, but beaten out with a hammer. It must have been adapted to the angles of a seat or table, for we have seen similar ones represented as ornaments of the furniture in one of the Assyrian banquets. Even the little holes are seen through which pass the nails that must have served to fasten it to the wooden part of the chair.

This little work is interesting, for it shows that the art of hammering out and welding metals was known to the Assyrians at a very distant epoch. Several fragments belonging to similar heads have also been found; this proves that they must have been often used.

We have already described the small burnt clay idols, found hidden under the pavements, and which we have called Teraphim (see page 156), and besides these, the antiquity of which is incontestible, since they were found beneath the very earth of the mound, a small ram's head made of clay, and beautifully executed, was discovered. During the very first excavations at Khorsabad, the workmen found a considerable number of balls of clay, hardened by the action of fire, and on which was seen the impression of an emblem that is frequently observed on the cylinders, and which is also found at Persepolis; it consists of a man disembowelling a lion that he holds by the mane;

the man's hair and beard are arranged in the Assyrian manner. This little scene is framed with a border, outside of which there are some cuneiform inscriptions, differing from the other specimens. These little inscriptions have not been made with a seal, but have evidently been traced with a style on the clay when wet. The balls, which are of a very irregular shape, were simply kneaded with the hand; for, the opposite side to that on which the seal is cut, still bears the marks of the fingers, and even of the pores of the skin; lastly, they have always a hole pierced through them, and in this hole there are still found the remains of charred twine. This circumstance is another proof, added to the rest, that the building was destroyed by fire. The fact itself may be easily explained in the following manner: these balls of clay, which were hung up by a piece of string in different situations, must have been calcined, and the string burnt inside the hole, where the remains of it were discovered.

But what can have been the use of these seals of clay? It is plain they were not objects destined for any very long term of service; for they must have been used before their calcination, while the clay was yet soft, otherwise the string would not be found burnt inside the hole. The most plausible explanation, probably, is, that they served as a means of knowing whether certain doors had remained shut, and for this purpose the Assyrians sealed up their doors with these balls. This is the more probable, as the Bible teaches us that the kings of Assyria were, in certain cases, in the habit of doing so.[1]

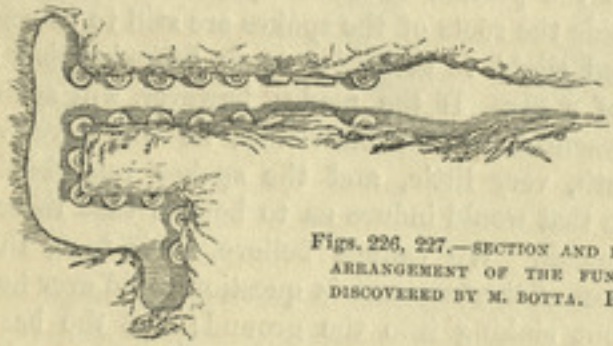
Funereal urns were also found. These urns or jars were buried in the mounds, and were found standing upright in rows. They are oval and elongated in shape, terminating at the bottom in a very narrow foot, and widening out at the mouth. The only ornament on them is one rim or fillet round the neck, and another round the base. These urns are made of baked earth, and have no cover; they are about four feet high, and their greatest diameter is about two feet and a half. They were, when discovered, entirely filled with a clayey earth, in which was found a great many fragments of bones, that appeared calcined. Although there is no reason to doubt that the bones were those of the human skeleton, no single fragment was found considerable enough, or in a sufficient state of preservation, to give direct proof whether it belonged to man or some other animal. (Figs. 226 and 227).

When we were at Jerusalem, some years ago, we met with an Armenian Christian merchant of Bagdad, who had come to visit the sacred localities, and to carry back with him a voucher of the due

[1] Dan. vi. 17.

performance of the pilgrimage, imprinted in indelible blue pigment, in the skin of his right fore-arm. He related to us that the Arabs, who tend their flocks in the vicinity of the mounds, in the plains of Mesopotamia, find huge vases, containing mummies, or skeletons of men, and that round the necks there is generally slung, by a string, one of those cylindrical engraved stones. We apprehend that these vases are of the kind described by the merchant; and we know that the cylindrical engraved stones are those known as Babylonish seals.

Painted bricks were discovered. In noticing the mode of building pursued at Khorsabad, it was evident that, above the coating of gypsum slabs, there had been several rows of kiln-burnt bricks, the united surfaces of which must have represented subjects analogous to those which were sculptured on the lower part of the walls. Unfortunately, only a few fragments of these were found. They are sufficient, however, to give an idea of this kind of decoration.



Figs. 226, 227.—SECTION AND PLAN OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE FUNEREAL URNS DISCOVERED BY M. BOTTA. Plate 165.

Altars must next be mentioned as among the discoveries. Two blocks of calcareous stone, cut in the shape of altars, were lying on the ground, at a few steps from the Mound of Khorsabad. Their trunks are triangular; the tops of the angles are cut off, and terminate with lions' feet, very well sculptured; above and below which is a flat band; the angles beneath the feet are round like columns, instead of being flat. The whole stands on a plinth, and is formed of one single block. A cuneatic inscription is engraved on the circumference of the upper part. These remains are called altars, since no better explanation of their form could be given. Both were exactly alike.

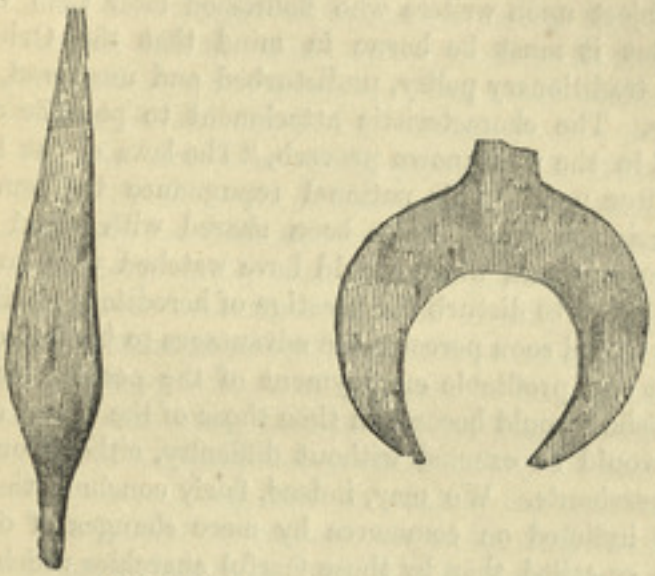
Nails of various forms were found in the earth that filled the chambers; and fragments of copper utensils were also discovered. Of the nails, some are small, and similar to those we call *brads;* others were much bigger, and were square, with round heads like those used to nail ships' planking. All had probably belonged to the roof; for some appeared to have undergone the action of fire, and were partly mèlted, being made of bronze.

Besides these nails, the ring which was fixed in the wall above the small bronze lion, already mentioned, was found. It was secured in the wall by means of a strong square rod, annulated at intervals, so that it might not be torn out of its place. All these objects are exceedingly well made, and much superior to any similar articles that could be manufactured in the East at the present day!

A few words must now be said of the fragment of a small circle, whose use it is not easy to guess. There is no doubt that this fragment formed the portion of a wheel, or something similar, for on its concave side the roots of the spokes are still to be seen; but it is too small and slight to authorise us in believing that it is part of the wheel of a car. If the reader, however, will again look at the wheels represented on the bas-reliefs, he will perceive that they were, in truth, very little, and the spokes remarkably slight,—a circumstance that would induce us to believe that these latter were formed of metal. We cannot believe, it is true, that felloes as narrow as those of the fragment in question could ever have supported a car without sinking into the ground; but the bas-reliefs again furnish an answer to this difficulty. We can see by them very distinctly that the felloes are formed of two superposed circles, the external circle being united by broad flaps to the internal one. It is very allowable to suppose that the Assyrians, finding great difficulty in uniting with precision the different parts of a wheel, thought of casting in one piece the interior portion, that is, the nave, the spokes, and the first circle of the felloe, and then completing it by another circle of wood, thicker and broader than the first, in order to increase the diameter of the wheel, and prevent its cutting into the ground. This would explain the bas-reliefs; and the fragment in question might really have formed part of the wheel of an Assyrian car.

We may pass over, as possessing no interest, a large number of large thin plates of bronze, but must not omit mentioning the small models of arms discovered in one of the pits containing the idols of baked clay. In this place were little lance-heads of bronze, with a handle hollowed out for the insertion of another one of wood. Some thin little crescents of the same metal, also furnished with a small

handle were likewise discovered. We may boldly assert that these playthings could have been of no use, and were doubtless thus buried by the side of the idols, solely with some symbolic intention. The crescent and arrow-head, of which we here give engravings (Figs. 228, 229), are taken from larger examples of the same symbols, and are drawn full size.



Figs. 228, 229.—ARROW-HEAD AND CRESCENT.

A piece of lapis ollaris, flat and sculptured on several sides, was found near Amadia, a town situated at a distance of fifteen hours' journey to the north of Mósul, in the first range of the mountains of Kurdistan. One side represents two symbolic figures lying one on the other, each of whom is encompassed by a cording in the form of a frame. The heads of these figures are human, with no beards, and are rather effeminate. Their head-dresses, which are Assyrian, are encircled with bands; their bodies resemble that of a lion or feline animal, rather than that of a herbivorous one, and wings completed their fantastic appearance.

The other side is also divided into two compartments. In the lower one there is a goat, lying down and looking back; in the upper one there are two of these animals also looking back, and standing with their fore-feet on a stem or trunk placed between them. On each of the larger sides is seen a personage whose form is entirely human: he has no beard, and is dressed in a long robe fringed at the lower edge, and over which he wears a cloak like a sort of pelisse, but rounded at the bottom. Underneath, it is furrowed with oblique lines, which, by crossing each other, form

lozenges. Lastly, the top is bored with three holes, that penetrate nearly to the base. It is very difficult to discover what could have been the former use of this stone.

Here it will not be out of place to add a few words on the commerce of ancient Assyria. With the exception of some isolated passages in Scripture, we must entirely depend for the sources of our information on this subject upon writers who flourished later than the age of Cyrus. But it must be borne in mind that the Orientals can preserve a traditionary policy, undisturbed and unaltered, for many generations. The characteristic attachment to peculiar customs is exemplified in the well-known proverb, "The laws of the Medes and Persians alter not." This national repugnance to innovations of every description would have been shared with equal zeal by a despotic government, which would have watched with suspicion the feeblest attempt to disturb the prestige of hereditary privileges. The conqueror would soon perceive the advantages to be derived from the permanent and profitable employment of the people; the wants of the vanquished would become in time those of the victor, and dues or presents would be exacted without difficulty, either from native or foreign merchants. We may, indeed, fairly conclude that less mischief was inflicted on commerce by mere changes of dynasty and conquests so-called, than by those fearful anarchies which, at a later period, caused a total suspension of the commerce of Persia. As the more recent dynasties were built upon the same foundations with their predecessors, so their commerce must also have retained the same general character; its principal seats remained unchanged, and the countries in which they were situated were at all times adorned with rich and flourishing cities, which, after the most cruel devastations, rose unimpaired from their ruins. With these preliminary considerations before us, it is easy to understand that when the sceptre of Assyria passed to the hand of the intelligent and active Persian, very little, if any, change took place in the social condition and pursuits of the people; and we may reasonably conjecture that their commerce and manufactures were rather extended than diminished by the infusion of a fresh stimulus to industry and exertion. At a very early period the textile fabrics of Assyria were celebrated all over the civilised world: the raw material required for these manufactures, viz., flax, cotton, wool, and perhaps silk, were either not the produce of their soil, or certainly not in sufficient quantity for their own consumption. This fact alone implies the existence of a very extensive shipping trade with the East. Accordingly, we find the prophet Isaiah (xliii. 14) alluding, in the eighth century before our era, to

their maritime power—"Thus saith the Lord your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, For your sake, I have sent to *Babylon*, and have brought down all their nobles and the Chaldeans, whose cry is in their ships." Again, the poet Æschylus says in "The Persians," "Babylon, too, that abounds in gold, sends forth a promiscuous multitude, who embark in ships, and boast of their skill in archery."

We must now take a rapid survey, as far as our limits permit, of the chief branches of this widely-spread traffic: first of manufactures. Amongst those who traded in "blue cloths and embroidered work" with Tyre, Ezekiel (xxvii. 24) enumerates the merchants of Asshur, or Assyria. In these stuffs, gold threads (Pliny viii. 48) were introduced into the woof of many colours, and were no doubt the "dyed attire and embroidered work" so frequently mentioned in Scripture as the most costly and splendid garments of kings and princes. The cotton manufactures were equally celebrated and remarkable, and are mentioned by Pliny as the invention of Semiramis, who is stated by many writers of antiquity to have founded large weaving establishments along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. The silken robe of Assyria, the produce chiefly of the looms of Babylon, were renowned long after the fall of the Assyrian empire, and retained their hold of the market even to the time of the Roman supremacy. Frequent allusions are found in classic authors to the brilliancy and magnificence of the Babylonian carpets, which were embroidered with symbolical figures, together with animals and conventional forms. One of these covered the tomb of Cyrus, when visited by Arian (vi. 29), who gives a minute description of it. The country was characterised by Ezekiel (xvii. 4) as "a land of traffic, a city of merchants;" and we can gather, even from the scanty materials at our command, that the Assyrians carried on a very considerable commerce with India, Syria, and thence to Asia Minor, and even parts of Western Europe. Their mountains furnish a copious supply of the precious metals, copper, lead, and iron, in great abundance, which are still found in large quantities at no great distance from Mósul.

The tribute obtained by the Egyptians from Mesopotamia consisted of vases of gold, silver, copper, and precious stones; and similar articles were offered as presents by the prince of Syria to David (2 Samuel viii. 6; 1 Chron. xviii. 10). The most extraordinary traditions were observed in antiquity of the enormous amount of gold collected at Nineveh. Every one will recollect the image of gold raised by Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel iii. 1). This image of gold which Nebuchadnezzar the king made, and set up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon, was three-score cubits high and six

wide; that is to say, its height was ten times its width—proportions which we are inclined to think cannot refer to the image of a man, but which agree perfectly with those of an obelisk, most of the Egyptian obelisks being about ten times the width of the base in height; and as the word used for image in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint does not necessarily signify the image of a man, we think it more probable that it was the figure or image of an obelisk. We are informed by Pliny that obelisks were considered the type of the solar rays, and dedicated to the Sun, or Baal. A cubit is generally considered to represent one foot six inches of our measure; so that this image set up by Nebuchadnezzar must have been ninety feet high and nine wide, of which dimensions there is still standing among the ruins of Karnak, in Egypt, an obelisk of one single block of granite, and we have only to fancy that monument to be covered with plates of gold to have present to the imagination the image of the plain of Dura. "Take ye the gold, take ye the silver," says the prophet Nahum (ii. 9), the riches of Nineveh are inexhaustible, her vases and precious furniture are infinite, copper constantly occurs in their weapons, and it is most probable a mixture of it was used in the materials of their tools. They had acquired the art of making glass, an invention usually attributed to the Phœnicians. Several small bottles or vases of this substance, and of an elegant shape, were found at Nimroud and Koyounjik. The well-known cylinders are a sufficient proof of their skill in engraving gems. Many beautiful specimens of carving in ivory were also discovered—an interesting illustration of a passage in Ezekiel (xxvii. 6) to which we have before referred, where the company of Assyrians are described as the makers of the ivory benches of the Tyrian galleys. Some tablets of ivory from Nimroud are richly inlaid with blue opaque glass, lapis lazuli, &c. Herodotus (i. 195) mentions the delicately-carved heads of walking-sticks, in the shape of an apple, a rose, lily, or an eagle: some of these are still extant. To these, the gems, the silk, cotton, ivory, and sugar-cane of India, and the spices of "Araby the blest," must have added their luxurious tribute. Indeed, a hasty glance at the map is sufficient to show that the country was favourably situated for commercial enterprise. Enclosed by two mighty rivers, which flow without interruption to the Persian Gulf, it presented one vast unbroken level, everywhere intersected by canals, which gradually decreased in size till they became mere ditches. The banks were covered with innumerable machines for raising the water and spreading it over the soil. The aridity of the climate rendered this constant irrigation absolutely necessary; but

here, as in Egypt, the labour of man was rewarded by a luxuriant crop, such as the most fertile valleys of Europe never produce.

"Of all the countries I am acquainted with," says Herodotus (i. 193), "Babylon is by far the most fruitful in corn; the soil is so particularly suitable for it, that it never produces less than two hundred fold, and in seasons remarkably favourable it sometimes amounts to three hundred. The ear of the wheat, as well as the barley, is four digits broad, but the immense height to which the cenchrus and lesanum grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I dare not mention, lest those who have not visited this country should disbelieve my report." The fig-tree, olive, and vine, according to the same authority, were not found at all; but their place was supplied by an abundance of date or palm trees, which still grow in large quantities on the banks of the Euphrates. The vine occurs on the sculptures from Nineveh, and Rabshakeh expressly describes his country to the Jews as a "land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive oil and of honey" (2 Kings, xviii. 32), as indeed the northern region of Mesopotamia is, and was formerly, more productive. Of lofty trees the country is now destitute, but there is no reason for believing it was always so; on the contrary, the logs of charred wood, the remains of the beams of the roof found in the excavations, is an evidence to the contrary; and among the sculptures from Nimroud in the British Museum is a specimen of considerable dimensions.

Here we may borrow the words of Professor Heeren, to whose valuable work on the commerce of the principal nations of antiquity, we must refer the reader who requires a more elaborate discussion of this interesting subject. "Situated," he says, "between the Indus and the Mediterranean, it was the natural staple of such precious wares of the East as were esteemed in the West. Its proximity to the Persian Gulf, the great highway of trade, which nature seems to have prepared for the admission of the sea-faring nations of the Indian seas into the midst of Asia, must be reckoned as another advantage, especially when taken in connection with its vicinity to the two great rivers, the continuation, as it were, of this great highway, and opening a communication with the nations dwelling on the Euxine and the Caspian. Thus favoured by nature, this country necessarily became the central point where the merchants of nearly all the nations of the civilised world assembled; and such, we are informed by history, it remained, so long as the international commerce of Asia flourished. Neither the devastating sword of conquering nations, nor the heavy yoke of Asiatic despotism could tarnish, though for a

time they might dim, its splendour. It was only when the European found a new path to India across the ocean, and converted the great commerce of the world from a land trade to a sea trade, that the royal city on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates began to decline. Then, deprived of its commerce, it fell a victim to the two-fold oppression of anarchy and despotism, and sunk to its original state of a stinking morass and a barren steppe."

The condition of the ruins is highly corroborative of the sudden destruction that came upon Nineveh by fire and sword. "Then shall the fire devour thee; the sword shall cut thee off." It is evident from the ruins that both Khorsabad and Nimroud were sacked and then set on fire. "She is empty and void and waste." Neither Botta nor Layard found any of that store of silver and gold, and "pleasant furniture" which the palaces contained; scarcely anything, even of bronze, escaped the spoiler, but he unconsciously left what is still more valuable; for to the falling in of the roofs of the buildings, by his setting fire to the columns and beams that supported them, and his subsequent destruction of the walls, we are indebted for the extraordinary preservation of the sculptures. In them we possess an authentic and contemporary commentation on the prophecies; in them we read, in unmistakeable characters, an evidence of that rapacity and cruelty of which the Assyrian nation is accused. "For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it. Woe to him that buildeth a tower with blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity!"[1]

[1] Nahum.

Fig. 230.—THE PASSAGE-BOAT OF THE GREAT KING.

Fig. 231.—VIEW FROM MOSUL, LOOKING OVER THE PLAINS AND MOUNDS OF NINEVEH TOWARDS THE GEBEL MAKLOUB, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. BOMAINE.

SECTION VI.

INSCRIPTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS, AND THEIR INTERPRETATION.

THE wedge-shaped and arrow-headed inscriptions of the Assyrian palaces have been frequently referred to during the progress of this narrative. The adventures and successes of European scholarship in interpreting this writing would entitle the subject to especial notice, even were its contents less important to our future knowledge of Assyrian history. Inscriptions in this wedge-shaped character are found, as we have already shown, on other monuments than those of Nineveh, and with the external appearance of these Europeans have long been familiar through copies. The wedge-shaped signs of

Assyrian inscriptions, or the cuneiform characters, as they are commonly called, are of two kinds: the first form is that of a straight line divided at the top like the notch of an arrow, and ending in a point so as to resemble a wedge; others look like the two sides of an obtuse angle (fig. 232). A number of these wedges of larger or smaller size, and perpendicular or horizontal in their arrangement, are grouped to form a letter, and the letters are separated from each other by a particular sign.

Pietro Della Valle and Figueroa were the first European travellers who are known to have formed any conjectures respecting the cuneatic characters; they supposed that the inscriptions were to be read from left to right, and subsequently Chardin inclined to the same view, though he thought they might possibly be read perpendicularly. Niebuhr published the earliest exact copies of cuneatic inscriptions, and in 1798, Tychsen, of Rostock, followed by Münter, of Copenhagen, thought that they had ascertained the characters to be alphabetical, and to be read from right to left. Dr. Hagar, in 1801, published a dissertation, to show that the characters were monograms; and Lichtenstein supposed that in the various combinations only one was essential, the rest being added without necessity or rule, each group accordingly having the same value, and finally that the characters were to be read from right to left.

It will be seen that down to this period no substantial progress had been made in interpreting the cuneatic. However, in the year 1800, an unknown scholar studying at the university of Bonn was bold enough to attempt, without the advantages of Oriental learning, to extract the latent meaning of an inscription copied by Niebuhr from a monument at Persepolis. Men of the most powerful intellect had just been applying themselves to discover a phonetic language in the hieroglyphics of Egypt, with what great results is at this time of day sufficiently known. But the Rosetta stone discovered in Egypt contained a Greek manuscript of the hieroglyphical sentences. Plutarch had dissected the Pantheon, and given the names of the gods; and Manetho had classified the dynasties, and transmitted the names of the kings: without such helps the meaning of the Egyptian signs might have remained a mystery to this day. No similar aid awaited the young German. The inscription upon which he commenced his labours was written in three languages; and whether either was a known tongue concealed under this curious alphabet was uncertain. The first step, then, was to find out what sounds were represented by these signs, before inquiring what those sounds might signify when ascertained. All this has been done; and with so much

Fig. 232.—INSCRIBED SLAB IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

certainty, that Col. Rawlinson at Bagdad, and Professor Lassen at Bonn, could sit down to interpret the same passage, and furnish readings only just discrepant enough to show that they had not acted in concert. Now, if this be but an accidental coincidence; if by assuming that certain unknown signs are the equivalents of certain known letters, exactly the names which we might expect come out from the process; if the right letters always occur at the right part of the words, and are found in other words composed of the same elements; lastly, if all that is found in these inscriptions when interpreted agrees with history, and only varies to make it fuller and more exact,—then we have an accumulation of probabilities in favour of the soundness of the principle of interpretation, which cannot be rejected without shaking the very foundations of evidence.

It was Professor Grotefend, since Director of the Gymnasium of Hanover, who first led a gallery into this treasury of antiquity, by determining nearly one-third of the alphabet. His first discovery, communicated in the year 1800 to the Royal Society of Gottingen, was reviewed by Tyschen, in the forty-ninth number of the *Göttingeschen Gelehrten Anzeigen*, September 18, 1802; and he afterwards wrote an account of his system for M. Heeren, who published it in his "Considerations on the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity." (Gottingen. 1815. Oxford edition. 1833.)

The chief points of Grotefend's system are:—

That the cuneatic characters are neither simple nor numerical figures, but alphabetic characters.

That the Persepolitan inscriptions contain three different systems of cuneatic, so that the deciphering of one would supply the sense of the others.

That the characters are not syllabic, as there are no words of ten syllables.

That the inscriptions are to be read from left to right.

That the systems contain forty signs, including separate characters representing the long and the short related vowels, an opinion he supports by the analogy of the Zend. And,

That the Persepolitan inscriptions are in Zend, and belong to the period of Cyrus and Alexander.

We cannot follow the entire process by which Grotefend arrived at these conclusions after more than thirty years spent in patient investigation; a few words, however, will serve to indicate the system he pursued. Having in the first instance assumed that the inscriptions related to the kings whose portraits they accompanied, he proceeded

to carefully examine and analyse them, word by word, and letter by letter, till at length he satisfied himself that he had found a genealogical succession of three distinct proper names. His inquiries into history having convinced him that the inscriptions themselves belonged to the Achæmenian dynasty, his next step was to try the names from Cyrus downwards; and here an important difficulty appeared, for the names in the inscriptions all began with different letters, and at the same time were of nearly equal length; so that both Cyrus and Cambyses, and Cyrus and Artaxerxes, were successions equally irreconcilable. Finding that the first name of the inscription contained seven letters, he gave a hypothetical value to these, D-A-R-H-E-U-SCH, Darius, which he compared with the Hebrew Daryavesch, Darius. The name of Xerxes appeared to be formed of the following letters: KH-SCH-H-E-R-SCH-E. The value of these letters having been thus fixed, the first four letters of the root of the word which he thought meant king were KH-SCH-P-H. He was informed that in the Zend, once spoken in the country of the inscriptions, KH-SCH-E-IV, signified king. The proper name of the king and his title having been thus disposed of, Grotefend was led by a concurrence of reasons, apparently trivial when viewed apart, but sufficiently conclusive in their connexion, to consider the third word in each sentence which preceded the word "king," as an epithet or honorary title. It had four letters, the first of which, according to the hypothesis, ought to be an E, and the third an R, to agree with the same characters found in the name of Darius. This time he went to the Zend, and finding that the word spelt E-GH-R-E meant "great," he adopted that reading here. Grotefend had thus constructed a system by which the whole inscription might be read; and he soon proceeded to test it in a manner which may be more easily illustrated by the English names. Thus, if the three names were Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, it is evident that the first and second letters of the first name should not occur again; the third should occur as the sixth of that name; the *t* would not again appear; the *a* must be the second of the second name; the *p* must not occur again, but the *e* should appear in the third name.

In its beginnings, Grotefend's great discovery was thus a guess; he yet obtained in this manner the fragment of an alphabet, and approached the true mode of spelling so nearly, that those best qualified to form an opinion, have never hesitated a second as to its adoption.

An important basis for future labours had now been laid, but beyond this nothing further appeared, until in 1836, M. Bournouf,

a scholar distinguished for his intimate knowledge of the Zend language, interpreted two of the Hamadan inscriptions, and likewise ascertained that one of the Persepolitan inscriptions contained numerous proper names of ten syllables, of which he was able to fix the true reading. The alphabet was considerably extended by this performance, and confidence in its power was so fully established, that it only needed the application of a critical knowledge of Zend, Sanscrit, and other dialects cognate to the old language of Persia, to solve the difficulty.

In Professor Lassen, of Bonn, the pupil of A. W. Schlegel, a man of almost universal Orientalism, these requisites were found; and between 1836 and 1844 he published three memoirs, developing an alphabet which left scarcely anything farther to be accomplished.

While the continental scholars were working in their quiet studies on copies of inscriptions more or less accurate, by some happy fortune a young officer of the East India Company's army, not behind any German recluse in antiquarian zeal, was attached to our mission in Persia. Colonel Rawlinson, being ignorant of what was going on in Europe, or of the processes by which Grotefend had been led to the discoveries of which he had heard, set to work to decipher two of the inscriptions at Hamadan. He found them in every respect identical, except an epithet, and the groups being arranged, like Grotefend's, genealogically, he applied the same process, arrived at the same conclusion, and succeeded in reading part of the text of the inscription. At this time Bournouf's work, and the great Behistun inscription, supplied him with abundant analogical and analytical aid; and he eventually succeeded in constructing an alphabet which only varied in a single character from that formed by Lassen, at Bonn.

One of the cuneiform alphabets had now been deciphered, and the language found to be an ancient Persian, easily interpreted by the analogies of modern Zend, and the Sanscrit of the Vedas. The industry and acumen of Col. Rawlinson has worked out the problem so far, that further inquiry will relate only to the refinements of grammatical criticism.

The same work had now to be performed for the Assyrian texts; but here, while the process of analysis was essentially the same, its application was accompanied with tenfold difficulties. The Persian alphabet contained forty distinct characters: the Assyrian text appeared to contain 600. When Rawlinson had worked at it for some time, he found that some of these were only variants, or slightly deviating forms of the same letter; but having discovered

this, and determined the value of the alphabetic letters, the language still remained to be mastered. An unexpected aid was about this time discovered. Just as Arab, Persian, and Turk, exist side by side in Mesopotamia at the present day, so did the Assyrian, the Persian or Mede, and the Scythian, in the days of Darius. To this circumstance we owe it that any progress has been made in their decipherment. All of them are trilingual: one written in Persian, another in Assyrian, and a third in a language which has not yet been fully deciphered. The Behistun inscription from which Colonel Rawlinson picked out his Assyrian contains from 80 to 100 proper names, which he could now read in the Persian cuneiform writing; it was, therefore, not difficult to construct an Assyrian alphabet pretty nearly accurate. The most frequently recurring words were soon recognised; and when the sound had been approximatively determined, it was found that the language was very nearly allied to the Hebrew and the ancient Chaldee. It will not be supposed that, even after this discovery, Colonel Rawlinson's task was henceforth easy. Obstacles lay in his way, of which students who learn a language with all the aids of lexicons, grammars, and annotated texts, have no conception. Thus, this Behistun inscription is engraved on a rock at an elevation of 300 feet above the plain; and its delicately-executed characters had to be read by the aid of a telescope; besides which, a part of it was peeled off and irrecoverably lost. The inscriptions at Persepolis were so short, so crowded with proper names, and so full of repetition, that it was difficult to ascertain what the real language was. In spite of all these impediments, Colonel Rawlinson considers the meaning of about 500 words is certainly determined; and as these contain many substantives, verbs, and adjectives, with probably all the prepositions, they suffice to explain the meaning of any simple record of events, and such is the character of most of these inscriptions.

The inscriptions at Khorsabad are never found upon any of the façades, but run along the sides of the chambers, forming a line between the upper and lower bas-reliefs. There are also shorter ones engraved upon the bottoms of the dresses of the different figures, and others still briefer between the legs of the bulls at the doorways, as well as on the large flags which pave the entrance to the doors. Besides these, others, seemingly consisting of a single word, are to be seen over the heads of captives, and the representations of different towns. These Botta conjectures to be proper names. Another class of inscriptions was discovered upon the back of the gypsum slabs which formed the panelling of the chambers. Botta at

first accounted for this fact by supposing that the remains of some still more ancient building had been employed in the construction of the Khorsabad monument; but as the inscriptions were always the same, and invariably placed in the very middle of the block, he came to the conclusion that they must represent the name or genealogy of the monarch who raised the structure, or else commemorate some historical fact. This supposition is strengthened by the circumstance that the inscriptions in question are also cut upon the sides of the stones which formed the angle of the chambers. They were not executed with the same care and nicety as those upon the walls of the chambers, but were evidently placed in the position they occupied, in the same manner, and for the same reasons, that coins and medals are deposited under the foundation-stones of modern buildings.

The inscriptions at Khorsabad are, without exception, all written in the cuneiform character, and, with few variations, the same as that employed at Nimroud. This fact fixes the date of the monument anterior to the termination of the Assyrian empire. Botta gives, at great length, a catalogue of the characters he met with at Khorsabad, and also a list of the different groups formed by these simple characters or elements, and finds these groups, including the variations which he observed in their form, to amount to 642. The number of simple elements in each group varied from one to fourteen, but never exceeded the latter number. Botta is of opinion that the different groups are not resolvable into their simple elements, but that each represents a separate sound, as in Chinese: in this view he differs from all other inquirers. At Khorsabad a great many inscriptions illustrate historical subjects, and it cannot be supposed that they always contain the same individual words. With so small a number of groups, therefore, it is impossible each group can have represented a word; they must evidently stand for either a letter or a syllable. The words, too, generally consist of a number of signs or groups, varying from one to four, from which it may be concluded that the language is syllabic, or that, at least, the signs representing the consonants contain also the necessary accompaniment of vowels. Botta was at first inclined to believe in the co-existence of another system of writing on account of the complexity of the cuneiform, and also because he discovered bricks, vases, and gems, with inscriptions somewhat resembling the Phœnician character. He accounts for this, however, by supposing that the cuneiform letters may, like the Chinese, for ordinary use, be written quickly, and, as is the case with hieroglyphics, be reduced to such simplicity as to become

almost irrecognisable as variants of the normal form. He also suggests, as a reason for the two systems of writing, that as the Phœnician-like characters were always found upon small articles, such as gems, vases, cylinders, &c., they might have been the work of foreign workmen, anxious to leave some mark of their nationality, or may have been engraved by the captives who were kept prisoners by the monarchs of Assyria. This may certainly have been the case at Babylon, where many of these objects with the inscriptions in question were discovered, and where there was a constant communication with the Phœnician populations inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean.

There is one remarkable fact connected with the cuneiform inscriptions of Khorsabad. No modification ever, or hardly ever, is observed at the commencement, or in the middle of the words. The termination alone is affected. This peculiarity, Botta thought, went far to prove that the language was not Semitic, as in the latter class of languages the changes always occur in the beginning; nor is it of the Arian family, as there are no traces of prefixed prepositions or composed words.

Having given, we trust, full credit to the acumen of Grotefend and the profound learning and skill of Lassen, we may now devote the remainder of our space to an account of the labours of our own countryman, Rawlinson, of whom every Englishman may well be proud. We shall do this chiefly in his own words, as contained in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society." In a memoir, prepared in 1839, but not then published, the Colonel thus wrote respecting the labours of his predecessors:—

"It would be interesting, perhaps, to the lovers of Oriental literature, if I could open the present memoir with a detailed account of the progress of cuneiform discovery, from the time when Professor Grotefend first deciphered the names of Cyrus, Xerxes, and Darius, to the highly improved condition which the inquiry now exhibits; but my long absence from Europe, where the researches of Orientalists have been thus gradually perfecting the system of interpretation, while it has prevented me from applying to my own labours the current improvements of the day, has also rendered me quite incompetent to discriminate the dates and forms under which these improvements have been given to the world. The table, however, in which I have arranged the different alphabetical systems adopted both by continental students and by myself, will give a general view of their relative conditions of accuracy, and—supposing the correctness of my own alphabet to be verified by the test of my translations—it

will also show that the progress of discovery has kept pace pretty uniformly with the progress of inquiry.

"Professor Grotefend has certainly the credit of being the first who opened a gallery into this rich treasure-house of antiquity. In deciphering the names of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Hystaspes, he obtained the true determination of nearly a third of the entire alphabet, and thus at once supplied a sure and ample basis for further research. M. Saint Martin, who resumed the inquiry on its being abandoned by the German professor, improved but little on the labours of his predecessor; but shortly afterwards Professor Rask discovered the two characters representing M and N, which led to several most important verifications.

"The memoir of M. Bournouf on the two cuneiform inscriptions of Hamadán, published in 1836, added several discoveries of interest; and the recent researches of Professor Lassen, supplying an identification of at least twelve characters, which had been mistaken by all his predecessors, may entitle him almost to contest with Professor Grotefend the palm of alphabetical discovery.

"In a very few cases only, which may be seen on a reference to the comparative table, have I indeed found occasion to differ with him as to the phonetic power of the characters, and in some of the cases even, owing to the limited field of inquiry, I have little more than conjecture to guide me.

"But in thus tracing the outlines of the discovery as far as they are at present known to me, and in thus disclaiming any pretension to originality as far as regards the alphabet which I have finally decided on adopting, I think it due to myself to state briefly and distinctly how far I am indebted for my knowledge of the cuneiform character, and of the language of the inscriptions, to the labours of continental students which have preceded the present publication. It was in the year 1835 that I first undertook the investigation of the cuneiform character. I was at that time only aware that Professor Grotefend had deciphered some of the names of the early sovereigns of the house of Achæmenes; but in my isolated position at Kermanshah, on the western frontier of Persia, I could neither obtain a copy of his alphabet, nor could I discover what particular inscriptions he had examined. The first materials which I submitted to analysis were the sculptured tablets of Hamadán, carefully and accurately copied by myself upon the spot; and I afterwards found that I had thus, by a singular accident, selected the most favourable inscriptions of the class which existed in all Persia for resolving the difficulties of an unknown character.

"These tablets consist of two trilingual inscriptions, engraved by Darius Hystaspes and his son Xerxes. They commence with the same invocation to Ormazd (with the exception of a single epithet omitted in the tablet of Darius); they contain the same enumeration of the royal titles, and the same statement of paternity and family; and, in fact, they are identical, except in the names of the kings and in those of their respective fathers. When I proceeded, therefore, to compare and interline the two inscriptions (or rather, the Persian columns of the two inscriptions; for as the compartments exhibiting the inscription in the Persian language occupied the principal place in the tablets, and were engraved in the least complicated of the three classes of cuneiform writing, they were natually first submitted to examination), I found that the characters coincided throughout, except in certain particular groups, and it was only reasonable to suppose that the groups which were thus brought out and individualised must represent proper names. I further remarked, that there were but three of these distinct groups in the two inscriptions; for the group which occupied the second place in one inscription, and which, from its position, suggested the idea of its representing the name of the father of the king who was there commemorated, corresponded with the group which occupied the first place in the other inscription, and thus not only served determinately to connect the two inscriptions together, but, assuming the groups to represent proper names, appeared also to indicate a genealogical succession. The natural inference was, that in these three groups of characters I had obtained the proper names belonging to three consecutive generations of the Persian monarchy; and it so happened that the first three names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, which I applied at hazard to the three groups, according to the succession, proved to answer in all respects satisfactorily, and were, in fact, the true identifications."

The Colonel is not able, after the lapse of so many years, to describe the means by which he ascertained the power of each particular letter, or to discriminate the respective dates of the discoveries; but he has no doubt that some years ago he could have explained the manner in which he had identified these eighteen characters before he met with the alphabets of Grotefend and Saint Martin.

He continues: "It would be fatiguing to detail the gradual progress which I made in the inquiry during the ensuing year. The collation of the two first paragraphs of the great Behistun inscription with the tablets of Elwend supplied me, in addition to the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, with the native forms of Arsames,

Ariaramnes, Teispes, Achæmenes, and Persia, and with a few old words, regarding which, however, I was not very confident; and thus enabled me to construct an alphabet which assigned the same determinate values to eighteen characters that I still retain after three years of further investigation.

"During a residence at Teherán in the autumn of 1836, I had first an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the labours of Grotefend and Saint Martin. In Heeren's *Ideen*, and in Klaproth's *Aperçu de l' Origine des diverses Ecritures*, I found the cuneiform alphabets and translations which had been adopted in Germany and France: but far from deriving any assistance from either of these sources, I could not doubt that my own knowledge of the character, verified by its application to many names which had not come under the observations of Grotefend and Saint Martin, was much in advance of their respective, and in some measure conflicting, systems of interpretation. As there were many letters, however, regarding which I was still in doubt, and as I had made very little progress in the language of the inscriptions, I deferred the announcement of my discoveries until I was in a better condition to turn them to account.

"In the year 1837 I copied all the other paragraphs of the great Behistun inscription that form the subject of the present memoir; and during the winter of that year, whilst I was still under the impression that cuneiform discovery in Europe was in the same imperfect state in which it had been left at the period of Saint Martin's decease, I forwarded to the Royal Asiatic Society my translation of the two first paragraphs of the Behistun inscription, which recorded the titles and genealogy of Darius Hystaspes. It is important to observe that these paragraphs would have been wholly inexplicable according to the systems of interpretation adopted either by Grotefend or Saint Martin; and yet the original French and German alphabets were the only extraneous sources of information which, up to that period, I had been enabled to consult. It was not, indeed, until the receipt of the letters which had been sent to me from London and Paris, in answer to my communication to the Royal Asiatic Society, that I was made acquainted even with the fact of the inquiry having been resumed by the Orientalists of Europe; and a still further period elapsed before I learnt details of the progress that had been made upon the Continent in deciphering the inscriptions simultaneously with my own researches in Persia. The memoir of M. Bournouf on the inscriptions of Hamadán, which was forwarded to me by the learned author, and which reached me at Teherán in the summer of 1838, showed me that I had been

anticipated in the announcement of many of the improvements that I had made on the system of M. Saint Martin; but I still found several essential points of difference between the Paris alphabet and that which I had formed from the writing at Behistun, and my observations on a few of these points of difference I at once submitted to M. Bournouf, through the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of London. The materials with which I had hitherto worked were far from being complete. The inscriptions which I had copied at Hamadán and Behistun supplied my only means of alphabetical analysis; and the researches of Anquetil du Perron, together with a few Zend MSS. obtained in Persia, and interpreted for me by an ignorant priest of Yezd, were my only guides in acquiring a knowledge of the ancient language of the country. In the autumn, however, of 1838, I was in a condition to prosecute the inquiry on a far more extended and satisfactory scale. The admirable commentary on the Yaçna by M. Bournouf, was transmitted to me by Dr. Mohl, of Paris, and I there for the first time found the language of the Zend Avesta critically analysed, and its orthographical and grammatical structure clearly and scientifically developed. To this work I owe in a great measure the success of my translations; for although I conjecture the Zend to be a later language than that of the inscriptions, upon the debris of which, indeed, it was probably refined and systematised, yet I believe it to approach nearer to the Persian of the ante-Alexandrian ages than any other dialect of the family, except the Vedic Sanscrit, that is available to modern research. At the same time, also, that I acquired through the luminous critique of M. Bournouf an insight into the peculiarities of Zend expression, and by this means obtained a general knowledge of the grammatical structure of the language of the inscriptions, I had the good fortune to procure copies of the Persepolitan tablets which had been published by Niebuhr, Le Brun, and Porter, and which had hitherto formed the chief basis of continental study. The enumeration of the provinces tributary to Darius Hystaspes I found to be in greater detail, and in a far better state of preservation, in the Persepolitan inscription, than in the corresponding list which I had obtained at Behistun; and with this important help, I was soon afterwards able to complete the alphabet which I have employed in the present translations.

"On my arrival at Baghdad during the present year I deferred the completion of my translations, and of the memoir by which I designed to establish and explain them, until I obtained books from England which might enable me to study with more care the

peculiarities of Sanscrit grammar; and in the mean time I busied myself with comparative geography. It was at this period that I received through the Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society a letter from Professor Lassen, containing a *précis* of his last improved system of interpretation; and the Bonn alphabet I recognised at once to be infinitely superior to any other that had previously fallen under my observation. The Professor's views, indeed, coincided in all essential points with my own, and since I have been enabled, with the help of Sanscrit and Zend affinities, to analyse nearly every word of the cuneiform inscriptions hitherto copied in Persia, and thus to verify the alphabetical power of almost every cuneiform character, I have found the more reason to admire the skill of Professor Lassen, who, with such very limited materials as were alone at his disposal in Europe, has still arrived at results so remarkably correct. The close approximation of my own alphabet to that adopted by Professor Lassen will be apparent on a reference to the comparative table; and although, in point of fact, the Professor's labours have been of no further assistance to me than in adding one new character to my alphabet, and in confirming opinions which were sometimes conjectural, and which generally required verification, yet as the improvements which his system of interpretation makes upon the alphabet employed by M. Bournouf appear to have preceded not only the announcement, but the adoption of my own views, I cannot pretend to contest with him the priority of alphabetical discovery. Whilst employed in writing the present memoir, I have had further opportunities of examining the Persepolitan inscriptions of Mr. Rich, and the Persian inscription of Xerxes, which is found at Ván; and I have also, in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*, been introduced to a better knowledge of the Pehlevi, by Dr. Müller, and I have obtained some acquaintance with Professor Lassen's translations, from the perusal of one of the critical notices of M. Jacquet."

Respecting cuneiform writing in general, Rawlinson observes, that the Babylonian is unquestionably the most ancient of the great classes of cuneiform writing. It is well known that legends in this character are stamped upon the bricks which are excavated from the foundations of all the buildings in Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, that possess the highest and most authentic claims to antiquity: and it is hardly extravagant, therefore, to assign its invention to the primitive race which settled in the plains of Shinar. It embraces, however, so many varieties, and it is spread over such a vast extent of country, that Orientalists have been long divided in opinion as to whether its multitudinous branches can be considered as

belonging to one type of alphabet and language. Those who have studied the subject with most care have arrived at the conviction that all the inscriptions in the complicated cuneiform character, which are severally found upon rocks, upon bricks, upon slabs, and upon cylinders, from the Persian mountains to the shores of the Mediterranean, do in reality belong to one single alphabetical system; and they further believe the variations which are perceptible in the different modes of writing to be analogous, in a general measure, to the varieties of hand and text which characterise the graphic and glyphic arts of the present day. Colonel Rawlinson, however, can hardly subscribe in all its amplitude to this general and complete amalgamation. He perceives modifications of a constant and peculiar character, which perhaps are hardly sufficient to establish a distinction of phonetic organisation between the Babylonian and Assyrian writing, but which may be held, nevertheless, to constitute varieties of alphabetical formation: and the inscriptions of Elymais, also, from their manifest dissimilarity to either one system or the other, are entitled, he considers, to an independent rank. He then proceeds to exhibit a classification of the complicated cuneiform writing, according to the opinions which he has formed from an extensive examination of the inscriptions; premising, at the same time, that he sees no sufficient grounds at present to prevent us from attaching all the languages which the various alphabets are employed to represent, to that one great family, which it is the custom (improperly enough) to designate as the Semitic; and that he leaves untouched the great and essential question, whether the difference of character indicate a difference of orthographical structure, or whether the varieties of formation are merely analogous to the diversity which exists between the Estranghelo and the Nestorian alphabet, the printed and the cursive Hebrew, or the Cufic and the modern Arabic.

The complicated cuneiform character, then, may, he thinks, be divided into three distinct groups, — Babylonian, Assyrian, and Elymæan; and the two former of these groups will again admit of sub-division into minor branches. Of the Babylonian, there are only two marked varieties; the character of the cylinders may be considered as the type of the one; that of the third column of the trilingual inscriptions of Persia, of the other. The former is probably the primitive cuneiform alphabet. It is also of extensive application; it is found upon the bricks which compose the foundations of the primæval cities of Shinar, at Babylon, at Erech, at Accad, and at Calneh; and, if the Birs-i-Nimroud be admitted to represent the tower of Babel, an identification which is supported, not merely by

the character of the monument, but by the universal belief of the early Talmudists, it must, in the substructure of that edifice, embody the vernacular dialect of Shinar at the period when "the earth was of one language and of one speech." But it was not confined, as has been sometimes supposed, to cylinders and bricks. It has the same title as that of the trilingual inscriptions to be considered a lapidary character; for we have specimens of it on Sir Harford Jones' great slab, published by the Honourable the East India Company in 1803, as well as upon numerous stones and hard-baked pieces of clay that have been disinterred at Babylon at different periods. Nor was its employment, or at any rate its intelligence, restricted to that immediate vicinity; Rawlinson copied, in the year 1836, a very perfect inscription of thirty-three lines in this character, from a broken obelisk on the mound of Susa; and a black stone, which is engraved with 104 short lines of the same writing, and which is now in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen, was excavated not long ago from the ruins of Nineveh.

The second form of this alphabet is the best known, as it is also unquestionably the least ancient, branch of the Babylonian writing. It is employed with little or no variation of type to represent the transcript in the third column of all the trilingual tablets of Persia, and it may, perhaps, therefore, be not inappropriately termed the Achæmenian-Babylonian. By what means it became simplified from the primitive writing, or by how many centuries its adoption preceded the rise of the Achæmenean dynasty, we have no data at present for determining; but that it was in use until a late period of the Persian empire, is proved by the inscription on a vase in the treasury of St. Mark's at Venice, which records the name and titles of Artaxerxes (Ochus) in hieroglyphics and in the trilingual characters of the Achæmenians. It is curious to remark that although at Persepolis, at Hamadán, at Ván, and at Behistun, this writing exhibits no sensible variety, it may be doubted if a genuine Babylonian monument has been ever met with, of which the character is precisely identical. The inscriptions published by Rich are certainly a near approximation, and Grotefend observes that the writing upon the stone described by Mr. Millin partly resembles the same type; but Rawlinson repeats that he is not aware of any legend discovered at Babylon that may lay claim to an absolute identity; and this is the more to be regretted, as we are indebted to the trilingual inscriptions of Persia for our only key to the decipherment of the Babylonian alphabet, and any variation, accordingly, from the former type seriously impedes the extension of the inquiry.

Respecting the Assyrian character, Rawlinson says: "M. Botta, who has exhumed, under the liberal patronage of the French government, the multitudinous inscriptions of Khorsabad, and who will shortly, it is hoped, confer a more important benefit upon science by rendering their contents intelligible, regards the Assyrian writing, wherever it may exist, as of one common and universal type. I do not pretend at present to contest this view, as far as it may concern either the language or its alphabetical structure; but in respect to the configuration of the character, it requires, I think, to be somewhat modified. If the permutations of letters occurring in certain words (particularly names) at Ván and at Khorsabad, were regular and constant, or if the frequent repetition of those words, either at one place or the other, by a different employment of signs connected the two systems of orthography together, and explained the process of amplifying, abridging, or modifying the respective characters at will, then, by an extensive assortment of variants, the alphabets, perhaps, might be brought to coalesce; but such I cannot find to be the case. On the contrary, I perceive characters at Ván which never occur at Khorsabad, and *vice versâ;* and without impugning therefore, in any way the possible identity of language, or the probable identity of its phonetic organisation, as I have distinguished between the Babylonian writing of the primitive and Achæmenian periods, so do I also recognise a difference between the Medo-Assyrian and the Assyrian alphabets. By the Medo-Assyrian alphabet I indicate that which (with the exception of the trilingual inscription of Xerxes) is exclusively found on the rocks at Ván and its neighbourhood, which occurs at Dásh Tappeh, in the plain of Miyándáb, and on the stone pillar at the pass of Kel-i-Shín, and which, as far as I can judge from an imperfect specimen of the writing, is also the character employed in a rock inscription on the banks of the Euphrates, between the towns of Malatíeh and Kharpút. The Assyrian alphabet, on the other hand, appears to be peculiar to the plains of Assyria. In this character are engraved the entire series of the marbles of Khorsabad. Broken slabs bearing the same writing have been excavated from the ruins of Nineveh, and I was also lately favoured with the fragment of an inscription from Nimroud (perhaps the Rehoboth of Scripture), which is unquestionably of the Assyrian type. The bricks, moreover, which I have seen from Khorsabad, Nineveh, and Nimroud, are, as might be expected, impressed with legends in the Assyrian character, and exhibit, in this respect, a very remarkable difference from the relics of the same class in Babylonia. Unfortunately I have never been able to obtain bricks stamped with

the cuneiform character from either of the sites, which I suppose to represent the sister capitals of Resen and Calah. Such relics, however, I have every reason to believe, are found both at Shahrizor and at Holwán, and if, when submitted to examination, the writing should prove to be of the Nineveh tpye, we then may claim for the Assyrian character an antiquity of invention and an extensiveness of employment almost equal to that of the primitive Babylonian.

"I have already mentioned the disinterment of a stone from the ruins of Nineveh, which exhibits a very long and perfect inscription in the character of the Babylonian cylinders. The discovery of this relic, however, *in situ*, does not, as it appears to me, necessarily confound the limits of Assyrian and Babylonian writing. It was probably of foreign manufacture, and may have been preserved by some inhabitants of Nineveh as an amulet or sacred curiosity. Under any circumstances, it can only be regarded as a specimen *sui generis;* for the usual writing which is found upon cylindrical pieces of hard-baked clay excavated from Nineveh is quite distinct from any variety of character which occurs on similar relics at Babylon. The Assyrian running-hand, as it may be called, is extremely minute and confused, and the letters, by their sloping position, are made so thoroughly to intermingle, that it is almost impossible to discriminate their respective forms. Mr. Rich (*Babylon and Persepolis*, Plate 9, No. 5) has published a fragment of writing which appears to me to be in this difficult character; numerous specimens of it are to be found in the museums of Europe, but by far the most interesting and perfect relic of the class that has been ever hitherto discovered, is a hexagonal cylinder of clay, in the possession of Colonel Taylor, which exhibits on each side between seventy and eighty lines of writing, in excellent preservation, but so elaborately minute as, I fear, to defy all attempts at analysis. I have, indeed, a paper impression of this curious record, in which the relief of the characters is more clearly marked than on the original cylinder, and yet, although I have repeatedly examined it with the aid of a magnifier, I hesitate to say whether it most resembles the writings of Khorsabad or Ván.

"Before I quit the subject of the Assyrian inscriptions, I must also notice the tablets at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kalb, in the vicinity of Beyrout. I remember to have seen in Persia many years ago a lithographed sketch of the entire sculptures, executed by Mr. Bonomi; but, as far as my recollection serves me, there was no attempt in that sketch to delineate the forms of the characters. At present, I can only consult a drawing of the principal figure, made by an Armenian

gentleman, together with a few detached specimens of characters; and I find from the materials that, although the style of sculpture at the Nahr-el-Kalb resembles in every particular the figures at Khorsabad, the letters appear to be of the Medo-Assyrian type; a circumstance which, if it should be verified by more elaborate examination, will have the important effect of determinately connecting the monuments of Ván and Khorsabad. At any rate, in a locality accessible at all times to European curiosity, a question of so much interest to historical research ought not to remain long in doubt.

"It will thus be seen that the classification which I have adopted of the complicated cuneiform writing, embraces the following divisions:—

{ Primitive Babylonian,
{ Achæmenian Babylonian;
{ Medo-Assyrian,
{ Assyrian;
Elymæan.

"It is not my intention in this place to discuss the affinities of the respective alphabets. They all possess a great number of signs in common, but there are also certain characters peculiar to each system, which, as they are constant in their respective localities, can hardly be explained by the caprice or extravagance of the artist. M. Botta has observed, that a person who can read the Khorsabad inscriptions, can read every other species of the complicated character; and I consider his opinions entitled to the utmost respect; but the principle will certainly not hold good in an inverse application, for my own acquaintance with the Achæmenian Babylonian is of some extent, and yet I have not hitherto succeeded in identifying a single name in the tablets of Ván or Khorsabad.

"I will now add a few remarks on the attempts which have hitherto been made to decipher this interesting character. Germany took the lead in the inquiry. In the *Mines de l'Orient*, vols. IV., V., and VI. (1814-1816), there are several elaborate papers on the subject; and I learn from Professor Grotefend's Essay on the cuneiform character, forming Appendix No. 2 to the second volume of Heeren's *Researches* (published in 1815), that his own labours were either subsequent to, or cotemporary with, those of a host of other archæologists. The names of Tychsen, Münter, Kopp, De Murr, Hager, Millin, and Wahl are particularly conspicuous among the early inquirers; but I do not perceive that any real advantage resulted from their labours beyond the preliminary, but most necessary, process of classifying the characters. This classification, I

understand, has been carried to a much greater extent of late years in England by Mr. Cullimore, and it is probable that Signior Mussabini's work, which I see announced for publication, may contain some attempt at phonetic expression. The laborious task, however, on which M. Botta has been engaged during his excavation of the Nineveh marbles, promises to be of greater importance to the interpretation of the inscriptions than all preceding efforts. Having an inexhaustible field of comparison, he has been employed in constructing a complete table of variants, the frequent repetition of the same words with orthographical variations of more or less extent, furnishing him with a key to the equivalent signs; and by these means he has succeeded, as he informs me, in reducing the Assyrian alphabet to some manageable compass. My own labours have been restricted to the Achæmenian Babylonian, as I have found it at Persepolis, Hamadán, and Behistun, and I have attempted nothing further at present than the determination of the phonetic powers of the characters. I have obtained a tolerably extensive alphabet from the orthography of the following names:—Achæmenes, Cyrus, Smerdis, Hystaspes, Darius, Artystone, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Gomates, Magus, Atrines, Naditabirus, Nabochodrossor, Nabonidus, Phraortes, Xathrites, Cyaxares, Martius, Omanes, Sitratachmes, Veisdates, Aracus, Phraates, Persis, Susiana, Margiana, and Oromasdes; but I have left the grammar and construction of the language hitherto untouched.

"* * * It is natural to infer, from the peculiar form of cuneiform writing, that in all ages and in all countries, it must have been confined exclusively to sculptures and impressions. In Babylonia and Assyria there was certainly a cursive character employed in a very high antiquity, synchronously with the lapidary cuneiform. We meet with it occasionally on bricks and cylinders; and if these relics were insufficient to prove its authenticity, we might refer to the squared Hebrew which the Jews are believed to have adopted in Babylonia, and to have first substituted for the old Samaritan when they returned from the captivity with a language sensibly affected by their long residence on the Tigris and Euphrates. It is probably, however, the cuneiform character of Assyrian type to which Herodotus and Diodorus allude under the titles of Syrian and Assyrian writing; and the tablets of Acicarus, regarding which Clemens of Alexandria has preserved so curious a notice, were inscribed, I should imagine, with the same letters, but of the Achæmenian Babylonian class. The latest monument upon which the ancient character is preserved, is probably the inscription of Tarki, north of the Caucasus,

a relic that M. Bournouf has, with some plausibility, assigned to the period of Arsacide dominion. In Babylonia Proper its employment could hardly have survived the era of Alexander the Great, and as it appears never to have been used in Persia, except in connexion with a foreign language, and for the purpose of ministering to the pride of the Achæmenian monarchs, who claimed to have inherited the science as well as the wealth and glory of Babylon, it ceased, no doubt, to be understood to the eastward of the mountains after the extinction of that dynasty. Grecian civilisation then, as it is well known, replaced for a while Semitic influence in the interior of Persia; and when the Macedonians retired, they were succeeded by that tide of immigration from the eastward which for many centuries imposed a Scythic character on the usages, the religion, and perhaps also in some degree on the language of the Parthian nation."

The great feats of interpretation which such a man as Rawlinson has accomplished, should not be suffered to blind us to the fact that our materials for Assyrian history even now, after a partial elucidation of such inscriptions as have been found, are extremely limited and fragmentary, and in their present state convey little that is positive in its results, at least so far as a chronological narrative is concerned. The system of Assyrian writing is still extremely obscure, and the language which it records is only partially intelligible through the imperfect key of the Behistun inscriptions. Again, it should not be forgotten, though valuable as are the annals we possess of individual kings, and important as they may one day become as elements of a complete series, they go but a very little way towards filling up the gap of sixteen hundred years, which must have intervened between the age of Nimroud and the destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxares. All that we can expect at present is, that the internal evidence of the inscriptions may supply us with internal evidence respecting the relative position of the different royal families, and the probable interval which elapsed between them. Future discoveries of sculptures, and a further development of the alphabet, are to be expected from the zeal of those inquirers now in the field, and to these we must look for the more complete elucidation of the history of Assyria.

Pending this development, the date of the chief sculptures can only be conjecturally assigned; Colonel Rawlinson thinks that the Nimroud marbles now in the British Museum are of a very high antiquity, and far more ancient than the period of the dynasties mentioned in Scripture or in Herodotus. By a curious induction, too intricate to be explained here, the Colonel has arrived at the conclusion that the era of the building of the north-west palace at Nimroud, which was

doubtless during the most flourishing time of the Assyrian empire, must have followed closely upon the extinction of the nineteenth dynasty in Egypt, a period which corresponds with the Argive colonisation of Greece, and the settlement of the Israelites in Palestine. As the north-west palace appears, beyond all doubt, to have been the oldest building in Nimroud, so, too, the inscriptions are the earliest records in the cuneiform character which have been brought to light. These Colonel Rawlinson attributes to a king whose name he reads as Assar-adan-pal, and who he thinks may be identified with the warlike Sardanapalus of Callisthenes.

But although this Sardanapalus is the first king of Assyria whose annals have been brought to light, he was neither the first king, the first founder of the city, nor the first great builder in Assyria. In all his inscriptions, Sardanapalus names both his father and grandfather, to each of whom he gives the title of King of Assyria; and when commemorating the building of the Palace of Nimroud, he says that the city was founded by Temen-bar. How many kings reigned in the interval between the two, it is impossible to say at present. The name of the king who succeeded Temen-bar is read Hernenk or Henenk, a word which resembles the Evechius of the Greek chronologers, which they say is the true Chaldæan designation of Nimroud. The name of the next king is represented by a group of characters, which Rawlinson takes to mean "servant of Bar," but to which he cannot give any syllabic form.

We now come to the Assar-adan-pal, or Sardanapalus, author of the inscriptions in the north-west palace at Nimroud. The formula with which all these begin is, "This is the palace of Sardanapalus, the humble worshipper of Assarac and Beltis," &c. After this introduction, the inscription goes on to notice the exertions of the king to establish the Assyrian worship; and then follows, although the connexion is not very obvious, what is taken for a long list of geographical names of the nations then tributary to Nineveh. Could these names be identified with certainty, we might be able to determine the extent of the Assyrian empire when they were engraved.

Thus has Rawlinson been sedulously engaged in applying his discoveries to the inscriptions in the old north-west palace at Nimroud. He has read on the black obelisk, from the centre of that mound, a record of the wars and history of thirty-one years of the seventh century before the Christian era; and it is not too much to expect, from his talents and power of application, that, should his life be spared, a most interesting chapter of the world's history may yet be restored. His translation of this inscription is as follows.

Colonel Rawlinson, after stating that the inscription on the obelisk commences with an invocation to the gods of Assyria to protect the empire, goes on to say: "I cannot follow the sense of the whole invocation, which takes up fourteen lines of writing, as well from the obscurity of the titles appertaining to the gods, as from the lacunæ in the text, owing to the fracture of the corner edge of the gradines; but I perceive, I think, the following passages:—'The god Assarac, the great lord, king of all the great gods; Ani, the king; Nit, the powerful, and Artenk, the supreme god of the provinces; Beltis, the protector, mother of the gods.' A few lines further on we have 'Shemir (perhaps the Greek Semiramis), who presides over the heavens and the earth' (another god whose name is lost). 'Bar,' with an unknown epithet; then '. . . Artenk, Lama, and Horus;' and after the interval of another line, '. . . Tal, and Set, the attendants of Beltis, mother of the gods.' The favour of all these deities, with Assarac at their head, the supreme god of heaven, is invoked for the protection of Assyria. Temen-bar then goes on to give his titles and genealogy; he calls himself king of the nations who worship Husi (another name for the god Shemir) and Assarac; king of Mesopotamia (using a term which was afterwards particularly applied to the Euphrates); son of Sardanapalus, the servant of Husi, the Protector, who first introduced the worship of the gods among the many peopled nations (the exact terms being here used, which answer to the '*dah-yáwa paruwa-zana*' of Persepolis). Sardanapalus, too, is called the son of Katibar (or 'the servant of Bar'), who was king of Zahiri, which seems to have been one of the many names of Assyria.

"Temen-bar then says:—

"'At the commencement of my reign, after that I was established on the throne, I assembled the chiefs of my people and came down into the plains of Esmes, where I took the city of Haridu, the chief city belonging to Nakharni.

"'In the first year of my reign, I crossed the Upper Euphrates, and ascended to the tribes who worshipped the god Husi. My servants erected altars (or tablets) in that land to my gods. Then I went on to the land of Khamána, where I founded palaces, cities, and temples. I went on to the land of Málar, and there I established the worship (or laws) of my kingdom.

"'In the second year, I went up to the city of Tel Barasba, and occupied the cities of Ahuni, son of Hateni. I shut him up in his city. I then crossed the Euphrates, and occupied the cities of Dabagu and Abarta, belonging to the Sheta, together with the cities which were dependent on them.

"'In the third year, Ahuni, son of Hateni, rebelled against me, and having become independent, established his seat of government in the city of Tel Barasba. The country beyond the Euphrates he placed under the protection of the god Assarac, the Excellent, while he committed to the god Rimmon the country between the Euphrates and the Arteri, with its city of Bither, which was held by the Sheta. Then I descended into the plains of Elets. The countries of Elets, Shakni, Dayini, Enem (?), Arzaskán, the capital city of Arama, king of Ararat, Lazan, and Hubiska, I committed to the charge of Detarasar. Then I went out from the city of Nineveh, and crossing the Euphrates, I attacked and defeated Ahuni, the son of Hateni, in the city of Sitrat, which was situated upon the Euphrates, and which Ahuni had made one of his capitals. The rest of the country I brought under subjection; and Ahuni, the son of Hateni, with his gods and his chief priests, his horses, his sons and his daughters, and all his men of war, I brought away to my country of Assyria. Afterwards I passed through the country of Shelár (or Kelár), and came to the district of Zoba. I reached the cities belonging to Nikti, and took the city of Yedi, where Nikti dwelt.' [A good deal of this part of the inscription I have been obliged to translate almost conjecturally, for on the obelisk the confusion is quite bewildering; the engraver having, as I think, omitted a line of the text which he was copying, and the events of the third and fourth year being thus mingled together; while in the bull inscription, where the date is preserved, showing that the final action with Ahuni took place in the fourth, and not in the third year, the text is too much mutilated to admit of our obtaining any connected sense. I pass on accordingly to the fifth year.]

"'In the fifth year, I went up to the country of Abyari; I took eleven great cities; I besieged Akitta of Erri in his city, and received his tribute.

"'In the sixth year, I went out from the city of Nineveh, and proceeded to the country situated on the river Belek. The ruler of the country having resisted my authority, I displaced him, and appointed Tsimba to be lord of the district; and I there established the Assyrian sway. I went out from the land on the river Belek, and came to the cities of Tel-Aták (?) and Habaremya. Then I crossed the Upper Euphrates, and received tribute from the kings of the Sheta. Afterwards I went out from the land of the Sheta and came to the city of Umen (?). In the city of Umen (?) I raised altars to the great gods. From the city of Umen (?) I went out and came to the city of Barbara. Then Hem-ithra of the country of

Atesh, and Arhulena of Hamath, and the kings of the Sheta, and the tribes which were in alliance with them, arose; setting their forces in batttle array, they came against me. By the grace of Assarac, the great and powerful god, I fought with them and defeated them; 20,500 of their men I slew in battle or carried into slavery. Their leaders, their captains, and their men of war, I put in chains.

"'In the seventh year, I proceeded to the country belonging to Khabni of Tel-ati. The city of Tel-ati, which was his chief place, and the towns which were dependent on it, I captured, and gave up to pillage. I went out from the city of Tel-ati, and came to the land watered by the head-streams which form the Tigris. The priests of Assarac in that land raised altars to the immortal gods. I appointed priests to reside in the land to pay adoration to Assarac, the great and powerful god, and to preside over the national worship. The cities of this region which did not acknowledge the god Assarac I brought under subjection, and I here received the tribute of the country of Nahiri.

"'In the eighth year, against Sut-Baba, king of Taha-Dunis, appeared Sut-Bel-herat and his followers. The latter led his forces against Sut-Baba, and took from him the cities of the land of Beth-Takara.

"'In the ninth year, a second time I went up to Armenia and took the city of Lunanta. By the assistance of Assarac and Sut, I obtained possession of the person of Sut-Bel-herat. In the city of Umen (?) I put him in chains. Afterwards Sut-Bel-herat, together with his chief followers, I condemned to slavery. Then I went down to Shinar, and in the cities of Shinar, of Borsippa, and of Ketika, I erected altars and founded temples to the great gods. Then I went down to the land of the Chaldees, and I occupied their cities, and I marched on as far even as the tribes who dwelt upon the sea-coast. Afterwards in the city of Shinar, I received the tribute of the kings of the Chaldees, Hateni, the son of Dákri, and Baga-Sut, the son of Hukni, gold, silver, gems, and pearls.

"'In the tenth year, for the eighth time I crossed the Euphrates. I took the cities belonging to Ara-lura of the town of Shalumas, and gave them up to pillage. Then I went out from the cities of Shalumas, and I proceeded to the country belonging to Arama, who was king of Ararat. I took the city of Arnia, which was the capital of the country, and I gave up to pillage one hundred of the dependent towns. I slew the wicked, and I carried off the treasures.

"'At this time, Hem-ithra, king of Atesh, and Arhulena, king of Hamath, and the twelve kings of the tribes who were in alliance

with them, came forth arraying their forces against me. They met me, and we fought a battle, in which I defeated them, making prisoners of their leaders, and their captains, and their men of war, and putting them in chains.

"'In the eleventh year, I went out from the city of Nineveh, and for the ninth time crossed the Euphrates. I took the eighty-seven cities belonging to Ara-lura, and one hundred cities belonging to Arama, and I gave them up to pillage. I settled the country of Khamána, and passing by the country of Yeri, I went down to the cities of Hamath, and took the city of Esdimak, and eighty-nine of the dependent towns, slaying the wicked ones, and carrying off the treasures. Again, Hem-ithra, king of Atesh, Arhulena, king of Hamath, and the twelve kings of the tribes' [or in one copy, the twelve kings of the Sheta] 'who were in alliance with them, came forth levying war upon me; they arrayed their forces against me. I fought with them and defeated them, slaying 10,000 of their men, and carrying into slavery their captains, and leaders, and men of war. Afterwards I went up to the city of Habbaril, one of the chief cities belonging to Arama (of Ararat), and there I received the tribute of Berbaranda, the king of Shetina, gold, silver, horses, sheep, and oxen, &c., &c. I then went up to the country of Khamána, where I founded palaces and cities.

"'In the twelfth year, I marched forth from Nineveh, and for the tenth time I crossed the Euphrates, and went up to the city of Sevarrahuben. I slew the wicked, and carried off the treasures from thence to my own country.

"'In the thirteenth year, I descended to the plains dependent on the city of Assar-animet. I went to the district of Yáta. I took the forts of the country of Yáta, slaying the evil-disposed, and carrying off all the wealth of the country.

"'In the fourteenth year, I raised the country, and assembled a great army; with 120,000 warriors I crossed the Euphrates. Then it came to pass that Hem-ithra, king of Atesh, and Arhulena, king of Hamath, and the twelve kings of the tribes of the upper and lower country, collected their forces together, and came before me offering battle. I engaged with them, and defeated them; their leaders, and captains, and men of war I cast into chains.

"'In the fifteenth year, I went to the country of Nahiri, and established my authority throughout the country about the head-streams which form the Tigris. In the district of Akhábi I celebrated' [some great religious ceremony, probably, which is obscurely described, and which I am quite unable to render].

"'Afterwards I descended to the plains of Lanbuna, and devastated the cities of Arama, king of Ararat, and all the country about the head waters of the Euphrates; and I abode in the country about the rivers which form the Euphrates, and there I set up altars to the supreme gods, and left priests in the land to superintend the worship. Hasá, king of Dayini, there paid me his homage, and brought in his tribute of horses, and I established the authority of my empire throughout the land dependent on his city.

"'In the sixteenth year, I crossed the river Zab, and went against the country of the Arians. Sut-Mesitek, the king of the Arians, I put in chains, and I brought his wives, and his warriors, and his gods, captives to my country of Assyria; and I appointed Yanvu, the son of Khanab, to be king over the country in his place.

"'In the seventeenth year, I crossed the Euphrates, and went up to the country of Khamána, where I founded palaces and cities.

"'In the eighteenth year, for the sixteenth time, I crossed the Euphrates. Khazakan of Atesh came forth to fight; 1121 of his captains, and 460 of his superior chiefs, with the troops they commanded, I defeated in this war.[1]

"'In the nineteenth year, for the eighteenth time, I crossed the Euphrates. I went up again to Khamána, and founded more palaces and temples.

"'In the twentieth year, for the nineteenth time, I crossed the Euphrates. I went up to the country of Beráhui. I took the cities, and despoiled them of their treasures.

"'In the twenty-first year, for the twentieth time, I crossed the Euphrates, and again went up to the country of Khazakan of Atesh. I occupied his territory, and while there received the tribute from the countries of Tyre, of Sidon, and of Gubal.

1 "It was to commemorate this campaign that the colossal bulls found in the centre of the mound at Nimroud were set up. The inscription upon them recording the wars is, of course, far more detailed than the brief summary on the obelisk, and I may as well, therefore, give my reading of it.

"It commences with a geographical catalogue:—'The upper and lower countries of Nihiri, the extensive land which worshipped the god Husi, Khamána and the Sheta, the countries along the course of the Tigris, and the countries watered by the Euphrates, from Belats to Shakni, from Shakni to Meluda, from Meluda to Dayáni, from Dayáni to Arzeskán, from Arzeskán to Latsán, from Latsán to Hubiska; the Arians and the tribes of the Chaldees who dwell upon the sea-coast.

"'In the eighteenth year, for the sixteenth time I crossed the Euphrates. Then Khazakan of Atesh collected his warriors and came forth; these warriors he committed to a man of Aranersa, who had administered the country of Lemnan. Him he appointed chief of his army. I engaged with him, and defeated him, slaying and carrying into slavery 13,000 of his fighting men, and making prisoners 1121 of his captains, and 460 superior officers, with their cohorts.'"

"'In the twenty-second year, for the twenty-first time, I crossed the Euphrates, and marched to the country of Tubal. Then I received the submission of the twenty-four kings of Tubal, and I went on to the country of Atta, to the gold country, to Belui, and to Ta-Esferem.

"'In the twenty-third year, I again crossed the Euphrates, and occupied the city of Huidara, the stronghold of Ellal of Meluda; and the Kings of Tubal again came in to me, and I received their tribute.

"'In the twenty-fourth year, I crossed the river Zab, and passing away from the land of Kharkhar, went up to the country of the Arians. Yanvu, whom I had made king of the Arians, had thrown off his allegiance, so I put him in chains. I captured the city of Esaksha, and took Beth-Telabon, Beth-Everek, and Beth-Tsida, his principal cities. I slew the evil-disposed, and plundered the treasures, and gave the cities over to pillage. I then went out from the land of the Arians, and received the tribute of the twenty-seven kings of the Persians. Afterwards I removed from the land of the Persians, and entered the territory of the Medes, going on to Ratsir and Kharkhar; I occupied the several cities of Kákhidra, of Tarzánem, of Irleban, of Akhirablud, and the towns which depended on them. I punished the evil-disposed. I confiscated the treasures, and gave the cities over to pillage, and I established the authority of my empire in the city of Kharkhar. Yanvu, the son of Khaban' [usually written Khanab], 'with his wives and his gods, and his sons and daughters, his servants and all his property, I carried away captive into my country of Assyria.

"'In the twenty-fifth year, I crossed the Euphrates, and received the tribute of the kings of the Sheta. I passed by the country of Khamána, and came to the cities of Akti of Berhui. The city of Tabura, his stronghold, I took by assault. I slew those who resisted, and plundered the treasures: and all the cities of the country I gave over to pillage. Afterwards in the city of Bahura, the capital city of Aram, son of Hagus, I dedicated a temple to the god Rimmon, and I also built a royal palace in the same place.

"'In the twenty-sixth year, for the seventh time, I passed through the country of Khamána. I went on to the cities of Akti of Berhui, and I inhabited the city of Tanaken, which was the stronghold of Etlak; there I performed the rites which belong to the worship of Assarac, the supreme god; and I received as tribute from the country, gold and silver, and corn, and sheep, and oxen. Then I went out from the city of Tanaken, and I came to the country of Leman. The people resisted me, but I subdued the country by force.

I took the cities, and slew their defenders; and the wealth of the people, with their cattle and corn and moveables, I sent as booty to my country of Assyria. I gave all their cities over to pillage. Then I went on to the country of Methets, where the people paid their homage, and I received gold and silver as their tribute. I appointed Akharriyadon, the son of Akti, to be king over them. Afterwards I went up to Khamána, where I founded more palaces and temples; until at length I returned to my country of Assyria.

"'In the twenty-seventh year, I assembled the captains of my army, and I sent Detarasar of Ittána, the general of the forces, in command of my warriors to Armenia; he proceeded to the land of Khamána, and in the plains belonging to the city of Ambaret, he crossed the river Artseni. Asiduri of Armenia, hearing of the invasion, collected his cohorts and came forth against my troops, offering them battle; my forces engaged with him and defeated him, and the country at once submitted to my authority.

"'In the twenty-eighth year, whilst I was residing in the city of Calah, a revolt took place on the part of the tribes of Shetina. They were led on by Sherrila, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of Labarni, the former king. Then I ordered the general of my army, Detarasa of Ittána, to march with my cohorts and all my troops against the rebels. Detarasar accordingly crossed the Upper Euphrates, and marching into the country, established himself in the capital city, Kanalá. Then Sherrila, who was seated on the throne, by the help of the great god Assarac, I obtained possession of his person, and his officers, and the chiefs of the tribes of the Shetina, who had thrown off their allegiance and revolted against me, together with the sons of Sherrila, and the men who administered affairs, and imprisoned or punished all of them; and I appointed Ar-hasit of Sirzakisba to be king over the entire land. I exacted a great tribute also from the land, consisting of gold and silver and precious stones, and ebony, &c., &c., &c.; and I established the national worship throughout the land, making a great sacrifice in the capital city of Kanalá, in the temple which had been raised there to the gods.

"'In the twenty-ninth year, I assembled my warriors and captains, and I ascended with them to the country of the Lek. I accepted the homage of the cities of the land, and I then went on to Shenába.

"'In the thirtieth year, whilst I was still residing in the city of Calah, I summoned Detarasar, the general of my arm, and I sent him forth to war in command of my cohorts and forces. He crossed the river Zab, and first came to the cities of Hubiska; he received the

tribute of Daten of Hubiska; and he went out from thence and came to the country belonging to Mekadul of Melakari, where tribute was duly paid. Leaving the cities of Melakari, he then went on to the country of Huelka of Minni. Huelka of Minni had thrown off his allegiance and declared himself independent, establishing his seat of government in the city of Tsiharta. My general therefore put him in chains, and carried off his flocks and herds and all his property, and gave his cities over to pillage. Passing out from the country of Minni, he next came to the territory of Selshen of Kharta; he took possession of the city of Maharsar, the capital of the country, and of all the towns which depended on it; and Selshen and his sons he made prisoners and sent to his country, dispatching to me their tribute of horses, male and female. He then went into the country of Sardera, and received the tribute of Artaheri of Sardera; he afterwards marched to Persia, and obtained the tribute of the kings of the Persians; and he captured many more cities between Persia and Assyria, and he brought all their riches and treasures with him to Assyria.

"'In the thirty-first year, a second time, whilst I abode in the city of Calah, occupied in the worship of the gods Assarac, Hem, and Nebo, I summoned the general of my army, Detarasar of Ittána, and I sent him forth to war in command of my troops and cohorts. He went out accordingly, in the first place, to the territories of Daten of Hubiska, and received his tribute; then he proceeded to Enseri, the capital city of the country of Bazatsera, and he occupied the city of Anseri, and the thirty-six other towns of the country of Bazatsera; he continued his march to the land of Armenia, and he gave over to pillage fifty cities belonging to that territory. He afterwards proceeded to Ladsán, and received the tribute of Hubu of Ladsan, and of the districts of Minni, of Bariana, of Kharran, of Sharrum, of Andi,' [and another district of which the name is lost], 'sheep, oxen, and horses, male and female. Afterward she went on to a district' [of which the name is lost], 'and he gave up to pillage the cities Biaria and Sitihuria, cities of consideration, together with the twenty-one towns which were attached to them. And he afterwards penetrated as far as the land of the Persians, taking possession of the cities of Baiset, Shel-Khamana, and Akori-Khamana, all of them places of strength, and of the twenty-three towns which depended on them; he slew those who resisted, and he carried off the wealth of the cities. And he afterwards moved to the country of the Arians, where, by the help of the gods Assarac and Sut, he captured their cities, and continued his march to the country of Kharets, taking and despoiling

250 towns; until at length he descended into the plains of Esmes, above the country of Umen (?)."[1]

Since the foregoing reading of the Nimroud Obelisk was published by Colonel Rawlinson, a paper by Dr. Grotefend, "On the age of the Obelisk found at Nimrúd," has been presented to the Royal Society of Göttingen (12th August, 1850), and printed in the *Göttingeschen Gelehrten Anzeigen*, No. 13, August 26th, 1850. A translation of this paper by the Rev. Dr. Renouard, was communicated by Dr. John Lee of Hartwell, to the Syro-Egyptian Society, January 13th of the present year, and we avail ourselves of Dr. Lee's kind permission to introduce a brief account of Dr. Grotefend's Memoir to our readers.

[1] "It is extremely difficult to distinguish throughout these last two paragraphs between the first and third persons. In fact, the grammatical prefixes which mark the persons are frequently put one for the other even in the same sentence. From the opening clause of the paragraphs, I certainly understand that the Assyrian general conducted both of these expeditions into High Asia; yet it would seem as if the king, in chronicling the war, wished to appropriate the achievements to himself.

"It remains that I should notice the epigraphs which are engraved on the obelisk above the five series of figures. These epigraphs contain a sort of register of the tribute sent in by five different nations to the Assyrian king; but they do not follow the series of offerings as they are represented in the sculpture with any approach to exactitude.

"The first epigraph records the receipt of the tribute from Shehuá of Ladsan, a country which joined Armenia, and which I presume, therefore, to be connected with the Lazi and Lazistan.

"The second line of offerings are said to have been sent by Yahua, son of Hubiri, a prince of whom there is no mention in the annals, and of whose native country, therefore, I am ignorant.

"This is followed by the tribute of a country which is called Misr, and which there are good grounds for supposing to be Egypt, inasmuch as we are sure from the numerous indications afforded to the position of the inscriptions of Khorsabad, that Misr adjoined Syria, and as the same name (that is, a name pronounced in the same manner, though written with different phonetic characters) is given at Behistun as the Babylonian equivalent of the Persian Mudraya. Misr is not once mentioned in the obelisk annals, and it may be presumed, therefore, to have remained in complete subjection to Assyria during the whole of Temen-bar's reign.

"The fourth tribute is that of Sut-pal-adan, of the country of Shekhi, probably a Babylonian or Elymæan prince, who is not otherwise mentioned; and the series is closed by the tribute of Barberanda, the Shetina, a Syrian tribe, which I rather think is the same as the Sharutana of the hieroglyphic writing.

"I cannot pretend at present to identify the various articles which are named in these epigraphs; gold and silver, pearls and gems, ebony and ivory, may be made out, I think, with more or less certainty; but I cannot conjecture the nature of many other of the offerings; they may be rare woods, or aromatic gums, or metals, or even such articles as glass or porcelain.

"With regard to the animals, those alone which I can certainly identify are horses and camels, the latter being, I think, described as 'beasts of the desert with the double back.'

"I do not think any of the remarkable animals, such as the elephant, the wild bull, the unicorn, the antelope, and the monkeys and baboons, are specified in the epigraphs; but it is possible they may be spoken of as rare animals from the river of Arki and the country beyond the sea."

He observes in the commencement, that though Rawlinson is able to make out the general meaning of the inscription, we are yet so far in the dark as to the proper value of some of the Assyrian characters, that there is no security for the correct reading of the proper names by which the periods could be determined; and that he himself is persuaded that the Assyrians distinguished the proper names of their kings more by their signification than by their sound. As, however, a knowledge of the general import of the inscription can be of little use, unless we can determine the time at which the Obelisk was erected, he has turned his attention to the events recorded on the monument; and the conclusion he arrives at perfectly coincides with our own views. The Professor is of opinion that irrespective of the high state of civilisation which the arts and sciences must have reached in Assyria, it is incredible that this nation could have made the great conquests in western Asia chronicled on the Obelisk, without some report of them having reached contemporary writers in Holy Writ, or the inquiring Greeks of a later period, to whom the ancient sources of information were accessible. He infers thence the improbability of the Obelisk being erected so early as the 12th or 13th century before Christ; and from certain lingual coincidences occurring in chronological order, which he copiously explains, that the monument may be referred to the end, or reckoning backward, to the beginning of the 8th century before Christ, when Shalmaneser was continuing the conquests which had been commenced by Pul and Tiglath Pileser. After analysing the name of Shalmaneser, and suggesting that Temenbar should be read Shalmanassar; he considers that the Assar-adan-pul and Kati Bar of Rawlinson may be read so as to accord with Tiglath-pileser and Pul; he proceeds to investigate his history, and shows that Rawlinson's reading of the Obelisk agrees exactly with the time and events of the reign of Shalmaneser. "If, however, it is believed that the last ten years recorded on the Obelisk elapsed after the death of Shalmaneser, because we read in 2 Kings, xviii. 13, &c., that Sennacherib, at that time King of Assyria, took all the strong cities in Judæa; we may, on the other hand, remark that he, as well as Sargon (Isaiah xx. 1) was only a subordinate king, who made no scruple to take upon himself the title of King of Assyria." (A surmise supported by his reading of the inscription on the Obelisk itself.) Grotefend adds: "That the remarkable event by which the vast army under Sennacherib was destroyed, should be wholly unnoticed on the Obelisk, though described in a fabulous manner by Jewish and Egyptian writers, will occasion no surprise when we consider the anxiety of the Assyrian to

publish nothing respecting himself but what redounded to his fame. I, therefore, refer the account of the twenty-first year of the Assyrian king's reign, in which he took possession of the territory of Khazakhan of Ateth, and there received the tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus, to the campaign mentioned by Isaiah (xx), and Nahum (iii. 8)."

"In fine, as so much which the inscription on the Obelisk states concerning the Assyrian king, coincides with what we know from other sources of the history of Assyria in the 8th century before the birth of Christ, and as even the determination of the years agrees, no essential contradiction is found; it will therefore be the more readily acknowledged that the Obelisk, whether we reckon backwards or forwards, must have been erected at the close of that century, as everything which Layard has observed respecting the remains of Nineveh unites in corroborating that supposition, while much may be recalled to mind which militates against the supposition of a higher antiquity."

Dr. Hincks makes out that the king on the second line of sculptures on the Obelisk, is Jehu, King of Israel, and therefore that the date of the relic is about 875 B.C., about one hundred years earlier than Grotefend's view. (See Athenæum, Dec. 27th, 1851).

The following most interesting paper by Colonel Rawlinson, which establishes the identity of the king who built the palace at Koyounjik with the Sennacherib of Scripture, is curiously corroborative of Dr. Grotefend's opinions:—

"As the scientific societies of the metropolis are closed at the present season, perhaps you will allow me to announce, in the columns of the Athenæum (August 23rd, 1851), the heads of a most interesting and important discovery which I have made within these few days, in connexion with Assyrian antiquities.

"I have succeeded in determinately identifying the Assyrian kings of the lower dynasty whose palaces have been recently excavated in the vicinity of Mósul; and I have obtained from the annals of those kings contemporary notices of events which agree in the most remarkable way with the statements preserved in sacred and profane history.

"The king who built the Palace of Khorsabad, excavated by the French, is named Sargina (the סרגון of Isaiah); but he also bears, in some of the inscriptions, the epithet of Shalmaneser, by which title he was better known to the Jews. In the first year of his reign he came up against the city of Samaria (called Samarina, and answering to the Hebrew שמרון) and the tribes of the country of Beth-Homri (עמרי or 'Omri, being the name of the founder of Samaria, 1 Kings

xviii. 16, &c.). He carried off into captivity in Assyria 27,280 families, and settled in their places colonists brought from Babylonia, appointing prefects to administer the country, and imposing the same tribute which had been paid to former kings. The only tablet at Khorsabad which exhibits this conquest in any detail (Plate LXX.) is unfortunately much mutilated. Should Monsieur de Salcy, however, whom the French are now sending to Assyria, find a duplicate of Shalmaneser's annals in good preservation, I think it probable that the name of the king of Israel may yet be recovered.

"In the second year of Shalmaneser's reign he subjugated the kings of Libnah (?) and Khazita (the Cadytis of Herodotus) who were dependent upon Egypt; and in the seventh year of his reign he received tribute direct from the king of that country, who is named Pirhu, probably for פרעה (Pharaoh), the title by which the kings of Egypt were known to the Jews and other Semitic nations. This punishment of the Egyptians by Sargon or Shalmaneser is alluded to in the 20th chapter of Isaiah.

"Among the other exploits of Shalmaneser found in his annals, are, —the conquest of Ashdod, also alluded to in Isaiah xx. 1, and his reduction of the neighbouring city of Jamnai, called Jabneh or Jamneh in the Bible, Jamnaan, in Judith, and Ἰάμνεια by the Greeks.

"In conformity with Menander's statement, that Shalmaneser assisted the Cittæans against Sidon, we find a statue and inscription of this king, Sargina, in the island of Cyprus, recording the event; and, to complete the chain of evidence, the city, built by him, and named after him, the ruins of which are now called Khorsabad, retained among the Syrians the title of Sarghun as late as the Arab conquest.

"I am not sure how long Shalmaneser reigned, or whether he made a second expedition into Palestine. His annals at Khorsabad extend only to the 15th year; and although the names are given of numerous cities which he captured in Cælo-Syria and on the Euphrates —such as Hamath, Beræa, Damascus, Bambyce, and Carchemish—I am unable to trace his steps into Judæa Proper. On a tablet, however, which he set up towards the close of his reign in the Palace of the first Sardanapalus at Nimroud, he styles himself 'conqueror of the remote Judæa;' and I rather think, therefore, that the expedition in which, after a three years' siege of Samaria, he carried off the great body of the tribes of Israel, and which is commemorated in the Bible as having been concluded in the sixth year of Hezekiah, must have taken place subsequently to the building of the Palace of Khorsabad.

"Without this explanation, indeed, we shall be embarrassed about

dates; for I shall presently show that we have a distinct notice of Sennacherib's attack upon Jerusalem in the third year of that king's reign; and we are thus able to determine an interval of eighteen years at least to have elapsed between the last-named event and the Samaritan campaign; whereas in the Bible we find the great captivity to date from the sixth year of Hezekiah, and the invasion of Sennacherib from the fourteenth.

"I now go on to the annals of Sennacherib. This is the king who built the great Palace of Koyounjik, which Mr. Layard has been recently excavating. He was the son of Sargina or Shalmaneser; and his name, expressed entirely by monograms, may have been pronounced Sennachi-riba. The events, at any rate, of his reign, place beyond the reach of dispute his historic identity. He commenced his career by subjugating the Babylonians, under their king Merodach-Baladan, who had also been the antagonist of his father; two important points of agreement being thus obtained, both with Scripture and with the account of Polyhistor. The annals of the third year, however, of the reign of Sennacherib, which I have just deciphered after the copy of an inscription taken by Mr. Layard from one of the bulls at the grand entrance of the Koyounjik Palace, contain those striking points of coincidence which first attracted my attention, and which, being once recognised, have naturally led to the complete unfolding of all this period of history. In his third year, Sennacherib undertook, in the first instance, an expedition against Luliya, king of Sidon (the Ἐλουλαῖος of Menander), in which he was completely successful. He was afterwards engaged in operations against some other cities of Syria (which I have not yet identified); and, whilst so employed, learned of an insurrection in Palestine. The inhabitants, indeed, of that country had risen against their king Padiya, and the officers who had been placed in authority over them, on the part of the Assyrian monarch, and had driven them out of the province, obliging them to take refuge with Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, the capital city of Judæa. (The orthography of these three names corresponds very nearly with the Hebrew reading: Khazakiyahu representing חזקיהו, Ursalimma standing for ירושלם, and Yahuda for יהודה). The rebels then sent for assistance to the kings of Egypt; and a large army of horse and foot marched to their assistance, under the command of the king of Pelusium (?). Sennacherib at once proceeded to meet this army; and, fighting an action with them in the vicinity of the city of Allaku (?), completely defeated them. He made many prisoners, also, whom he executed, or otherwise disposed of. Padiya then returned from Jerusalem, and was re-instated in his government.

In the meantime, however, a quarrel arose between Sennacherib and Hezekiah, on the subject of tribute. Sennacherib ravaged the open country, taking 'all the fenced cities of Judah,' and at last threatened Jerusalem. Hezekiah then made his submission, and tendered to the king of Assyria, as tribute, 30 talents of gold, 300 talents of silver, the ornaments of the Temple, slaves, boys and girls and men-servants and maid-servants for the use of the palace. All these things Sennacherib received. After which he detached a portion of Hezekiah's villages, and placed them in dependence on the cities which had been faithful to him, such as Hebron, Ascalon, and Cadytis. He then retired to Assyria.

"Now, this is evidently the campaign which is alluded to in Scripture (2 Kings xviii. 13—17); and it is perhaps the same which is obscurely noticed by Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 141, and which is further described by Josephus, Ant. lib. x. c. 1. The agreement, at any rate, between the record of the Sacred Historian and the contemporary chronicle of Sennacherib which I have here copied, extends even to the number of the talents of gold and silver which were given as tribute.

"I have not yet examined with the care which it requires the continuation of Sennacherib's chronicle; but I believe that most of the events attributed to that monarch by the historians Polyhistor and Abydenus will be found in the annals. His pretended conflict with the Greeks on the coast of Cilicia will, I suspect, turn out to be his reduction of the city of *Javnai*, near Ashdod,—the mistake having arisen from the similarity of the name of *Javnai* to that of *Javani*, or Ionians, by which the Greeks were generally known to the nations of the East. At any rate, when Polyhistor says that 'Sennacherib erected a statue of himself as a monument of his victory (over the Greeks), and ordered his prowess to be inscribed upon it in Chaldæan characters,' he certainly alludes to the famous tablet of the Koyounjik king at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, which appears from the Annals to have been executed after the conquest of the city of *Javnai*.

"The only copy which has been yet found of Sennacherib's annals at Koyounjik is very imperfect, and extends only to the seventh year. The relic known as Colonel Taylor's cylinder dates from one year later; but I have never seen any account of the events of the latter portion of his reign. His reign, however, according to the Greeks, extended to eighteen years, so that his second expedition to Palestine and the miraculous destruction of his army, must have occurred fourteen or fifteen years later than the campaign above described.

Pending the discovery of a complete set of annals, I would not of course set much store by the Greek dates; but it may be remarked that Hezekiah would have been still living at the period of the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army, even if, as I have thus conjectured, the second invasion of Judæa had occurred fourteen or fifteen years later than the first; for the earlier campaign is fixed to the fourteenth year of his reign, and his entire reign extended to twenty-nine years.

"I will only further mention that we have upon a cylinder in the British Museum a tolerably perfect copy of the Annals of Esar-Haddon, the son of Sennacherib, in which we find a further deportation of Israelites from Palestine, and a further settlement of Babylonian colonists in their place:—an explanation being thus obtained of the passage of Ezra (iv. 2), in which the Samaritans speak of Esar-Haddon as the king by whom they had been transplanted.

"Many of the drawings and inscriptions which have been recently brought by Mr. Layard from Nineveh refer to the son of Esar-Haddon, who warred extensively in Susiana, Babylonia, and Armenia, —though as his arms never penetrated to the westward, he has been unnoticed in Scripture history: and under the son of this king, who is named Saracus or Sardanapalus by the Greeks, Nineveh seems to have been destroyed.

"One of the most interesting matters connected with this discovery of the identity of the Assyrian kings is, the prospect, amounting almost to a certainty, that we must have in the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad and Koyounjik representations from the chisels of contemporary artists, not only of Samaria, but of that Jerusalem which contained the Temple of Solomon. I have already identified the Samaritans among the groups of captives portrayed upon the marbles of Khorsabad; and when I shall have accurately learnt the locality of the different bas-reliefs that have been brought from Koyounjik, I do not doubt but that I shall be able to point out the bands of Jewish maidens who were delivered to Sennacherib, and perhaps to distinguish the portraiture of the humbled Hezekiah.

"*London, August* 19. H. C. RAWLINSON."

"P.S. It will be seen that in the above sketch I have left the question of the Upper Assyrian dynasty altogether untouched. The kings whom I have identified, and who form what is usually called the Lower Assyrian dynasty, extend over a period from about 740 to 600 B.C. Antecedent to Shalmaneser there must have been,

I think, an interregnum. At any rate, although Shalmaneser's father seems to be mentioned in one inscription, there are no means of connecting his line with the Upper Assyrian dynasty. Of that dynasty we have the names of about fifteen kings; but I have never yet found —nor indeed do I expect to find—any historical synchronisms in their annals which may serve to fix their chronology. Implicitly as I believe in the honesty, and admiring as I do the general accuracy, of Herodotus, I should be inclined to adopt his limitation of 520 years for the duration of the Assyrian Empire:—a calculation which would fix the institution of the monarchy at about 1126 B.C., and would bring down the date of the earliest marbles now in the Museum to about 1000 B.C. But, at the same time, I decline without further evidence committing myself to any definite statement on this subject."

At the meeting of the British Association in 1850, a paper on the language and mode of writing of the ancient Assyrians, was read by the Rev. Dr. Hincks of Belfast, to whose indefatigable labours we are indebted for much light upon cuneatic writings, especially for the discovery of the numerals, and more recently of the name of Nebuchadnezzar on some Babylonian bricks, and of that of Sennacherib on some of the inscriptions of Koyounjik.

In this paper the author began by observing that the language and mode of writing of the Assyrians are themselves two important ethnological facts. The language of the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions is generally admitted to be of the family called Semitic. It is in many respects strikingly like the Hebrew, but has some peculiarities in common with the Egyptian, the relationship of which to the Semitic languages has been already recognised. The mode of writing of the Assyrians differed from that of the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, and agreed with the Egyptian in that it was partly ideographic. Some words consisted entirely of ideographs; others were written in part phonetically, but had ideographs united with the phonetic part. As to the part of the writing which consisted of phonographs, Dr. Hincks maintained, in opposition to all other writers, that the characters had all definite syllabic values; there being no consonants, and consequently no necessity or liberty of supplying vowels. This use of characters representing syllables, he considered to be an indication that though the language of the Assyrians was Semitic, their mode of writing was not so. A second proof that the mode of writing was not Semitic, he derived from the absence of distinct syllables to represent combinations of the peculiar Semitic consonants, Koph and Ain. From these facts he inferred

that the Assyrio-Babylonian mode of writing was adopted from some Indo-European nation who had probably conquered Assyria; and he thought it likely that this nation had intercourse with the Egyptians, and had in part, at least, derived their mode of writing from that most ancient people.

This paper having been read, Colonel Rawlinson observed that Dr. Hincks had stated that he considered the difference between the two systems adopted by Colonel Rawlinson and himself of interpreting the inscriptions to be, that the one took the signs for letters, and the other for syllables. Now he (Colonel Rawlinson) by no means admitted that he did take the signs altogether for letters. He believed them all to have once had a syllabic value, as the names of the objects which they represented, but to have been subsequently used—usually its initial articulation—to express a mere portion of a syllable. He could adduce numerous instances where the cuneiform signs were used as *bonâ fide* letters; but, at the same time, the two systems of interpretation might now be said to be very nearly identical: so far, indeed, as he understood Dr. Hincks's paper, there appeared to be only about half a dozen out of a hundred letters on the phonetic powers of which they were not agreed. Certain inscriptions were found in various parts of Persia engraved in three different languages and alphabets, all of which were originally unknown.

The first of these that was deciphered, very nearly resembled the Sanscrit. The language of the second class of cunefic inscriptions was found to be closely allied to the Sanscrit, being in fact the language of the aborigines. This tongue was of the same sort as the Mogul and Tartar, and he believed it to have been spoken by the greater part of the aboriginal inhabitants of Persia. At any rate, it was the native language of the Parthians and the other great tribes who inhabited the north of Persia. Coming to the Assyrian and Babylonian languages, we were first made acquainted with them as translations of the Persian and Parthian documents in the above-noticed trilingual inscriptions of Persia; but lately we had had an enormous amount of historical matter brought to light in tablets of stone written in these languages alone. The languages in question he certainly considered to be Semitic. He doubted whether they could trace at present in any of the buildings or inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia the original primitive civilisation of man—that civilisation which took place in the very earliest ages. He was of opinion that civilisation first showed itself in Egypt after the immigration of the early tribes from Asia. He thought that the human intellect first germinated on the Nile, and that then there was, in a later age, a

reflux of civilisation from the Nile back to Asia. He was quite satisfied that the system of writing in use on the Tigris and Euphrates was taken from the Nile; but he admitted that it was carried to a much higher state of perfection in Assyria than it had ever reached in Egypt. The earliest Assyrian inscriptions were those lately discovered by Mr. Layard in the north-west palace at Nimroud, being much earlier than anything found at Babylon. Now, the great question was the date of these inscriptions. Mr. Layard himself, when he published his book on Nineveh, believed them to be 2500 years before the Christian era; but others, and Dr. Hincks among the number, brought them down to a much later date, supposing the historical tablets to refer to the Assyrian kings mentioned in Scripture (Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, &c.). He (Colonel Rawlinson) did not agree with either one of these calculations, or the other—he was inclined to place the earliest inscriptions from Nimroud between 1350 and 1200 before the Christian era; because, in the first place, they had a limit to antiquity; for, in the earliest inscriptions, there was a notice of the sea-ports of Phœnicia, of Tyre and Sidon, of Byblus, Arcidus, &c., and it was well known that these cities were not founded more than 1500 years before the Christian era. We find again certain tribes (the Khita, the Sherutena, and others) mentioned in these inscriptions, which are only to be found in the Egyptian inscriptions of a particular date, that is, during the eighteenth and nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth dynasties. The earliest of the Assyrian inscriptions were, in his opinion, about synchronous with the close of the eighteenth dynasty, and none of the documents which he had yet seen were so late as the twenty-second dynasty. As another proof of the antiquity of the records at Nimroud and Khorsabad, Colonel Rawlinson referred to the cities in Lower Chaldæa, and stated that numerous cities had been lately visited in those parts where traces were found of a series of kings extending from 747 before the Christian era to 600; but in all these cities and in all these inscriptions they had never found any trace of the names by which the cities were designated in the earlier records. This showed that the names of these cities and countries had all been changed during the period which elapsed between the Assyrian and Babylonian periods, and consequently placed the former period long before the era of Nabonassar, or 747 B.C. He could not admit the hypothesis of Dr. Hincks with regard to the Indo-European origin of the Assyrians, for their language was as much Semitic as the Hebrew or Chaldæan, and the mode of writing was much more Egyptian than Indo-European; the Assyrians he believed to have

hardly come in contact with Indo-European tribes. They certainly knew nothing of India—their arms never penetrated eastward of the Caspian Sea. Of course, they came in contact with many Scythian tribes, and more especially with the Cymri; but whether this last tribe had anything to do with our Celtic Cymri he could not undertake to say; his own opinion was, however, that they had not. He rather believed that the Celts applied specifically to themselves the name of Cymri, which was a generic name for Nomades, as a Mogul tribe named themselves Eluth, from Eelyant, the generic name of the wandering tribes of Persia. Colonel Rawlinson added, that we had every prospect of a most important accession to our ethnological materials, for every letter he got from the countries now being explored announced fresh discoveries of the utmost importance. In Lower Chaldæa, Mr. Loftus, the geologist to the commission appointed to fix the boundaries between Turkey and Persia, had visited many cities which no European had ever reached before, and had everywhere found the most extraordinary remains. At one place, Senkereh, he had come on a pavement, extending from half an acre to an acre, entirely covered with writing which was engraved upon baked tiles, &c. At Wurka (or Ur of the Chaldees) whence Abraham came out, he had found innumerable inscriptions; they were of no great extent, but they were exceedingly interesting, giving many royal names previously unknown. Wurka (Ur or Orchoe) seemed to be a holy city, for the whole country for miles upon miles, was nothing but a huge necropolis. In none of the excavations in Assyria had coffins ever been found, but in this city of Chaldæa there were thousands upon thousands. The story of Abraham's birth at Wurka did not originate with the Arabs, as had sometimes been conjectured, but with the Jews; and the Orientals had numberless fables about Abraham and Nimroud. Mr. Layard, in excavating beneath the great pyramid at Nimroud, had penetrated a mass of masonry, within which he had discovered the tomb and statue of Sardanapalus, accompanied by full annals of the monarch's reign engraved on the walls. He had also found tablets of all sorts, all of them being historical; but the crowning discovery he had yet to describe. The palace at Nineveh, or Koyounjik, had evidently been destroyed by fire, but one portion of the building seemed to have escaped its influence; and Mr. Layard, in excavating in this part of the palace, had found a large room filled with what appeared to be the archives of the empire, ranged in successive tablets of terra-cotta, the writings being as perfect as when the tablets were first stamped. They were piled in huge heaps from the floor to the ceiling; and he

wrote to him (Colonel Rawlinson), stating that he had already filled five large cases for despatch to England, but had only cleared out one corner of the apartment. From the progress already made in reading the inscriptions, he believed we should be able pretty well to understand the contents of these tablets—at all events, we should ascertain their general purport, and thus gain much valuable information. A passage might be remembered in the book of Ezra, where the Jews having been disturbed in building the Temple, prayed that search might be made in the house of records for the edict of Cyrus permitting them to return to Jerusalem. The chamber recently found might be presumed to be the house of records of the Assyrian kings, where copies of the royal edicts were duly deposited. When these tablets had been examined and deciphered, he believed that we should have a better acquaintance with the history, the religion, the philosophy, and the jurisprudence of Assyria 1500 years before the Christian era, than we had of Greece or Rome during any period of their respective histories.

The Athenæum of Sept. 8th and 20th; October 25th, December 27th, 1851, and January 3rd of the present year, contained some very interesting contributions by Mr. Bosanquet of Claysmore, and Dr. Hincks, relative to Assyrian chronology, and the cuneatic writings. In Dr. Hincks's letter of January 3rd, he states that he has found on the slabs of the south-western palace at Nimroud, a name which he identifies as Menahem of Samaria, proving that the slabs belonged to Pul (2 Kings xv. 19, 90,), and that the deportation spoken of was that in the reign of Pekah, and attributed to Tiglath Pileser, who was consequently the same as Sargon, the builder of Khorsabad.

Syro-Egyptian.—*Feb.* 16.—Dr. J. Lee in the chair. A paper was read "On the Builders of the Palaces at Khorsabad and Koyounjik," by Dr. Grotefend, translated by the Rev. C. Renouard. The names of the builders ascertained by Colonel Rawlinson to be Arkotsin, Bel-a-donim-sha, and Assar-adan-assar, have little security, Dr. Grotefend argues, for having been correctly read. The first would appear to have reigned between the times of Cyaxares and Cyrus, and to have conquered a king of Egypt whose name Colonel Rawlinson reads Biarka, or Biarku, but Dr. Grotefend reads Pharaoh Nechoh,—and who held his court at Rabek or Heliopolis. (Mr. Sharpe remarked that Thebes was a Rabek, or "city of the sun," as well as Heliopolis, and the more likely seat of empire). From this circumstance, and the details of the other campaigns of the same king, as described by Colonel Rawlinson, Dr. Grotefend thinks that the builders

of Khorsabad may be identified with the Biblical Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar,—and the builder of Koyounjik with the Biblical Evil-Merodach, a Jewish distortion of Abil-Beredam. Dr. Grotefend's opinion further communicated by Mr. Sharpe with regard to the north-west palace at Nimroud is, that that palace was built by the father of the king who made the obelisk now in the British Museum, and that it was plundered by his fourth successor, or the builder of Khorsabad; that is, that it was built by Tiglath, the father of Shalman, and plundered by Nabopolassar. Secondly, that the south-east building bears the name of the builder of Khorsabad, and also that of his grandson, and also that of the Persian Cambyses. Thirdly, that the south-west palace was built by the Babylonian builder of Khorsabad, and his two successors, and had additions made to it by Cambyses. Thus, Dr. Grotefend is of opinion that the interesting monuments lately discovered at Nineveh were the work of three periods, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian,—that the earliest was made by Tiglath and the latest by Cambyses. (See Athenæum, Feb. 21, 1852.)

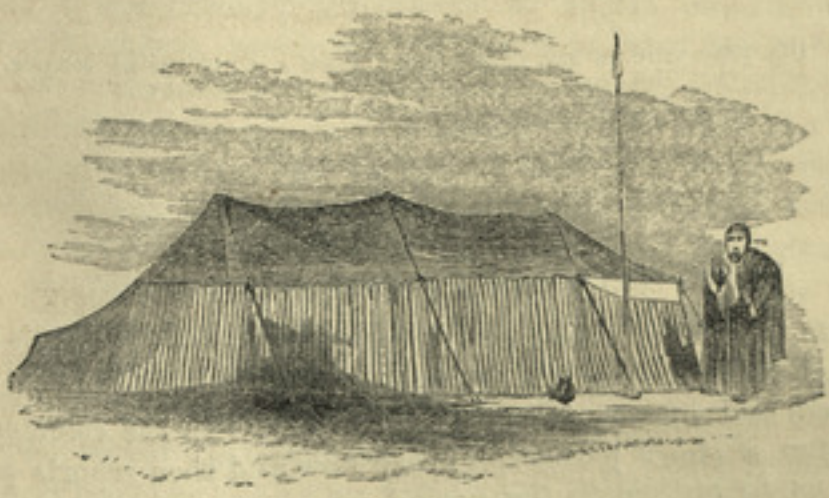


Fig. 233.—ARAB TENT, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. ROMAINE.

Fig. 234.—VIEW IN THE EXCAVATIONS, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. BOMAINE.

CHAPTER II.

LATEST PROCEEDINGS AND DISCOVERIES IN ASSYRIA.

INTELLIGENCE of the more recent movements and discoveries of Layard, Rawlinson, and others, finds a place from time to time in the newpapers and literary journals of the day. In the columns of the Athenæum a short paragraph every now and then reports progress, leading us to anticipate the period when our national repositories will be enriched by further spoils from Assyria. These reports of progress may be here introduced *verbatim*, since they contain, in truth, the latest news about the buried cities of the East.

July 28, 1849. "We have already referred to the niggardly grant which the Government has made to Mr. Layard in furtherance of his interesting researches at Nineveh; and we are now glad to think that the friends of this young, successful, and untiring antiquary are looking

on the grant in the light in which it ought to be viewed—as one unworthy of a great nation in a matter of such remarkable literary interest, and are aiding him from their own private resources. The trustees of the Museum have talked about an advance of 200*l.* on the Government grant; but this, we believe, has been rejected, and Mr. Layard is by this time prosecuting his researches chiefly on the profits of his valuable work, and on the assistance of his relations and friends. When we reflect that the highly interesting and extensive collection of Assyrian marbles and ivories now in the British Museum were obtained by Government at a merely nominal price, and that if sold at Sotheby and Wilkinson's they would probably have realised a very large sum—ten times, perhaps, what was given for them (witness the recent purchase of the Stowe MSS. for 8000*l.*)—we must confess to some surprise that Government should have been so niggardly in its second advance. The fine English spirit of research displayed by Mr. Layard, and his known unwillingness to profit in pocket by his discoveries when the British nation is a purchaser, should have been met by a nobler return than they have yet received from the representatives of the British people."

March 2, 1850. "Dr. Layard is prosecuting his researches with energy and success. By letters dated Nimroud, January 7, we learn that he has effected an entrance into a room in the old Nimroud Palace, containing an extraordinary assortment of relics: shields, swords, pateræ, bowls, crowns, cauldrons, ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, &c. The vessels are formed of a kind of copper, or rather bronze, —some perfectly preserved, and as bright as gold when the rust is removed. The engravings and embossing on them are very beautiful and elaborate; and comprise the same mythic subjects which are found on the robes of the figures in the sculptures,—men struggling with lions, warriors in chariots, and hunting scenes. Now, a serious question occurs to us: are these precious relics, when they arrive at Busrah, to be entrusted to any ignorant and careless ship-captain who may be ready to convey them to England? We have not forgotten the fate of the last cargo of curious ivories, glass, &c., which suffered such wanton outrage on the voyage and at Bombay. If the Government really feel an interest in Dr. Layard's proceedings, a vessel should be sent from Bombay expressly to receive his consignments; but we fancy there is little chance of any such step being taken. At Koyounjik, Dr. Layard has uncovered a very interesting series of slabs, showing the process of building the mounds and palaces."

March 23*rd.* "Accounts are stated to have been received, within a

few days back, from Mr. Layard, in Assyria, giving intelligence of new and important discoveries in the Nimroud mound. He has made fresh and extensive excavations in parts of the eminence not yet explored; and the result is said to have been the finding of nothing less than the throne on which the monarch, reigning about 3000 years ago, sat in his splendid palace. It is composed of metal and of ivory,—the metal being richly wrought, and the ivory beautifully carved. The throne seems to have been separated from the state apartments by means of a large curtain, the rings by which it was drawn and undrawn having been preserved. No human remains have come to light, and everything indicates the destruction of the palace by fire. It is said that the throne has been partially fused by the heat."

April 20th. "Intelligence from Mosul to the 4th ult. states that Mr. Layard and his party are still carrying on their excavations at Nimroud and Nineveh. A large number of copper vessels, beautifully engraved, have been found in the former; and, from the latter, a large assortment of fine slabs illustrative of the rule, conquests, domestic life, and arts of the ancient Assyrians, are daily coming to light, and are committed to paper by the artist, Mr. Cooper, one of the Expedition. Mr. Layard intends to make a trip to the Chaboor (the Chaboras of the Romans), and to visit Reish Aina (the Resen of Scripture), where he hopes to find a treasure of Assyrian remains."

October 11th, 1851. "The funds placed at the disposal of Mr. Layard, by the British Government, being exhausted, that gentleman has been obliged to abandon several new excavations which he had commenced at Nimroud and at Nebbi Yunis, and which promised to lead to historical discoveries of the utmost importance. He has now proceeded to Babylonia, for the purpose of examining the various ancient sites that are scattered over that extensive country, and with a view of ascertaining the spots most favourable for excavation.

"Among the votes of money recently passed by the French Assembly, we notice a grant for the resumption of the suspended excavations of Nineveh—the renewed excavations to be directed by M. Place, the successor of M. Botta as French consul at Mosul; another for fitting out a scientific expedition to be despatched into Assyria to complete the discoveries recently made in that part of the world.

"It is said that the recent discoveries of Colonel Rawlinson, in relation to the inscriptions on the Assyrian sculptures, have awakened the Government to the great historical value of those monuments, and that a sum of 1500*l.* has been placed at his disposal, to assist towards the prosecution of excavations and inquiries in Assyria.

Colonel Rawlinson will, it is understood, proceed immediately to Bagdad; and from thence direct his explorations towards any quarter which may appear to him likely to yield important results. The sum advanced by Government is not a large one, nor likely to carry labours of the kind to any great extent; but as it recognises the importance of these researches, it may be presumed that further advances will not be wanting should Colonel Rawlinson's immediate proceedings exhibit proof that they can be profitably expended."

February 12th, 1852. The "Globe" contains the gratifying announcement that Mr. Layard, so well known for his discoveries at Nineveh, has been appointed Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

February 13th. The "Times" announced the arrival, in St. Katherine's Docks, of the remainder of Mr. Layard's collection of antiquities from Nineveh; among which there is one piece of sculpture far exceeding in size any brought home upon a former occasion. It weighs fifteen tons.

"Royal Asiatic Society, *March 6th*.—Professor H. H. Wilson in the chair. The Assistant-Secretary read a letter, which he had received by the last overland mail from Colonel Rawlinson, who has resumed his official labours at Bagdad, after a few busy weeks at the ruins of Nineveh. This letter is confirmatory of the discoveries promulgated by Dr. Hincks at the close of the last and beginning of the present year; and the coincidence of two independent discoveries, placed thousands of miles apart, will be a strong confirmation of the truth of their reading to those who are unable to investigate for themselves; and an evidence of the value of Colonel Rawlinson's Indiscriminate List of Assyrian characters, published in the December number of the Society's journal. The Colonel says, 'I am now satisfied that the black obelisk dates from about 860 B.C. The tribute depicted in the second compartment upon the obelisk comes from Israel: it is the tribute of Jehu. The names are Yahua, the son of Khumriya, or יהוא, the son of עמרי. Jehu is usually called, in the Bible, the son of Nimshi (although Jehoshaphat was his actual father, 2 Kings, ix. 2); but the Assyrians, taking him for the legitimate successor to the throne, named as his father (or rather ancestor) 'Omri, the founder of the kingdom of Samaria, 'Omri's name being written on the obelisk as it is in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser, where, as you already know, the kingdom of Israel is always called the country of Beth 'Omri. If this identification of name were the only argument in favour of Jehu, I should not so much depend on it; but the King of Syria is also named on the obelisk Khazail, which is

exactly the חזהאל (2 Chron. xxii. 6), Hazael of Scripture, who was the contemporary of Jehu; and in the inscriptions of the obelisk king's father (whom I have hitherto called Sardanapalus, but whose real name must be read Assur-akh-baal). There is also a notice of Ithbaal, king of Sidon, who was the father of Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, and a contemporary of Jehu. These three identifications constitute a synchronism on which I consider we may rely, especially as all the collateral evidence comes out satisfactorily. The tributes noted on the obelisk are all from the remote nations of the west; and what more natural than that the tribute of Israel should thus be put next to the tribute from Egypt? There was no Assyrian campaign at this period against either Egypt or Israel; but the kings sent offerings, in order to keep on good terms with their eastern neighbour. I have not yet had time to go through the very elaborate history, of 'Assur-akh-bal,' contemporary with the prophet Elijah; but I expect to find several other synchronisms, which will set the chronological question at rest for ever.' The line in which the name of Jehu appears was read by Colonel Rawlinson, in his 'Commentary,' published in May, 1850, 'Yahua, the son of Hubiri,' (p. 47): the alteration of the *b* to *um*, in the second syllable of Hubiri, is given in the Indiscriminate List above mentioned. We are now fairly entitled to expect the discovery of more synchronisms when the mass of inscriptions already published shall be examined, with the aid of Colonel Rawlinson's alphabet and analysis, by the many English and foreign *savants*, who are thus put in possession of the key to their contents."—*Literary Gazette, March 18th.*

Fig. 235.—GROUP OF ARABS.

Fig. 236.—AN ARAB SHEIKH, FROM A SKETCH BY MR. ROMAINE.

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