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AND
THE LAND OF NIMROD.

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Yours sincerely
H. Rapin

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ASSHUR AND THE LAND OF NIMROD

BEING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERIES MADE IN
THE ANCIENT RUINS OF NINEVEH, ASSHUR, SEPHARVAIM, CALAH,
BABYLON, BORSIPPA, CUTHAH, AND VAN,

INCLUDING

A NARRATIVE OF DIFFERENT JOURNEYS IN MESOPOTAMIA,
ASSYRIA, ASIA MINOR, AND KOORDISTAN

BY

HORMUZD RASSAM,

AUTHOR OF THE "NARRATIVE OF THE BRITISH MISSION TO THEODORE, KING OF
ABYSSINIA;" "BIBLICAL NATIONALITIES, PAST AND PRESENT;"
"THE GARDEN OF EDEN AND BIBLICAL
SAGES," ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

ROBERT W. ROGERS, PH. D. (Leipzig), D. D.,

PROFESSOR IN DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY



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1899, May 22

~~Scientific Transactions~~



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1897.

DEDICATION.

To the Loving Memory

OF THE

RIGHT HONORABLE SIR AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, G. C. B.,

the pioneer of Assyrian explorers,
whose friendship of fifty years' standing was as true
in my youth
as it proved constant in my advancing years,
this narrative of my travels,
and Assyrian and Babylonian discoveries,

IS

Affectionately Dedicated.

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PREFACE.

IN submitting to my readers the following account of my travels in Biblical lands, and of my Assyrian and Babylonian discoveries, I do so with diffidence, feeling that it is an unworthy sequel to the fascinating and interesting narratives of my late lamented friend, Sir Austen Henry Layard, which are of wide-world reputation. I am emboldened, however, by the fact that it was his fond desire that I should lay before the world the record of my humble contribution to that branch of learning in connection with ancient history, both sacred and profane.

With the exception of a few lectures I delivered before different societies, and a slight mention made of them by Sir Henry in his abridged work, entitled "Nineveh and Babylon," published in 1867 by Mr. John Murray, no full account has yet appeared of my different discoveries, though the *Illustrated London News* produced, in May, 1856, a few specimens of the bas-reliefs found by me in Assur-bani-pal's palace, with a generous tribute to my success. Beyond these notices, no record has appeared anywhere of the share I have had in Assyrian and Babylonian discoveries; the consequence was, that not many years afterwards some of my acquisitions were attributed to others, and, actually, the Assyrian legends of the Creation and Deluge tablets, which I found in Nineveh, in Assur-bani-pal's palace, in 1853, were credited to Mr. George Smith's exploration, which he undertook for the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* twenty years afterwards, because, forsooth, he was the first Assyrian scholar who had deciphered them! Even in the present ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which historical records ought to be strictly correct, the following appears in a note in Vol. XVII, page 512, referring to Assur-bani-pal's palace: "In this palace is the famous library-chamber from which Layard and George Smith brought the tablets now in the British Museum." Whereas, when I discovered them, the for-

mer had ceased his connection with the Assyrian excavations, and the latter could not have been more than nine or ten years of age! Then in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," Vol. I, under the notice of the palace of Assur-bani-pal II, the author makes the following remark in a note on page 389, about the bas-reliefs containing the lion-hunt series, which I discovered: "These slabs, which were recovered by Colonel Rawlinson, are now in the British Museum. The animals of chase include lions, wild horses, wild asses, stags, and antelopes;" the truth being, that Colonel Rawlinson only selected what he thought were necessary at that time to send to England; but had nothing to do with their recovery or discovery, which he publicly acknowledged in the press soon afterwards.

It may be considered extraordinary that I allowed such a long time to elapse before I placed before the public the results of my discoveries, seeing that they were made partly as far back as 1853; but when the different unavoidable circumstances which intervened are explained, it will be seen that it was beyond my power to have my book brought out sooner.

In the first place, after I discovered Assur-bani-pal's palace at Koyunjik, and the temple of Nebo at Nimroud, with other Assyrian remains, I had to return to England in June, 1854, when my engagement to the Trustees of the British Museum terminated. Soon after my arrival in London a political post was offered me at Aden, by Sir James Outram, who had just been appointed the Resident at that settlement before his services were required at Oude. He had made my acquaintance two years before in London, and knew of my attainments, especially in dealing with the Arabian tribes, and he thought I would be of great help to him in that part of Arabia Felix where political relations between the Aden authorities and the different Arab tribes in the interior were somewhat strained. My services were applied for to the directors of the East India Company, who sanctioned my appointment, and as my presence was urgently required by Sir James, I lost no time in getting ready, and I proceeded to Aden to take up the duties assigned to me.

As I had no artist with me when I discovered Assur-bani-pal's palace, I was obliged to quit the scenes of my labors with-

out obtaining any drawings of the bas-reliefs; and when Mr. Boucher, the indefatigable artist of Mr. Kennet Loftus, the gentleman who succeeded me, was able to draw the different sculptures I had discovered, I was far away in Arabia Felix, busily engaged in my different avocations at Aden.

On my return to England after an absence of nearly fifteen years, I did not think that, at that distance of time, an account of my former discoveries would prove interesting to general readers, inasmuch as I found that most of my discoveries were lost or given away.

In 1877, however, I was asked again by the Trustees of the British Museum to undertake another expedition to Nineveh, after the demise of Mr. George Smith, during his unfortunate third expedition to Mesopotamia. I had then been married, and had retired from Her Majesty's Indian service, and intended to spend my time quietly in England; but my interest in Assyrian archæology was still as great as when I was young, and consequently I accepted the proffered commission willingly. As the funds then available for the expedition were inadequate for prosecuting extensive operations, I offered to go out without a stipend, provided I should be allowed to carry on my excavations in the way I deemed best.

It will be seen from the contents of my book that I was not unsuccessful in my researches, and the extension afterwards of my archæological labors southward in Babylonia, and northward in Armenia, proved productive of good results, which added greatly to our knowledge of those great nations of ancient renown.

After no less than four expeditions to Mesopotamia, my work was brought suddenly to an end, as the Porte, through political pique, refused to renew my firman. Sir Henry Layard had then left Constantinople, and the Right Honorable G. J. Goschen, who was sent to succeed him temporarily by Mr. Gladstone, was not in favor with the Ottoman Court on account of the mandate he took out with him from the then British Government for the surrender by the Sultan of the Port of Dulcigno to the Prince of Montenegro. The Marquis of Dufferin, who was appointed ambassador at Constantinople, afterwards tried earnestly to induce the responsible Turkish minister to change his mind, but

the Porte remained obdurate to the end. I had, therefore, to close the British Museum researches at the end of July, 1882, both in Assyria and Babylonia, and returned to England under a great disappointment, as I had hoped to make further important discoveries in Southern Babylonia, where I was certain a number of ancient ruins existed. Since then excavations have been carried on by French and American agents for their respective museums in Southern Babylonia, but under stringent rules and regulations debarring them from exporting any antiquities out of the country. The Arabs have managed, however, to steal many tablets from their collections, which were purchased by Baghdad dealers for sale in Europe and America.

After having come home at the end of 1882, I began to write an account of my discoveries and travels, beginning from 1853, especially as I had been urged by different friends to give to the world the benefit of my experiences. On completing my narrative, I submitted it to different publishers in London, all of whom declined the responsibility of its publication, and, as I could not afford to have it brought out at my risk, there was nothing for it but to wait for a good opportunity.

Some time afterward an American friend whom I had met at Mossul, traveling with his amiable wife, suggested that I should have my book published in America, and through the kind interest he took in the matter he found a well-known firm in New York who undertook the publication of it.

All references made throughout my narrative for the translation of Assyrian and Babylonian legends and historical matters I owe to the investigations of different decipherers of the cuneiform writing. Unfortunately, I have not made that dead language my study, and consequently I am not competent to give an opinion upon the texts quoted in my book.

I must here acknowledge with gratitude my obligations to my friend, Mr. Theophilus G. Pinches, of the Assyrian Department at the British Museum, who, on all occasions, rendered me every assistance in his power in explaining to me the different readings connected with my discoveries. As he is one of the best Assyrian scholars, his translations and deductions can not

but be looked upon as trustworthy on matters referring to Assyrian and Accadian knowledge.

It must be remembered that the translations of Assyrian records have been undergoing important changes from time to time since the decipherment of the arrow-headed characters commenced; and now some of the renderings by such gentlemen as Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Rev. Dr. Hincks, Mr. George Smith, and others, are not considered correct.

In submitting to my readers my dissent from the opinions of some travelers and historians regarding certain geographical positions, I trust that I shall not be considered dogmatic or obtrusive. My aim has been to try and lay before the public my opinion, formed on personal knowledge of Biblical landmarks, of what I consider to be the most correct explanation of the subjects mooted, and leave it to the judgment of learned and competent scholars to decide whose views are the most incontestable.

In describing fully my travels and the conduct of my archæological work I had one aim in view, and that is to show how easy it is to get on with all the inhabitants of Biblical lands, especially the Arabs, provided they are not treated with unbecoming hauteur and conceit. I ever found Arabs, Koords, and Turcomans (all of whom are, of course, Mohammedans), most tractable people to deal with, and I always found them true, loyal, and most hospitable. Their women, who possess more freedom than their sisters in the harems in the great towns, are always ready to assist and entertain strangers when their men are absent; and though the latter are extremely sensitive as to the honor of their wives and daughters, they do not show the least jealousy in regard to the entertainment of their guests.

As regards the orthography of Arabic, Koordish, and Turkish names, I have always observed the rule of writing them in the English way so as to insure their correct pronunciation; disregarding doubtful accentuations, since I have found, on several occasions, learned scholars mispronouncing accentuated or circumflexed letters. For instance, the words Beyroot, Kharpoot, Erzerroom, Samsoon, Mahmood, etc., which ought to

be written with double o, are spelled either with a u simple or pointed, which I found to be of very little help to those who never heard these words pronounced by the natives of the country. I remember on one occasion, while I was in a court of justice in London, when Aboo-Habba (the Arabic name for the site of Sepharvaim) was alluded to, the first word was pronounced by learned lawyers as "Abew." Had the word been written with double o, as "Aboo," they could not have failed to pronounce it properly. It has always been a puzzle to me why people should force themselves to introduce a strange accentuation for this class of names when we have in English such words as root, boot, moot, mood, etc. Then there is i in Effendi, Mofti, Madhi, Hajji, Maji, and such like endings, where the double e in the place of the i will give the Oriental word the truest sound. I have heard, again and again, well-educated men make laughable mistakes in pronouncing similar words, as they read them with a, u, or i. The sound of the final i in the above-mentioned words has also an equivalent in English in the double e, as tree, fee, thee, knee, etc. So also the i other than the final letter in the words Mardin, Harim, Hamid, and Al-Rashid. These ought to be Hareem, Hameed, and Rasheed.

As there are two sounds for the c or k in Arabic, and other Semitic words, one soft like the c in Canaan, and the other strong like the sound of the ck at the end of knock or block, I have used c for the former and k for the latter. So also in regard to the soft and hard s. For the former I used one s, and for the latter double s. For the guttural h in Arabic I have used double h like those in Mohhammed and Ahhmed. It is so difficult to distinguish between the different articulations of certain Arabic letters which very often prove a stumbling-block to those who do not possess the power of pronouncing them, I will give a few examples to show them: A word with double s like Ssib means to pour out; but the word sib written with one s is to swear; isslib to crucify, but islib with one s is to plunder. So also with the hard k, Kkalb means heart, and kalb with one k dog; Kkurd means monkey, and with a single k means Coord commonly known as Kurd.

I must take the opportunity, before I conclude, to acknowl-

edge with grateful feeling the kind aid rendered me by my friends, Mr. W. H. Rylands, the secretary of the Society of Biblical Archæology, and the Reverends Henry Jones and M. F. Coates,—the former for plans, and the latter for photographing for me several plates connected with my discoveries. I am also indebted to Messrs. M. A. Mansell & Co. for supplying me with a few photographs of the bas-reliefs I discovered in Assur-bani-pal's palace.

I likewise acknowledge, with gratitude, the aid rendered me by my friend, Professor Robert W. Rogers, of the Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., in looking over and arranging the manuscript of the work, which has been intrusted to his able and kind care. This he has done without making himself in any way responsible for any view which I have expressed.

H. RASSAM.

7 POWIS SQUARE, BRIGHTON, January, 1897.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is a sense in which the rediscovery of the Assyrians and Babylonians may be said to be as interesting as a romance. These two great peoples were lost to human history. No word which they had spoken, no thought which had swayed their lives, no deed which they had done, had come down directly to us. It was only as the Greek historian, when speaking of the achievements of his own race ; or the Latin, as he recounted the mighty deeds of imperial Rome ; or Hebrew prophet, poet, or historian, dwelling with measured word on his own glorious history,—it was only as these touched upon the Assyrians, in passing, that we could learn anything of these mighty peoples and the civilizations which they founded and led. This strange absence of direct information had an element of the mysterious in it. Our knowledge of the history of Greece and of Rome had continuity ; our knowledge of Assyria and of Babylonia was fragmentary, disjointed, and, at times, conflicting. Even the cities of these great peoples were lost, as Rome and Athens never were. Babylon was buried in a mud-mound ; Nineveh was so thoroughly forgotten that for ages her site was unknown, so that a cultivated Greek, leading home his broken army of ten thousand men, passed right by it, and never knew that beneath the mud and sand lay the remains of vast palaces.

This dependence of knowledge upon Greek and Latin and Hebrew no longer obtains. We now know from Assyrian and Babylonian books the main course of that great history, the words and the thoughts of those powerful peoples, and the very daily life of their cities and hamlets. This knowledge has come

to us by slow and painful steps. Cities long buried must be dug up, books long unseen must be deciphered and then read. It is a twofold operation. The explorer in the field, directing a force of men, does the primary work ; the patient and quiet scholar in museum and library follows after, and tells what he has found, sets the new discovery in its relation to previous knowledge, and so reconstructs the life of a lost age.

Among all the earlier explorers and excavators, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam stands forth as a man of distinguished service. He first struck the spade into many a mound almost unknown. He brought to Europe many a long-lost book. It is well that after a long circle of years he has gathered together all his notes and all his memories, to set forth an account of his discoveries, and to tell how he made them. This book contains that narrative ; but it does not stop there. It tells of long journeys over hills and across deserts in the Semitic Orient. It describes many a conversation with people all too little known. It tells of many an Oriental custom, hoary with age, and full of instruction for the modern student of the Bible. I have read the book in manuscript and in proof, and found much of interest and of enlightenment in its story. I commend it for exactly what it is—the record of useful deeds by a capable and patient explorer, and feel sure that many will find light and knowledge in it.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, MADISON, N. J.

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ASSHUR AND THE LAND OF NIMROD.

CHAPTER I.

THE interest in Assyrian discoveries is, I believe, still as great as when, nearly fifty years ago, the marvelous success of Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Layard's expeditions to the two ancient kingdoms of Assyria and Babylonia became known. The story was so well told by himself in the interesting works entitled "Nineveh and its Remains," and "Nineveh and Babylon," that I need not dwell upon their importance to the literary, religious, and scientific world, as they are too universally known to require any praise from me. Suffice it to say that on his return from his second mission to Mesopotamia his valuable discoveries excited so much interest in England that the trustees of the British Museum determined to continue the researches; so they obtained a further grant from Government for that purpose. Mr. Layard had suffered so much from the common fever of the country that he did not care to venture again to that inhospitable clime, and on his declining to go out to the East again I was selected by the trustees to proceed to Mossul to take charge of the excavations under the general control of Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson. I accepted the honor with much reluctance and grief, as I had always enjoyed traveling with Mr. Layard, and entertained very great pleasure in working under him.

I was fortunate enough to meet with a companion of the name of Berrington, who was desirous of visiting Assyria and Babylonia, and any one who has traveled on horseback in the lands of the Bible can well appreciate my feeling when I say that there can be nothing more pleasant than to fall in, particularly on such a journey, with a person who is both sociable and agreeable, and I am glad to say that I found these traits to be the characteristics of my friend. We left England at the end of August, 1852, in a Liverpool steamer, bound for Alexandretta, and as she was one of

those slow trading vessels, it took us just three weeks to reach that Syrian port. We met there Lord Bury, who had just arrived from Europe in a French steamer, and was going to Jerusalem. I had heard that he was going to India by way of Mossul, Baghdad, and the Persian Gulf; but, on meeting him at the British Consulate, and asking him if he had that intention, he said that he wished, in the first place, to visit the Holy Land, and would come to Mossul afterwards. He did not make his appearance, however, at that town till three months later.

After having staid a few hours at Alexandretta to hire the requisite number of riding and luggage horses, and to buy the necessary provisions to take us to Aleppo, we started on our journey, and reached that place after three days' march.

When Mr. Layard and I passed through Alexandretta a few months before, we left most of our traveling kit at the British Consulate, so that on the present expedition I brought very few things with me for the journey, fully relying on what we had left at that port. My disappointment can well be realized, however, when I found that they had been taken by the artist who was sent before me by the British Museum authorities to make drawings of the sculptures discovered in Assyria. After the departure of Mr. Layard, there was no help for it but to make shift till I arrived at Aleppo, where I provided myself with the articles required for the long journeys.

After spending three days in the purchase of provisions and other necessary articles for the road, and engaging fresh animals to take us to Mossul, as those which brought us from Alexandretta only ply between the latter place and Aleppo, we started for Beera-jeek, where the Euphrates is crossed. To our great dismay we found, on arriving near the ferry, that the annoyance of five days' quarantine was awaiting us on account of the cholera then existing to the west of the Euphrates. We were allowed, however, to remain in our tents on the bank of the river opposite the town of Beerajeeek; and as the doctor of the quarantine and other officials paid us daily visits, and made themselves very agreeable, we managed to pass the time without feeling the least dull. As soon as we were allowed pratique, we crossed the Euphrates in those antiquated, flat-bottomed boats which would frighten a person unaccustomed to them into the belief that they would go to pieces before they reached the opposite bank. Moreover, they are generally

ankle-deep with bilge-water; and as they take in as many laden animals as the boat can hold, the unhappy passengers have to keep out of the animals' way by hanging anyhow on the rough timber which is rudely nailed to the sides of the vessel. No sooner does the boat get into mid-channel than the beasts begin to get restive; and if there should happen to be a vicious horse or mule amongst them, a regular stampede follows. My wonder has always been that, with such a commotion among so many animals, the boat is not capsized, seeing that, besides the animals, which are crowded into a boat about twenty feet in length by ten broad, no less than fifty or sixty men, women, and children are huddled into them pell-mell. Of course the female portion of the native travelers fare the worse, as they are huddled together in the bottom of the boat without any care as to whether they are smeared with bilge-water or not. It was, however, my rule not to allow any passengers into the boat I was in, excepting those who belonged to my party, or any woman who was waiting for an opportunity to cross the river.

As soon as we arrived at Beerajeeek, we hurried on to Mossul by way of Diarbekir, Midhiat, and Jazeerah, crossing the western branch of the Tigris twice below the former place, as we wished to travel along the foot of the Koordistan Mountains. The river being very shallow at this time of the year (the beginning of October), this route saved us nearly five hours' ride by avoiding the circuitous course of the stream.

After our arrival at Jazeerah, other travelers made their appearance; but instead of taking up their abode in the town, as we did, they pitched their tents on the bank of the Tigris near the bridge of boats. Soon afterwards a man came from that quarter to find out who we were, and I was not a little surprised to learn that the camp belonged to Mr. Kennett Loftus, who was attached to the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission, under Colonel (afterwards General Sir Fenwick) Williams, who was proceeding to Mossul from Persia to take charge of the British Museum explorations in Assyria. On my going to see him, he was as much surprised as I was when I first heard of his mission, to hear that I had been sent by the trustees of the British Museum to superintend the excavations, as he himself was proceeding thither on the same errand at the direction of Colonel Rawlinson. He told me that the Boundary Commission had been broken up, and that Colonel

Williams had gone to Constantinople, and all his followers were returning to their respective homes; that Colonel Rawlinson had written to him to come down to Mossul to carry on the researches for the British Museum; but now that he knew I had been sent out from the headquarters to carry on the work, he would go on to Baghdad. After spending two days at Jazeerah, we all started together for Mossul, which we reached in five days.

At Tel-Caif, a large Chaldean village about ten miles from Mossul, I found a considerable number of my Mossul friends and relatives awaiting my arrival, among whom was Mr. Hodder, the artist of the Museum, dressed in the full costume of the country.

After having crossed the bridge of boats leading from Assyria to Mesopotamia, and reaching the gate of the city, a Moslem butcher of the town, with whom I used to deal, killed a fine ram in front of my house, the flesh of which he said he had vowed to distribute amongst the poor for my safe return. We all took up our quarters at the hospitable house of my eldest brother, Christian Rassam, the British vice-consul at Mossul; and his amiable and courteous English wife acted the hostess with her wonted liberality and attention. All English travelers who visited Mossul during her life-time, must have appreciated, I am sure, her kind demeanor and the perfect way she acted the hostess to weary and houseless travelers. There being no hotels or lodging-houses at that time in any of the large towns of Mesopotamia, the unexpected hospitality in an English house, coupled with the blessing of sleeping in a comfortable bed, with clean sheets and feather pillows, after a rough journey of twenty or thirty days, was welcomed with more than double enjoyment.

I learned, after my arrival at Mossul, that the local authorities were excavating at the mound of Nebee-Yonis, and that M. Place, the French consul at Mossul, was carrying on researches for the Louvre, at Khorsabad and in other parts of Assyria. English excavations were also being conducted on a small scale, under my brother's direction, at Koyunjik; but as I had been told that the French had sent some gangs of workmen to excavate in the neighborhood of Nimroud, I dispatched some workmen forthwith with an overseer to that mound for fear of our rival taking possession of it.

A few days before I reached Mossul, an inhabitant of Nebee-

Yonis,* while digging in his house near the mosque, had come upon an Assyrian monolith, which afterwards proved to be one of the huge human-headed bulls, similar to those found at Khorsabad and Koyunjik. He came immediately to inform my brother of the fact, and as the latter deemed it advisable to send an Englishman to make a tentative examination of the ruin, he sent for Mr. Hodder, and asked him to proceed forthwith to the mound with a few workmen, and see what the discovery was, and, if possible, to make a drawing of the monument. On reaching the house, however, Mr. Hodder was not allowed to approach the discovered objects, much less was he permitted to dig there; and, instead of going at once to report the matter to my brother, he went direct to his house, and did not appear again until the next day, when it was too late to do anything, as the local authorities had already got scent of the discovery, and would not allow any one to carry on the digging. We learned afterwards that M. Place had also heard of the new find, and early the next morning he went to the place to try and examine the ruin; but he likewise had also been prevented from digging there. Thinking that he could prevail upon the governor of Mossul, Hilmi Pasha, to assist him in inducing the owner of the old remains to allow further excavations in his house, he went without loss of time to Government House, but found his excellency was too wide awake for him, because, no sooner had Hilmi Pasha heard of the discovery than he began to fill himself with the most sanguine expectations of finding a treasure-trove, or some other fabulous store of precious metal, by which he would be able to replenish the Imperial exchequer. M. Place was told, therefore, that the Ottoman Government was as much in want of antiquities as the French and English were; whereupon Hilmi Pasha sent then and there the chief of police to the spot, with as many convicts as they could muster, to explore the ruin.

The day after my arrival at Mossul I visited our excavations at Koyunjik and those of the Turks at Nebes-Yonis, in company with Messrs. Loftus and Berrington. When we arrived at the latter place we found that there had just been uncovered a human-headed bull, with a gigantic figure of a man adjoining it, holding a lion under his arm; but both without any inscription. The gov-

* That part of Nineveh adjoining the mound of Koyunjik, supposed to contain the tomb of the prophet Jonah.

ernor of Mossul was good enough to allow me to take copies of all inscriptions found, for the purpose of sending them to Colonel Rawlinson to decipher. He asked me at the same time to send one of my experienced diggers to work with his men, and show them how the excavations were to be conducted; this answered my purpose admirably, as my man brought me daily reports of what was going on. Notwithstanding all their anxiety to discover hidden treasures, the workmen of the Ottoman authorities, being inexperienced, and hampered with heavy chains as convicts, had some difficulty in making any progress with their work; and the first time I went down into their trenches I could not help laughing at the result of their labors. There was no idea of system; therefore the diggings were most irregular, and the tunnels they tried to burrow looked more like the work of those who merely wanted to search for treasure than to uncover an ancient building. The amount of work done by them in one day with four gangs of men I could excavate in a quarter of the time.*

The Mossul local authorities were not able to carry on the research for more than eight or nine months, as they found it rather expensive to dig there, as the village of Nebee-Yonis is owned by different natives, and every inch of ground had to be purchased. Both M. Place and myself were quite willing to take up the work abandoned by the Turks; but as Hilmi Pasha objected to the French digging there, he could not, as a matter of etiquette, allow me to do so. He got over the difficulty of creating jealousy between M. Place and myself by telling us that he could not allow any one to dig there without a special order from the Porte, which, of course, he knew could never be obtained, inasmuch as both the guardians of the shrine of the prophet Jonah and the fanatical portion of the inhabitants would at that time have most unquestionably opposed our application at Mossul and Constantinople. Moreover, the landlords who might have ventured to sell us their houses, would have asked such enormous prices that it would have

* To carry on the work I always employed different gangs, each composed of seven men, and set them to excavate some distance from each other, with an overseer to superintend them. The gang, generally speaking, consisted of one digger, one basket-filler, and five basket-carriers. The latter carried the débris away from the trenches or tunnels; but these were sometimes increased or diminished according to the distance the rubbish had to be carried.

been, at least as far as I was concerned, utterly impossible to accede to their demands with the limited funds placed at my disposal. The consequence was, I gave up at that time all hopes of excavating there.

The only valuable remains the Ottoman authorities found at Nebee-Yonis, besides the human-headed bulls and gigantic figures, were a bronzed lion and an inscribed marble tablet, commonly known as the Nebee-Yonis inscription of Sennacherib, containing the warlike exploits of that monarch. I was fortunately allowed to take a copy of the inscription, and send it to Colonel Rawlinson to decipher. From its reading by different Assyrian scholars, it appears that this tablet gives an official account of the invasion by Sennacherib of Judea, Phoenicia, and Armenia, and of the constant warfare between him and the Babylonians and Elamites.*

In the meantime I contented myself with carrying on my researches at Koyunjik, Nimroud, Kalaa-Shirgat, and other small mounds in Assyria proper, and in that part of Mesopotamia in the vicinity of Mossul. I was to some extent curtailed in my diggings at Koyunjik, because I found, on arriving at Mossul, that M. Place had asked and obtained the permission of Colonel Rawlinson to excavate in the northern portion of the mound; and, although he had not commenced work there when I arrived at Mossul, he was expected to do so ere long. I took the earliest opportunity, however, of placing some workmen to dig at a spot as near as possible to the limit of the French ground, and appointed other gangs to try some sites at Nimroud which had not been thoroughly examined by Mr. Layard. While these explorations were being carried on at Koyunjik and Nimroud, I employed my time in the removal of some sculptures from the Palace of Sennacherib discovered by Mr. Layard, which the trustees of the British Museum wished to have sent to England. The most important of these were the bas-reliefs called "The Siege of Lachish."† I also had to select, pack, and send to Baghdad, for the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, some sculptures from the Nimroud palaces, which were duplicates of those

* For translations of these texts of Sennacherib, which refer to the campaigns in Judah, see "Records of the Past," First Series, Vol. XI, p. 45, and also the newest versions by Professor Robert W. Rogers, in "Records of the Past," Second Series, Vol. VI, pp. 80 ff.

† Translated by Professor Rogers, "Records of the Past," Second Series, Vol. VI, p. 83.

chosen and forwarded to England by Mr. Layard for the British Museum.

After a little while our excavations at Koyunjik began to show some signs of interest at the southern end of the mound, about two hundred feet to the northeast of Sennacherib's palace. We first came upon fragments of sculptures, inscribed and painted bricks, ancient pottery, and other Assyrian remains, which were mixed up in utter confusion with *débris*; but the deeper we went down, the more perfect were the bas-reliefs, though a few only were in perfect condition, and resembled the sculptures found at Nimroud. Amongst these, I found eight bas-reliefs, elegant both in style and finish,—two representing the king sitting in a hand chariot drawn by two officers and two eunuchs, and the head of the shaft being ornamented with a figure-head of a horse; three containing warriors with uncovered heads, carrying maces and vessels; the other three slabs had four figures on them, male and female musicians, with eunuchs wearing fish-tail long caps, the whole group bearing Assyrian instruments of music, such as drums, tambourines, dulcimers, and cymbals. The representation of the ministers, who seem to be walking before the king, is remarkable for the splendid style of their dress; and one in particular, who seems to be the chief, is gorgeously dressed, and the ornamentation of his drapery is splendidly delineated.

After having excavated for about a week, I came to the conclusion that all the relics we were finding did not properly belong to the place, but that they must have been thrown down there pell-mell from different ancient buildings. The ditch had to be enlarged as we proceeded downwards, until it grew to be nearly three hundred feet in circumference; and we continued to discover ancient relics to the depth of forty feet from the surface.

It has been supposed by some that this was a site of a palace or temple; but although a part of the *débris* had certainly some signs of masonry, I could, nevertheless, find no trace of a wall or foundation in the large area I excavated. The late Mr. George Smith asserts that, according to the Assyrian inscriptions, there were at least four temples in the space between the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal, two temples dedicated to Ishtar, the goddess of Nineveh, a temple to Nebo and Merodach, and a Ziggurat, or temple tower.

After we had penetrated about fifteen feet downwards, we dis-

covered, lying flat in the trench, a perfect obelisk made of white calcareous stone, with apex of three steps. It measured nine feet six inches in height, and six feet three inches round its square base. It is not a perfect square, two of the sides being wider than the others. On each side there are eight small bas-reliefs, which run continuously round the obelisk; that is to say, the lines of panels do not end on each side as on the black marble obelisk of Shalmaneser II, found by Mr. Layard at Nimroud, in 1846. These panels, with the inscriptions, fill about two-thirds of the upper part of the monument. This relic, which is now in the British Museum, belonged to the reign of Assur-nazir-pal, the father of Shalmaneser II, and represents the various exploits of that monarch, who flourished 885-860 B. C.

Afterwards I found in another locality, about halfway between Sennacherib's palace and that of Assur-bani-pal, which I discovered six months afterwards, the upper part of another obelisk of white calcareous stone, ornamented with a bas-relief and inscription, and belonging to the same king. Sir Henry Rawlinson was of opinion that it had been erected at Elassar (the present Kalaa-Shirgat), as the second column of the inscription treats principally of the buildings belonging to that city; but other Assyrian scholars attribute it to Tiglath-Pileser I, who flourished about 1120 B. C., on account of some expressions which tally with portions of the long inscription of that monarch on three terra-cotta cylinders found at Kalaa-Shirgat by Sir Henry Layard and myself. Unfortunately the inscription on the broken obelisk is very much defaced; but from all that can be made out, it seems that the left-hand column contains an account of the repairs made to the city of Asshur, supposed to be the present Kalaa-Shirgat.

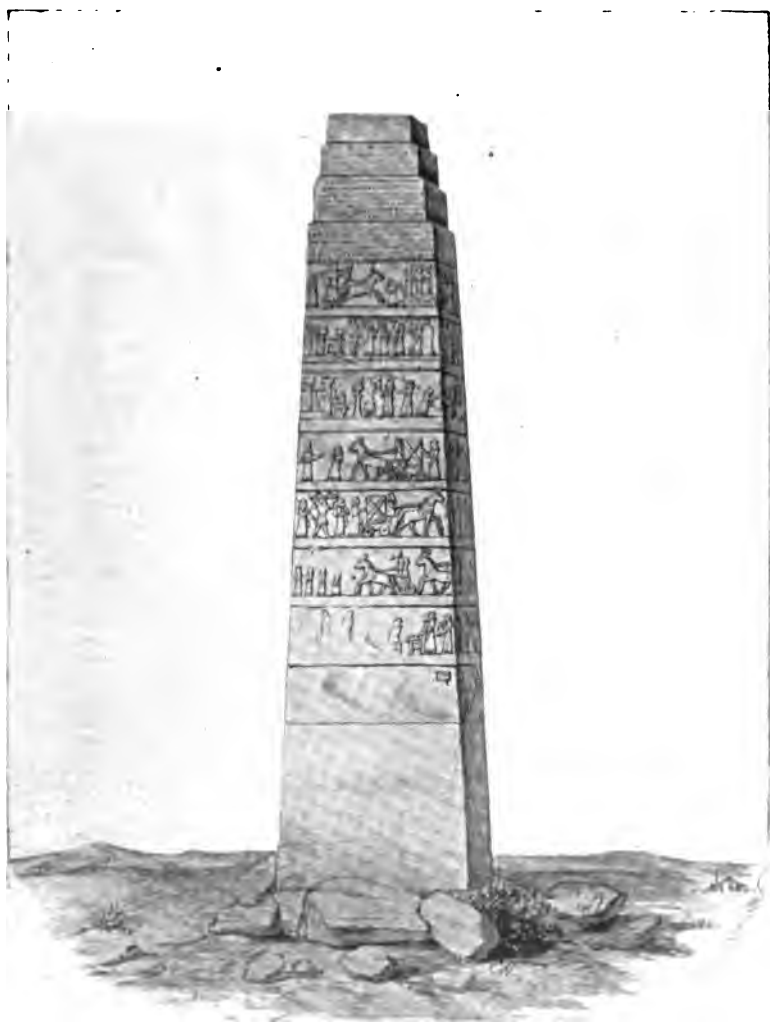
We also found in the same ditch a statuette of a naked female figure, without either head or legs, with seven lines of inscription on the back showing that Assur-bal-kala, son of Tiglath-Pileser, was the king by whom it was dedicated. This torso is supposed to be that of the goddess Beltis, or Venus of the Assyrians.

In different parts of the mound at Nimroud I was also fortunate enough to find some valuable monuments of the old Assyrian grandeur. At the southeast palace I brought to light some new chambers lined with coarse sandstone blocks, and in one of them were found four statues, which have been identified with the Assyrian and Babylonian deity Nebo. Two of the figures have

twelve lines of inscription round the body, and represent the god with clasped hands; the other two, which bear no inscription, hold a square basin in their hands, as if to receive the blood of the sacrifice offered to them. These four statues were placed in pairs, at the two corners at one end of the hall, at right angles with one another. Those two bearing inscriptions were so placed as to face each other, looking north and south, while the other statues carrying the basins were situated in the same line, at the main wall of the chamber facing the east. The inscription states that they were set up at Calah (the present mound of Nimroud) for Rimmon-Nirari and his queen, Sammaramat (Semiramis), and Nebo is invoked as "the inspector of the heavens and the earth," "he who hears from afar," "the sustainer," "lord of lords, who has no equal in power," etc. According to the opinion of some Assyriologists, Nebo was originally worshiped in Babylon; and Pul was the first Assyrian king who introduced this deity into the Assyrian Pantheon. It seems certain that in the earliest ages Nebo was the chief deity worshiped in Babylon, and his temple was at Borsippa, now called Birs-Nimroud. The names of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebo-polassar, Nabonidus, and others, show that Nebo, or Nabu, the guardian of the Babylonians, in much the same manner as "Allah" (Hebrew, אלה, *Alloh*—the God of revelation), is used now among the Arabic speaking peoples, and in the same sense as the Greeks used the word *Theos*. Two of these statues are now in the British Museum, where they are placed between the Nimroud and Koyunjik galleries.*

At the entrance of the hall in which the four statues were found, two other colossal figures of Nebo, measuring about eleven feet in height, were discovered. One of them was broken in pieces, but the other was perfect. They had their arms crossed, apparently in an attitude of meditation, like those in the British Museum; but they bore no inscription. Upon the head of each figure was the horned cap, and their robes were decorated, like other sculptures, with embroidery and fringes. It is a pity that I was not able at that time, from want of funds, to send the perfect figure to England, because, on returning to Nimroud some time ago, I found that it had been very much injured, the features being quite de-

* I believe that when these statues were set up in the temple they were covered with gold-leaf, of which the enemy stripped them when the Medo-Babylonian army destroyed Nineveh.



**OBELISK OF ASSUR-NAZIR-PAL, KING OF ASSYRIA (885-860 B. C.), FOUND
IN THE MOUND AT NIMROUD.**

faced. I left the statue covered up with earth, as it would have cost us a good deal to remove; but other explorers, at some later time, had uncovered it, and left it to the mercy of the Arabs, who deemed it a sacred duty to throw stones at it; for they looked upon it as an "idol of the infidels."

In the adjoining chamber, to which evidently the two colossal figures of Nebo formed the entrance, I discovered a stone monolith similar in form to the rock tablets of Bavian and Nahr-al-calb, rounded at the top, and upon which was represented in high relief the figure of Shamshi-Rimmon, the son of Shalmaneser. It was of hard fine limestone, and carved in the same style as that found by Sir Henry Layard in the same mound, at the temple near the pyramid. The latter belonged to Assur-nazir-pal, the builder of the northwest palace at Nimroud, and grandfather of Shamshi-Rimmon. Both of the stelae are shaped alike, and in appearance they almost resemble each other, both as regards the attitude of the kings which are represented on them, and the usual mythic Assyrian symbols with which they are decorated. The one I discovered is a little smaller, but in perfection and relief equals that found by Sir Henry Layard. The back and the arched frame are carved with a cuneiform inscription in characters of the archaic type. It stood in its original position, when found, upon a pedestal hewn in one solid block, with the back fixed hard against the wall as if for the purpose of preserving the inscription from injury. To save expense, I had to break off the pedestal before it could be removed to send to England.

Professor A. H. Sayce, one of the most eminent Assyrian scholars, has given a translation of the inscription in the "Records of the Past." *

In the center of the Nimroud mound, which is called in Sir Henry Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon" the Center Palace, I discovered heaps upon heaps of all kinds of sculptures. Many were defaced, and others were in fragments; they had evidently been collected there from different parts of the mound, where some portion of the old palaces had been found to be falling to decay. Here I also came across some pieces of a large obelisk, made of coarse black basalt; but, although a large ditch was dug round the spot, unfortunately I could not find the remainder of the pieces to enable

* "Records of the Past," Vol. I, p. 9.

Assyrian scholars to determine its history. We have been able to determine, however, from the fragments recovered, that when perfect it greatly exceeded in size the other two obelisks found at Nimroud and Koyunjik, belonging respectively to the reigns of Shalmaneser and his father, Assur-nazir-pal. This second Nimroud obelisk belongs also to the reign of Assur-nazir-pal, the builder of the northwest palace. The engraving of the different subjects is better finished than those on the other obelisks; but, like them, it treats of the warlike adventures of that great Assyrian king, who is represented, on the only perfect panel found, standing on a castle, with ministers speaking to him, while other attendants are weighing something like gold bullion outside it.

During the same expedition to Assyria I visited Kalaa-Shirgat twice for the purpose of examining again its ruins. Although Sir Henry Layard had carried on some excavations in it during his second expedition to Mesopotamia, and had found there very little to reward him for his trouble, yet the mound is so extensive, and the spot is so famous in history, as being the first city built by Asshur when he went forth out of the land of Shinar,* which he had named after him, that both Colonel Rawlinson and myself thought it necessary to try it again.

M. Place had been digging there before I arrived at Mossul in 1852, and it seems that he found nothing to repay him for the expense and trouble he went to. The consequence was, he had never thought of excavating there again until he heard of my intention to go to that place myself. This was very unfortunate, because it is a known fact that, whenever the British and French interests clash in foreign lands, there is sure to be jealousy and ill-feeling created; and, although I always avoided such unhappy results, my public duty forced me sometimes to brave it out.† Without making my object known, I had everything prepared for the

* Genesis x, 11.

†As far as I was concerned, I tried all I could to be on good terms with M. Place. As soon as I arrived at Mossul, a deputation came to me from his Jeboor workmen, who were excavating at Khorsabad, asking me to employ them. Most of them had formerly worked in Sir Henry Layard's excavations under my superintendence, and, as I considered it a mean and unwise policy to do so, I told them that if they wished to please me, I would rather they remained where they were; and that the more they were faithful to their employer, the more I should be pleased.



STATUE OF THE GOD NEBO.

expedition, and only awaited the marriage of one of my brothers, which was going to take place shortly. Fortunately, M. Place, thinking that I would not leave Mossul before my brother's wedding, did not make the necessary haste; but I myself, hearing from a reliable quarter, the day before the wedding took place, that M. Place had prepared the required number of workmen to take to Kalaa-Shirgat, and that the Bedouin guide from Firhan, the Shaikh of the Shammer Arabs, had actually arrived at Mossul to escort the French party, I gave up all idea of being present at the marriage ceremony, and at once ordered a raft to be made large enough to carry me and the necessary provisions and implements for eight or ten gangs of workmen.

Although my explorations were mainly carried on at Koyunjik and Nimroud, I had, nevertheless, a large number of workmen employed upon other mounds in the neighborhood of Mossul; and as I was always in the habit of sending Arab laborers with their provisions and digging plant, no notice was taken of my movements when the raft was being built, nor of the dispatch of some trustworthy workmen from Koyunjik to Nimroud.* The only men intrusted with the secret of my real intentions were two Arab overseers, who had worked under me in Sir Henry Layard's time; one of whom was named Mahmood Alfaraj, whose fidelity and praiseworthy conduct I shall have often to notice in the course of my narrative. Making all the haste I could to reach Nimroud by raft, I took Mr. Hodder, the artist, a part of the workmen, and the overseers with me, and the remainder went down by land with my saddle-horse. As soon as the requisite number of men were selected from Nimroud to complete the gangs required, Mr. Hodder, my servants, and I started on the raft, and the overseers, with the bulk of the workmen, numbering about ninety, followed us for two days along the eastern bank of the river, until we came to within three miles of the mound of Kalaa-Shirgat. At this point the workmen had to cross the river on the raft to join me, and proceeded to the ruin by land. They forded the Zab a little above its junction with the Tigris. This was easily accomplished, because in winter both rivers are very shallow, and can be forded on foot in several places; but as I wanted the workmen to cross the latter river at a certain spot

* This Assyrian site, where I was carrying on excavations, stands one-third of the way on the eastern side of the Tigris, between Mossul and Kalaa-Shirgat, the latter being situated on the western bank.

where the hilly banks terminate, and the water is very deep, I found it necessary to let them have the raft to take them across in companies.

As I mentioned before, the rivers in Assyria and Mesopotamia being very shallow during the winter months, especially in December and January, when the rain in the plains is not very heavy, and the mountains at the source of the Euphrates, Tigris, and the two Zabs, are covered with snow, the progress on a river by raft is very slow. Nevertheless, as I had to take the workmen from Mossul and Nimroud with the provisions and plant necessary for such an expedition, I deemed it expedient to proceed by water to Kalaa-Shirgat rather than by land. The distance between Kalaa-Shirgat and Mossul is about sixty miles; and when the river is high, as it is in spring, a small raft like mine ought to make the voyage in less than twenty-four hours, as one can then travel day and night; but when the water is low, it takes at least three days to go the same distance, especially as it is not easy to guide the raft at night on account of the shoals and dams which impede the passage. On that occasion especially, I was obliged to halt soon after sunset to give the workmen rest, and enable them to have their meals.

The first evening we halted, after we left Nimroud, a messenger arrived from Mossul bringing me a letter from my brother, the then British vice-consul at Mossul, in which he told me that M. Place had complained officially to him about my expedition to Kalaa-Shirgat, which site, he said, belonged to the French, inasmuch as he had already carried on some excavations there, and had spent a good deal of money to secure the right of digging in the mound. I certainly could not understand the logic of M. Place's argument, when I knew that if any one had a right to dig there more than others it was ourselves, as Sir Henry Layard was the first who made any discoveries in that mound; nor could I understand how M. Place, by obtaining the protection of the chief of the Shammar Arabs, possessed the exclusive privilege of digging there. The place was crown property; and although both the French and ourselves were allowed, by virtue of the firmans granted to our respective Governments, to excavate in any ground belonging to the State, as a matter of etiquette no agent of any national museum attempted to interfere with the operations of the other. To speak for myself, I always refrained from excavating in any place where other agents were conducting their special researches, particularly



**MONOLITH OF SHAMSHI-RIMMON II, KING OF ASSYRIA (824-811
B. C.), SON OF SHALMANESER II.**

when they had been fortunate enough to come upon ancient remains. On this account, therefore, I did not consider the objection of M. Place about my having gone to Kalaa-Shirgat in any way justified his interference; hence, I gave no heed to his complaint. The same evening we heard that some workmen of the French had been seen with the Bedouin guide making haste to reach Kalaa-Shirgat, as they wished to be before us in taking possession, which, in their opinion, would give them the right of preventing my digging there altogether, more especially as they had secured the protection of the chief of the Shammer Arabs, which I had not. In fact, I very seldom went on such expeditions under the protection of any chief, as I always had with me a large body of armed faithful Arabs, some of whom were well known in the country, and belonged to influential families. At the same time I kept an open house, and entertained any chief or chiefs who wished to visit me. No sooner did my workmen hear of the movements of those of the French than they were seized with inexpressible frenzy, and began, as they are wont to do on such occasions, to sing the war-cry and dance about as if they were demented. Most of them wanted to cross the river then and there, and push on so as to reach Kalaa-Shirgat before our rivals; and others actually tried to swim over to the other side in order to have a free fight with what they called "the intruders." After no end of persuasion, however, I managed to calm them down for the time.

Unfortunately for us, a strong easterly wind sprang up at night, accompanied with rain, which prevented us from resuming our voyage the next morning, because the rafts, which are composed of inflated sheepskins, and covered over with timber, can not make progress against a head wind. As the storm continued, much to our annoyance we were obliged to remain stationary all the following day; which also made it very uncomfortable for my poor Arab followers. We had two small tents, only sufficient to give shelter to the servants, the overseers, and about a dozen more men. The consequence was, the majority of the workmen were drenched to the skin. Fortunately both banks of the Tigris were at that time covered with brushwood and tamarisk-trees, of which the workmen made bonfires, and by this means they managed to keep themselves fairly dry and warm.

We started as early as possible on the following day; and as soon as the Jirnaf Hills were passed, and we were within sight of

the mound of Kalaa-Shirgat, I landed on the Mesopotamia side of the river with Mr. Hodder and our servants. The raft was then sent across the river to bring the workmen over by batches; but I ordered Mahmood Alfaraj, with about a dozen trustworthy Arabs, to cross first, as I wished them to precede us to the mound to take possession of certain good spots, which I described to them, before the employees of the French occupied them. I directed the overseer that, when they arrived there and found that we were the first in the field, to put up a signal on the highest part of the mound, where we had carried on excavations before, in order that I might know from a distance what I was to expect on my arrival. I could not accompany Mahmood Alfaraj and the workmen sent with him to secure possession of the spot, as I had to remain at the river to see the workmen cross over as quickly as possible; but I asked Mr. Hodder to accompany them, in order that he might prevent a row in case our party came in contact with that of the French.

It took the men nearly two hours to cross, as the current of the river was then very rapid; and every time the raft was rowed over, it had to be dragged up the stream for nearly half a mile, that it might reach the opposite landing-place without drifting down the river. An hour after Mr. Hodder and Mahmood Alfaraj left, we were delighted to see the longed-for signal hoisted on the highest peak of Kalaa-Shirgot. At the sight of this, the grateful Arabs on both sides of the river raised such tremendous cries of applause that the very air seemed to rend with their shouts; and they kept it up until we began to move towards our destination. We had not gone half the distance before we heard the sound of the war-cry and a great hubbub coming from the mound, which convinced us that our men had come into collision with those of the French. The Arabs who were with me at once took to their heels to help their comrades in the struggle. I tried all I could to quiet them, but to no purpose, as they said they were certain that their fellow-laborers were being beaten and slaughtered, and their honor could not allow them to hear the sound of the war-cry and not run to their help. As I found that there was nothing for it but to allow the men to run on, I galloped as fast as my horse would take me, through the jungle, to prevent bloodshed. I fully hoped to reach the scene of the strife before my Arab followers, but they beat me, because they knew which way to go, and took short cuts; and being on foot they managed to thread their way through the

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trees and bushes, while I, being on horseback, had to go a round-about way to find a proper path without being either hedged in between two trees or falling headlong into a ditch, of which there were not a few. Our rapid march drove in utter confusion from their haunts the wild boar, hares, hyenas, jackals, foxes, and the other wild animals inhabiting that thicket, and disturbed the roosting of the francolins, partridges, and quails; and if the statement of the Arabs who flew to the rescue is to be believed, they actually saw a lion turn tail as they rushed through the wood.

Happily, I arrived at the scene of conflict just in time to prevent a serious strife; and the first thing I beheld was the Bedouin Shammer guide lying flat on the ground, with one of my superior workmen sitting on him, and threatening him with immediate destruction if he dared to move, while Mahmood Alfaraj was keeping the poor French overseer at bay, to prevent him from ascending the mound. I had very great difficulty in keeping the rival workmen from coming to blows. Mr. Hodder told me that he had tried his best to keep the peace, but without success, as the workmen of the French insisted upon occupying our ground, although they had arrived there long after our own men. To prevent any further quarreling, I had to take both the Shammer guide and the French overseer under my protection until perfect peace was restored. I found out afterwards that the employees of M. Place had come to Kalaa-Shirgat without provisions or implements for digging, and I had actually to supply them with the former until their own came down.

It appeared that, as soon as M. Place had heard of my departure, he sent, under the protection of the Bedouin guide, an overseer with a few workmen to the mound, that they might take possession of the place before I reached it; and although they were mounted, for some reason or other they could not do so in time. The guide was in very low spirits all night, not because he had brought disgrace upon himself, but from fear that his chief, Shaikh Firhan, would punish him for having acted the part of an enemy towards me by escorting a party who came to Kalaa-Shirgat to oust me. He swore, by all that is sacred, that when he left Mossul he had no idea that he was coming to oppose me, and said that he had therefore made up his mind to return to Mossul, and leave the French workmen to protect themselves in the best way they could. The overseer also wanted him to return to Mossul to inform his master

of what had taken place, especially as he himself was in want of provisions, and could not commence work without directions. M. Place was expected to follow in three or four days; but he did not make his appearance, however, till three weeks afterwards, when the expiration of my time of remaining at Kalaa-Shirgat was drawing nigh.

As I only wished to excavate in that part of the mound most likely to furnish valuable antiquities, and where the black sitting statue and the Tiglath-Pileser terra-cotta cylinder had been found by Sir Henry Layard, I told the workmen of the French to dig wherever they liked in the eastern portion of the mound. This they did; but I had also on several occasions to provide them with food, as their provisions were scanty, and they had a good deal of difficulty in obtaining the proper supply from Mossul.

This was not the first time that my workmen came into collision with those of M. Place, because, although I always tried to carry on my explorations a good distance from the French diggings, the rival workmen would somehow or other come in contact. It was left to my lot to go and settle their disputes and bear the annoyances, which were of frequent occurrence.

The mound of Nimroud, in which we have been digging ever since 1845, is about thirty-five miles distant from Khorsabad, the headquarters of the French explorations; and although, as I said before, I always avoided carrying on my excavations anywhere near theirs, nevertheless they would come so near mine as to create a disturbance. Once they came to dig in some mounds not more than one or two miles from Nimroud; and they would have gone so far as to excavate at Nimroud itself, if I had not secured it on my arrival at Mossul, when it was reported to me that they were going to dig there.

On another occasion I had to send a few workmen to a large mound at Shamamag, across the Zab, slightly examined by Sir Henry Layard, but which Sir Henry Rawlinson thought worth trying again. I was too busy at Koyunjik and Nimroud at the time to go there myself, but sent in charge of the men a trustworthy Arab overseer, who was well known in the district; but they had not been at work three days before M. Place went to the place and used his influence with Shaikh Hawwar, the then chief of the Tai Arabs, to have my men turned away, in order that he might take possession of the mound himself. M. Place visited the mound

while my men were working; but as soon as he returned to the encampment of the Tai, some horsemen of that tribe went to the mound, stripped my workmen of their clothes, and drove them away. Fortunately, there was a native of Mossul, of some influence, staying at the time with Hawwar, who interceded for the workmen and got back their clothes, but they lost all the money they had with them. During the time my workmen were thus shamefully treated and turned adrift, the overseer whom I had sent with them was coming back to me as fast as he was able, to inform me of the French consul's intention to excavate there, otherwise, I do not think that either Hawwar or his Arabs would have molested my men. Indeed, the Shaikh afterwards apologized for what he called the fault of his men, but not until M. Place had abandoned the place from want of success. I did not consider it, however, worth either the time or expense to revisit the mound.*

M. Place came to Kalaa-Shirgat three days before I quitted that mound to return to Mossul; and we agreed in a most friendly way how the ground was to be apportioned between us, as we both wished to leave some gangs of workmen to go on with the excavations. He returned to Mossul direct, and I went and visited our explorations at Nimroud on my way to Koyunjik. Mr. Hodder I had to send back to Mossul soon after my arrival at Kalaa-Shirgat, as the place was too dull for him, and he had scarcely anything to do there. It was not long before M. Place recalled his men with disgust, as they found nothing in their excavations save the usual débris of modern buildings, as on a former occasion.

The mound of Kalaa-Shirgat is of a most extraordinary shape and design. It is not like other Assyrian and Babylonian mounds, which stand boldly and distinctly from the natural hills and artificial ancient sites adjoining them. At first sight the mound looks larger than Koyunjik, Nimroud, Niffer, or any other of the huge mounds that abound in Southern Mesopotamia; but on closer examination it is found that the largest portion, which appears to form part and parcel of the ruin, is neither more nor less than a natural hill to which the ancients had joined their artificial platform. Indeed, a large part of it, which looks like other mounds, consists of a light covering of earth not more than two or three feet in depth,

* It may be that the irritability which possessed my men at Kalaa-Shirgat was brought about by their remembering the rough handling their comrades had received when they went to Shamamag.

under which is found concrete soil like the substance of the natural hills around. When approaching it from the south or southeast, nothing can be seen of it excepting the pyramid, as the southern limit joins the natural hills; but when viewed from the north or northwest it appears to be a most stupendous structure, because on that side it is almost perpendicular, and rises above the plain to the height of about one hundred feet. Neither Sir Henry Layard nor myself found there any trace of ancient Assyrian building; and although sometimes we came upon remnants of walls which we thought belonged to an early time, we had to change our minds after having thoroughly examined the ruin. We both found fragments of bas-reliefs, human-headed bulls and lions, with some few inscriptions on stone and brick. We were also fortunate enough to discover buried in the solid sun-dried brick masonry, about ten feet under ground, the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I recorded on the terra-cotta cylinders, all bearing almost the same text. The first was discovered by Sir Henry Layard at the beginning of 1852; the second, exactly like it, I dug out in the following year during my own mission; and the third I also discovered at the end of the same year, on my second expedition to that ruin. This last cylinder is larger and different in shape and size from the former two; but Assyrian scholars have found that it contains the same account of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I as the others. It records the exploits of that Assyrian king, who reigned about 1,100 years B. C., and it is one of the oldest Assyrian records yet found.

These three cylinders were found placed about thirty feet apart, at three of the corners of an almost perfectly square platform. They were buried in solid masonry on the same level, and so I fully expected that we should find the fourth in the other corner; but though I dug away and examined the whole structure, I could find no trace of another cylinder. These were found in an elevation to the west of the pyramid, which evidently contained, in the days of yore, a temple or a small royal edifice, the indication of which is shown by the pieces of human-headed lions and bulls which were scattered in different parts of the mound. Judging from my experience in other localities where ancient Assyrian and Babylonian buildings have been found, I do not believe that there is any standing structure left in Kalaa-Shirgat, but that all the ancient palaces or temples that once existed there must have been utterly and in-

tentionally destroyed by an enemy, and not burned down, as was the case with the palaces at Khorsabad, Koyunjik, and Nimroud.

These annals of Tiglath-Pileser I have become famous in the history of the decipherment of cuneiform writing, because the text was the one used in 1836 for a test as to the true reading of the arrow-headed characters, and proved a great success in determining sundry doubts that existed among the first Assyrian scholars as to the real rendering of certain words. It was agreed that four Assyrian scholars—namely, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Appert—should all translate the inscription simultaneously, but independently of each other; and, with the exception of small minor differences, the translations were the same. Their versions were published in 1857, under the title of the “Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, King of Assyria, B. C. 1150,” and were submitted to the Royal Asiatic Society in that year as a proof of the advance in Assyrian interpretation and the general agreement between the pioneers in the study of cuneiform. The learned Dr. Samuel Birch, the head of the Oriental Department of Antiquities in the British Museum, and president of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, makes the following allusion in his preface to the translation by Sir Henry Rawlinson of this inscription, published in the “Records of the Past:” “On the whole, for its extent and historical information relating to the early history of Assyria, this inscription is one of the most important of the series, showing the gradual advance and rise of Assyria, while, as one of the first interpreted, it presents considerable literary interest in respect to the details of the progress of Assyrian interpretation. It is also nearly the oldest Assyrian text of any length which has been hitherto discovered, and is very interesting from its account of the construction of the temples and palaces made by the king in the early part of his reign.” *

Although Kalaa-Shirgat is only about sixty miles from Mossul, yet it is almost in the desert; and with the exception of a few Arab encampments, belonging to the Jeboor Arabs, which are scattered here and there on both sides of the river Tigris, and are employed in the cultivation of the common food of the Mesopotamian Arabs, called dhirra or millet, not a soul is to be seen further than three

* See translation by Sayce in “Records of the Past,” New Series, Vol. I, pp. 86 ff.

miles from either bank, excepting Bedouin marauders, and caravans traveling with a proper escort. Consequently, whenever an expedition was organized for Kalaa-Shirgat, with the exception of meat and sometimes grain, everything had to be sent from Mossul. The first thing I did, on arriving at that deserted spot, was to have huts built for the workmen and myself, as it is far from pleasant to live in tents in such a place in winter. Formerly wood used to be very plentiful there, both for fuel and building purposes. In spring there was plenty of green food, and so we were well supplied with wild vegetables, including asparagus, mushrooms, and truffles, which the Arabs were quick in finding.

CHAPTER II.

ON my return to Mossul, I labored in vain to find new Assyrian edifices, although my workmen were scouring the country for nearly two hundred miles round; but my great aim was always directed to the examination of the northern corner of the Koyunjik mound, which, in my opinion, had never been thoroughly explored. My difficulty was how to do this without getting into hot water with M. Place. I feared if I did so, and failed, I might displease Colonel Rawlinson, and get into trouble with the trustees of the British Museum. M. Place had, as I have already said, before my arrival at Mossul, asked and obtained the permission of Sir Henry Rawlinson to excavate at the northern corner of Koyunjik; but I have never been able to find out why he did not do so for more than a year.

It must be borne in mind that the mound of Koyunjik is private property, and in order to enable any one to excavate in it, the sanction of the owner must be obtained. The firmans granted by different Sultans to both the British and French Governments were only so far good as to enable the agent of either museum to dig in crown lands; but they did not give him the privilege of digging in private property without the good-will of the landlord. We had, for some years past, been indemnifying the proprietor of Koyunjik for allowing us to excavate in the mound, and I doubt whether he would have liked the French to excavate in his land without his special sanction. He was under great obligation to Sir Henry Layard for assisting him when he met him at Constantinople in August, 1849, the time he was in pecuniary difficulties, and did not know where to turn for help. Moreover, it was an understood, and indeed it is an acknowledged etiquette, that no agent of any museum was to intrude in the sites chosen by the other. I was, therefore, the more jealous of M. Place's intention of extending his researches in our field of operation, which he had not the least right to do. Though I was not unsuccessful in my several excavations, as will be seen from my narrative, I was nevertheless longing to examine the northern portion of the mound of Koyunjik, and was determined to do so, come what might, before my return to Eng-

land. Most fortunately, M. Place never attempted to extend his operations to Koyunjik, because, had he done so, I could not have prevented him, inasmuch as Sir Henry Rawlinson had already apportioned him the locality where he was to excavate. But how was I to manage my project without the risk of being found out and stopped by him was the puzzle, as all the workmen knew that that part of Koyunjik was assigned to the French, and there were always spies ready to carry the news to my rival if they saw that I was excavating in his apportioned ground. So I resolved upon an experimental examination of the spot at night, and only waited for a good opportunity and a bright moonlight for my nocturnal adventure.

Moreover, as the time of my returning home was drawing nigh, I could not afford to lose much time; so, having determined to work out my scheme, I set to it in right good earnest. My most faithful overseer, Mahmood Alfaraj, I had sent to Baghdad, in charge of the British Museum and Crystal Palace sculptures and other antiquities found at the center palace at Koyunjik. But I had another trustworthy overseer, of the name of Lateef Agha, an Albanian, to whom I gave the charge of the enterprise. I myself selected the requisite number of workmen from among our most tried and faithful Arabs, who could be depended upon for secrecy, in order that they might be ready to commence operations as soon as they were wanted. The best of the joke was, not one of the men knew where they were wanted to work until they commenced digging. They expected that I was going to take them to Kalaa-Shirgat again, or send them to dig in some distant place which I did not wish my rivals to know about.

It was on the night of the 20th of December, 1853, that I commenced to examine the ground in which I was fortunate enough to discover, after three nights' trial, the grand palace of Assur-banipal, commonly known by the name of Sardanapalus. When everything was ready I went and marked three places, some distance from each other, in which our operations were to be commenced. Only a few trenches had been opened there in the time of Sir Henry Layard; but on this occasion I ordered the men to dig transversely, and cut deeper down. I told them they were to stop work at dawn, and return to the same diggings again the next night. The very first night we worked there, one of the gangs came upon indications of an ancient building; but though we found among the rubbish

painted bricks and pieces of marble on which there were signs of inscriptions and bas-reliefs, I did not feel sanguine as to the result. The next night the whole number of workmen dug in that spot, and, to the great delight of all, we hit upon a remnant of a marble wall, on examining which I came to the conclusion that it belonged to an Assyrian building which had existed on that spot. The remnant of the bas-relief showed that the wall was standing in its original position, and, though the upper part of it had been destroyed, I was able to judge, from experience, that it had not been brought thither from another building. The lower part of the slab, which contained the feet of Assyrian soldiers and captives, was still fixed in the paved floor with brick and stone masonry, intended to support it at the back. To my great disappointment, after having excavated round the spot a few feet, both the remnant of the bas-relief and the wall came to an end, and there was nothing to be seen save ashes, bones, and other rubbish, evidently the refuse of the barbarous Sassanians who had occupied the spot after the destruction of Nineveh. This put a damper on my spirits, especially as I had on that day reported to both the British Museum authorities and Sir Henry Rawlinson the discovery of what I considered to be a new palace, as I was then fully convinced of its being so. I knew, also, that if I failed to realize my expectations, I should only be found fault with and laughed at for my unrewarded zeal. However, I felt that as I had commenced, so I must go on, even if only to be disappointed. The next night I superintended the work in person, and increased the number of men, placing them in separate gangs around the area, which seemed the most likely place for good results. The remnant of the sculptured wall discovered was on a low level, running upward, and this fact alone was enough to convince an experienced eye that the part of the building I had hit upon was an ascending passage leading to the main building. I therefore arranged my gangs to dig in a southeasterly direction, as I was certain that if there was anything remaining it would be found there. The men were made to work on without stopping, one gang assisting the other. My instinct did not deceive me; for one division of the workmen, after three or four hours' hard labor, were rewarded by the first grand discovery of a beautiful bas-relief in a perfect state of preservation, representing the king, who was afterwards identified as Assur-bani-pal, standing in a chariot, about to start on a hunting expedition, and his attendants handing him

the necessary weapons for the chase. More than half of the upper part of the sculpture came into sight in an instant, as it happened that while the men were busily engaged in digging a deep trench inside what was found afterwards to be a long, narrow saloon, about fifteen feet wide, a large part of the bank which was attached to the sculpture fell, and exposed to view that enchanting spectacle. The delight of the workmen was naturally beyond description; for as soon as the word "Sooar" (images) was uttered, it went through the whole party like electricity. They all rushed to see the new discovery, and after having gazed on the bas-relief with wonder, they collected together, and began to dance and sing my praises, in the tune of their war-song, with all their might. Indeed, for a moment I did not know which was the most pleasant feeling that possessed me, the joy of my faithful men or the finding of the new palace.

On this memorable night I was not in the happiest of moods before I was so amply rewarded with the new discovery, as I had heard that the fact of my digging at night had oozed out in the town of Mossul, which fact did not surprise me, seeing that all the families of my night-workmen knew of their being employed clandestinely somewhere in the neighborhood. Moreover, the other men who were not engaged in the secret nocturnal work, must have seen their fellow-laborers leaving the encampment in the evening, and not returning to their work the next day. The French consul was not the only person I feared would stop me if the news of my digging in what he would call his own ground reached him; but what I dreaded most was that the Ottoman authorities would think that I was digging for treasure, inasmuch as both they and the natives of the place always possessed the absurd idea that we were searching for precious metal, or for a fabulous substance which they called "Elkimia" (alchemy), that transmuted any metal into gold. But when unmistakable success crowned my efforts, and I had no more apprehension of being thwarted, I caused the night-workmen to be changed, and fresh hands appointed in their place to go on with the work during the day; because it was an established rule that whenever one discovered a new palace, no one else could meddle with it, and thus, in my position as the agent of the British Museum, I had secured it for England.

As a matter of course, the news of the discovery of a new palace at Koyunjik spread in a few hours like wildfire in the town of

Mossul and its neighborhood, and brought us hundreds of spectators to see the new discovery. Very few of them, however, were able to satisfy their curiosity, as it was impossible to allow crowds of people to enter the trenches; not only from fear of their being in the way of the workmen, but they might have injured the sculptures and stolen some of the terra-cotta inscribed tablets, which began to appear at the bottom of the saloon. M. Place was at that time superintending the French excavations at Khorsabad; and, naturally, as soon as he heard of my discovery, which had been reported to him from Mossul, he came post-haste to the spot and protested against my having passed the line of demarkation which separated the British Museum excavations from the land assigned to him by Sir Henry Rawlinson. But on my explaining matters, and telling him that Sir Henry Rawlinson had no power to give away ground which did not belong to him, and that it was evident, as the owner of the mound was indemnified by us, it was but right that the British nation should benefit by any discovery made in it, he seemed to be quite satisfied with my reasoning, and before we parted he congratulated me on my good fortune, not forgetting, however, to hint that he intended to appeal to a higher authority.*

I need not say that I felt much relieved after the first outburst of his anger was over, for which I was fully prepared, seeing that he had been for two years in search of such an important discovery, and through a mere oversight had allowed it to slip out of his hands. The fact is, he could not have valued that part of the mound much, and must have assumed that Sir Henry Rawlinson would not have made it over to him if he thought that it was worth keeping.†

* The loss of this prize had such a bad effect upon M. Place's mind, that in the work he published in 1866-69 of his researches, entitled "*Nineve et l'Assyrie*," he quite ignored the fact of my discoveries, but made it appear that Mr. Loftus, and even his artist, Mr. Boucher, were the successful explorers.

† After Sir Henry Rawlinson visited Mossul from Baghdad, in February, 1854, and selected from the newly-discovered palace a number of bas-reliefs, which he considered to be worth sending to the British Museum, he allowed M. Place to choose between seventy and eighty sculptures from the remainder. Thus a part of the sculptures of the palace of Sardanapalus is now exhibited at the Louvre, and a large number were lost through the mismanagement of French agents. In sending them down to Basra on a raft for shipment in a French vessel, which was waiting for them at that port, the whole number, with another valuable collection from Khorsabad, went down to the

Before the day was over, we had cleared out all the upper part of the bas-reliefs in the saloon. I found that they were entirely devoted to a representation of the royal lion-hunt, in which the king is shown as the principal actor. Some of the sculptures were missing, and others very much damaged by fire; but, upon the whole, the remaining bas-reliefs were in a very good state of preservation. The saloon was about fifty feet long by fifteen feet wide, and although the height of the bas-reliefs was only five feet, the room must have been, originally, at least ten feet high; the other five feet, most probably, were built of sun-dried bricks ornamented in color, with hunting or war scenes. I only found about fifteen inches of the wall existing above the sculptures; and in many places signs of painting still existed.

The monarch is represented four times on the sculptures of this saloon. In the first, which has been already described, he is seen to have just entered his chariot, and the attendants are handing him the hunting weapons, while the grooms are busily engaged harnessing the horses; in the second scene he is represented in his chariot, at full speed, chasing a lion, and discharging an arrow at the animal, which is running away, while a second arrow is seen flying through the air. In the same scene the attendants are represented spearing another lion, which had attacked them behind, with dead and wounded lions lying about. The third scene represents the king with his attendants spearing a lion, which had evidently sprung upon the chariot, and, foiled in his revenge, viciously grasps in his terrible jaws the chariot wheel. In the fourth, Assur-bani-pal is seen in close combat with a lion, which has sprung upon him, and his majesty boldly thrusts his dagger through the neck of the lion while the attendants use their spears for the same purpose.

The tires of the king's chariots are bound with sharp, rounded wedges, which look as if they were attached to the wheels for the purpose of cutting through any bone or flesh over which they passed. Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, alludes to the Babylonian army

bottom of the Tigris, below Baghdad. Some efforts were made at the time to recover them, but those who were intrusted with the task did not go the right way to work; and so there they still lie buried in the sand at the bottom of the river. I think that if money and trouble were no object, they could even now be recovered when the Tigris is at its lowest depth in September.

using scythes in their chariots for cutting through anything with which they came in contact, although he does not actually say they were attached to the wheels. He refers to them in his account of the approach of the Babylonian army against Cyrus and his Greek auxiliaries as follows:—

“In front of their line, at considerable intervals from each other, were stationed the chariots called scythed chariots. They had scythes projecting obliquely from the axle-tree, and others under the driver’s seat, pointing to the earth, for the purpose of cutting through whatever came in their way; and the design of them was to penetrate and divide the ranks of the Greeks.” *

In other parts of the palace, Assur-bani-pal is represented in nine different attitudes:

1. The king on foot, leading his horse by the halter, with an attendant leading another horse behind him, while in front there are other attendants exhibiting a dead lion.

2. King on foot, grasping a lion by the throat with his left hand, while the right is engaged in driving a dagger through its body.

3. King on horseback, driving his spear into the mouth of a lion who is springing upon him.

4. King on foot, with a miter-shaped cap on his head, shooting lions.

5. King trying bows, which are handed to him by an attendant, while another is receiving the one that has been tried, and laying it on a heap with others in front of the monarch. Behind are pages supplying his majesty with arrows.

6. King in full gallop, shooting at wild asses. The left arm, thumb, and forefinger of his majesty are protected by a scientifically worked leathern guard, and the royal robe is covered with minute ornaments.

7. King on foot, dragging a lion by the tail with his left hand, while the right (which is defaced in the bas-relief) is evidently raised in the act of striking at the animal.

8. King mitered and robed, pouring libation on a dead lion as a drink-offering, in front of an altar.

9. King reclining on a couch in a garden, with a rug over his

* Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, Book I, chap. vii, sec. 10.

knees, and his queen sitting opposite him, drinking each other's health.*

On the other slabs of the same series, there are men leading horses, followed by a large body of warriors in marching order, going toward the king; men leading dogs for the hunt; dead lions; others in the agony of dying, of which several are shown bristling with arrows and vomiting blood. The suffering of one lioness in particular is beautifully portrayed; resting on her forepaws, with outstretched head, she vainly endeavors to gather together her wounded limbs. Cages containing lions for the chase are sculptured, with eunuchs standing on other cages, and lifting up the bars to let out the imprisoned lions for the king's hunt, the animals being portrayed in every variety of posture, and carved with surprising vigor.† From the representations on these sculptures it is

* It may not be uninteresting to mention that the mode of living among the Assyrians and Babylonians in primitive days agreed more with the present European usages than with those of Biblical lands. We see these ancient nationalities, as represented on the sculptures, using high chairs and tables, while the Orientals of the present day squat down on the ground to eat their meals. We see also even cooks dressing food on high tables. For the last thirty years, however, there has been so much intercourse between the East and the West that the better classes of the people of Turkey, especially the Christians, have adopted many European customs. One of the most interesting bas-reliefs discovered among the Assyrian monuments was a sculpture found by M. Botta in the palace of Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, at Khorsabad, illustrating the well-known European usage of toast-drinking, which shows that the custom was in vogue in Assyria as far back as the eighth century before the Christian era. (Vide Botta's "Monuments de Nineve," Plates 64 and 65.)

† It is noteworthy that very eminent artists and lovers of fine arts have admired the animated portraiture of some of the animals displayed on different sculptures found in Assur-bani-pal's palace; and in Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies" the following allusion is made with reference to the same eulogy:

"The hunting scenes from the palace of Assur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus of the Greeks) are the most perfect specimens of Assyrian glyptic art. They are to be seen in the basement-room devoted to Assyrian art in the British Museum. Sir E. Landseer was wont to admire the truthfulness and spirit of these reliefs, more especially of one where hounds are pulling down a wild ass.

"Professor Rolleston has expressed to me his admiration of a wounded lioness in the same series, where the paralysis of the lower limbs, consequent upon an arrow piercing the spine, is finely rendered." (Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," Vol. I, pp. 512 and 517.)



ASUR-BANI-PAL, ON HORSEBACK, SHOOTING WITH A BOW.

evident that the Assyrian kings preferred having the lions brought to them to chase, rather than following them in their jungle. There is a very pretty scene representing a park with a triumphal arch, on which the king figures again, pursuing his hunting mania. It may be that this representation is an attempt at a perspective view of the king hunting lions at a distance; and what is supposed to be a triumphal arch, is nothing more than the gate of the park through which the monarch is seen following his favorite sport. These bas-reliefs, which are placed in the basement room at the British Museum, are in a good state of preservation, and there is no doubt that they are the most interesting sculptures yet discovered in Assyria, and belong to the period when Assyrian art was at its zenith.

In the center of the same saloon I discovered the library of Assur-bani-pal, consisting of inscribed terra-cotta tablets of all shapes and sizes; the largest of these, which happened to be in better order, were mostly stamped with seals, and some inscribed with hieroglyphic and Phoenician characters. Amongst these records were found the Chaldean accounts of the Creation and Deluge, which were deciphered by different Assyrian scholars.*

The sculptures on the northeast wall of the ascending passage, which in the first instance indicated to me the existence of a new palace, were totally destroyed, with the exception of two broken slabs, in which there remained only the lower part of human figures. Three slabs, however, on the opposite side were in a tolerable state of preservation; they were presented afterwards by Colonel Rawlinson to M. Place for the collection in the Louvre.

After the discovery of the lion-hunt room, I brought as many workmen as I could muster to the northern part of the mound, and placed them to dig in different directions around that spot. From that day forward we continued to discover new chambers and many valuable remains.

Between the ascending passage and the lion-hunt saloon we found a room about twenty-five feet in length by twenty feet in width, totally destroyed; in some parts even the foundation-stones had been removed. To the southwest of this chamber we came upon another passage about the same length as the lion-hunt saloon,

* Recent translations of them may be found in Schrader: "The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament." London, 1885.

but a little narrower, in which some sculptures were found representing an orchard or park. A lion is here seen crouching among reeds and flowers, which are most exquisitely delineated; hunting dogs in leashes are being led by the keepers, and a tame lion is represented walking by the side of an African eunuch, who wears a cap ornamented with feathers.

Immediately behind the lion-hunt saloon, on the southwest of the palace, we came upon a room about twenty feet square, containing battle-scenes and mythological figures. The majority of the bas-reliefs with which the chamber was paneled were in first-rate condition, and most interesting in character, representing the warlike exploits of Assur-bani-pal in Susiana.*

The entrance to this chamber was formed by two pairs of colossal figures; one representing a priest, or some other religious dignitary, wearing the horned cap surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, and a lion-headed and eagle-footed human figure raising a dagger in one hand and holding a mace in the other. A large recess was found in the southwest wall of this chamber, on either side of which was a bas-relief divided horizontally into two compartments, representing in the upper part a human figure with a lion's head and eagle's feet, while in the lower there was a human-headed lion, with its paws stretched out as if in the act of supplication. At the back of the recess was a sculpture representing a most hideous lion-headed monster, with extended jaws, the tail of a scorpion, and the feet of an eagle; resembling very much those monsters found by Sir Henry Layard at the Nimroud temple near the pyramid.† The best of these sculptures, which is well finished and in a good state of preservation, was the one which exhibits the siege of a city, with two lines of inscription, read "Khamana" by both Sir Henry Rawlinson and M. Oppert, in the infancy of Assyrian study. On this interesting bas-relief, scribes are seen writing down on clay tablets, like those found both at Babylonia and Assyria, the account of the battle. At that time I was quite skeptical as to the true reading of Assyrian, or what is commonly called cuneiform writing; but Sir Henry Rawlinson having read it to me when he came up to Mossul from Baghdad, in the month of Feb-

* The best of the sculptures of this chamber were sent to the British Museum; but those found in more or less injured condition were presented to M. Place for the Louvre.

† Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 348.



CLAY TABLET FROM THE LIBRARY OF ASSUR-BANI-PAL, KING OF ASSYRIA (668-626 B. C.), CONTAINING PART OF THE ASSYRIAN ACCOUNT OF CREATION.



ruary, 1854, I was curious to know what rendering other reputed Assyrian scholars would give it. It happened that at that time the learned French savant, M. Oppert, visited Mossul on his way to Europe from Baghdad, and, of course, he was very much interested in seeing what had been found; and while I was showing him over the Susiana chamber in the palace of Assur-bani-pal, I asked him to tell me what the inscription meant. To my surprise and satisfaction he gave it the same meaning as Sir Henry Rawlinson.

The adjoining room* to the west of the Susiana chamber, which must have been about sixty feet long, was, with the exception of three sculptures which were in good preservation, found to have been utterly destroyed. Indeed more than two-thirds of it not a trace of the stone wall was visible. The above sculptures, which are in the British Museum, contain a most interesting architectural subject. Two of them represent a view of a country with two rivers, between which there are groups of men, some on foot and others on horseback, who seem to be making all the haste they can to quit the country. Some are running and looking back, either for friends or to see whether they are pursued by the enemy. Above the rivers is represented a large palace or temple, surrounded by three walls with battlements. The pillars of the edifice are resting on the backs of human-headed bulls, with their heads turned like those found at Khorsabad. On the third slab there is to be seen a part of a palace and a bridge having three pointed arches, and very near it stands one of those stelae or "image of his majesty," with an arched frame on which is portrayed an Assyrian king.†

While breaking down the brick wall behind these sculptures to enable me to pack them for dispatch to England, we found a large terra-cotta cylinder buried there, but unfortunately it crumbled to pieces as soon as it was exposed to the air. This record was afterwards found to contain the annals of Assur-bani-pal. In another chamber were found mixed with the débris fragments of a similar cylinder, which seemed to be a duplicate copy of the same inscription.‡

* See Plan 2.

† This has been identified by Assyrian scholars as a representation of the hanging gardens of Babylon.

‡ It was a curious coincidence that twenty-five years afterwards, when I was sent by the trustees of the British Museum to make fur-

In another long room, southwest of the Susiana room, of the same size as the one I have just described, we found other interesting sculptures, representing a large town with many gates situated on the banks of a river, and with a canal running round it.* The greater part of the room, on the northeast extremity of it, was found, like the others, to have been totally destroyed, and there remained only a few bas-reliefs, mostly decayed. It had originally four entrances, all of which were paved with marble and calcareous stone, most elaborately and beautifully carved with rosettes and the lotus. These two forms of decoration seem to have been very much esteemed by the Assyrians, as we found them used in every piece of ornamentation or embroidery. I sent five specimens of them to the British Museum, and they are now exhibited in the Assyrian basement-room with the collections from the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal. The patterns are exceedingly beautiful, and display more richness and elegance than any other form of ornamentation discovered in the ruins of ancient Assyria.

This kind of pavement was first noticed by Sir Henry Layard in 1845 at Koyunjik, when he was fortunate enough to discover the remains of an Assyrian building.† The very first three chambers Sir Henry Layard opened in Sennacherib's palace belonged to the reign of Assur-bani-pal, and adjoined the northeast extremity of his grandfather's edifice. This shows that when the Assyrian kings built their palaces they at first paneled them with plain alabaster or calcareous stone, and afterwards had carved upon the slabs the different battle or hunting scenes as they occurred. This is proved by the fact that, although these chambers resembled in

their examination of the palaces at Koyunjik, I found another copy of the same cylinder in almost perfect condition buried in a solid brick wall in the same palace, and within a few yards of the former.

* These sculptures have been identified as belonging to the history of the siege and capture of Babylon by Assur-bani-pal.

† "Nineveh and Its Remains," Vol. II, p. 126. It may be interesting to Assyrian scholars to learn that when I reported to Sir Henry Rawlinson the discovery of Assur-bani-pal's palace, and sent him some copies of inscriptions found therein, he wrote, as far back as the 25th of January, 1854, as follows: "I am delighted at the discovery of the new palace in the northern part of the mound at Koyunjik. It belongs to the son of Esarhaddon, and was no doubt built at the same time as the palace on the extreme southern edge of the mound belonging to the same king."



CLAY TABLET FROM THE LIBRARY OF ASSUR-BANI-PAL, KING OF ASSYRIA (668-626 B. C.), AT NINEVEH. IT CONTAINS THE ASSYRIAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE.

style and dimensions those of Sennacherib's palace, they contained the record of the campaign of Assur-bani-pal's, which took place about fifty-five years afterwards. The last named king is represented twice on the bas-reliefs found in these halls.

In another room to the southeast of the lion-hunt saloon, which was very much destroyed, we found some bas-reliefs representing an assault by Assyrian warriors on an encampment; some are setting fire to the tents and carrying off the women captives, while others are in full chase of men riding on camels, who are fleeing for their lives. This has been considered an Arab encampment, because the men wear no head-dress, and are clothed with nothing more than a mere cloth tied round their loins.

Another fact connected with the style of the architecture at the period of Assur-bani-pal and that of the other Assyrian kings who preceded him, is the entire absence of winged bulls or lions at the grand entrances to their palaces. They are replaced by colossal figures of Ea, hideous monsters, and human figures with lions' heads and eagles' feet. Also the sculptures decorating Assur-bani-pal's northern palace at Koyunjik were on an average two or three feet less in height than those of his grandfather, Sennacherib, which shows that either he contented himself with lower rooms, or that he preferred finishing the remaining space between the sculptures and the ceiling with painted scenes. Then again the palace of Assur-bani-pal must have been only one story high, while that of Sennacherib, judging from the quantity of rubbish we had to remove before we could uncover the top of the remaining walls, must have been two or three stories. In Assur-bani-pal's palace, on the contrary, we came in many places upon the top of the sculptures before we had cleared away a foot of earth; indeed, in one or two instances, a child might have scratched the ground with his fingers, and touched the top of the sculptures.

After I had discovered this palace, I could not help wondering how former excavators had missed coming upon some of the walls, which were not more than a foot from the spot where they left off digging, especially in the place near the lion-hunt saloon, where the old trench went through a broken wall and missed the sculptures which were still remaining on either side.

There is no doubt that the main destruction of the palaces was the work of the Sassanians, who occupied the mound before the Arab conquest; and in order to save themselves expense and trouble

they dug out most of the sculptures, and burnt them for lime to build their more rude habitations with. At the place where I discovered the great hall, or courtyard,* there existed the remains of a large building of some well-to-do Sassanian or Arab, which had also been covered over with earth, and made the place appear as if it had never been inhabited. Built into some of the walls of this house I found a great number of pieces of sculpture, which had been brought from the adjacent Nineveh edifices. Since the destruction of the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies these barbarous people who succeeded them preferred building their houses rudely with mud and stone, and plastering them over with lime, which they obtained from the burnt marble or stone, rather than go to the trouble of following the good example of the Assyrians in using bricks and stone.

Most unfortunately just at the time when I most needed an artist to draw the numerous sculptures, and copy the various inscriptions that were being daily discovered, both at Koyunjik and Nimroud, Mr. Hodder fell hopelessly ill, and was compelled to leave Mossul and return home. There was an eminent American doctor at Mossul at the time, who recommended his immediate departure to Europe, as he thought it was the only chance of saving his life.

It happened, most fortunately, however, that another English artist appeared on the scene, whose services could be spared to do the work. I have already mentioned my late friend, Mr. Kennett Loftus, whom I met at Jazeerah on my way out from England in October, 1852. Since that time Mr. Loftus had returned home, and had been sent out again to Baghdad by the "managers of the Assyrian Excavation Fund," who organized themselves in England for the purpose of enlarging the field of operation in Assyria and Babylonia, as they considered that the sum granted by the Treasury to the British Museum for archaeological researches in Assyria was quite inadequate for the proper prosecution of the work. As the explorations were then being conducted by me for the trustees in Assyria, Mr. Loftus had to try his luck in Chaldea; but when the time came that the funds available for my undertakings were nearly spent, and I was obliged to abandon the newly-discovered palace and other more or less important ancient sites, both at

* See Plan 2.

Koyunjik and Nimroud, Mr. Loftus was directed to take up the work where I left it.

Messrs. Dickenson, of Bond Street, had voluntarily sent out to him an able artist, Mr. William Boutcher, to assist in making plans and drawings of the different buildings and objects discovered; and as it happened that his services were not at the time urgently required in Southern Mesopotamia, when Mr. Hodder was obliged to return home, Mr. Loftus sent Mr. Boutcher to make drawings of the sculptures which Mr. Hodder was unable to finish, and to take charge of the sites for the "Assyrian Excavation Fund" where I left them. The trustees, after my return to England, resolved to continue the national researches, and as I declined to return to Mossul on account of a political appointment which had been offered to me under the Indian Government, Mr. Loftus was commissioned to continue the work. He was not so successful as I had been, but following up the work at the northwestern end of the ascending passage, which I had in the first instance discovered, he brought to light the remainder of the passage, and other parts of Assur-bani-pal's palace at the western corner of the Quadrangle. It appears, from the addition made to my original plan, that this passage, which was about one hundred and seventy feet long, was a continuation of the one I discovered,—my examination of the ascending passage having been made in a southeasterly direction where the palace was situated, as I could not afford the time and expense of keeping my workmen uncovering the northwesterly end.*

Indeed, I made this new discovery just at the time when the public money available for the exploration was nearly exhausted, and I was on the eve of leaving for England; and nothing but the importance of the work with which I was occupied made me postpone my departure for three months.

At the western corner of the palace, already mentioned,† which appears to have been the private entrance, Mr. Loftus uncovered a portal and three chambers, in which some very interesting sculptures were found. The most valuable were a series of bas-reliefs representing the continuation of Assur-bani-pal's favorite sport, the chase of the lion and the wild ass. All the representations depicted show great delicacy of execution, and prove that Assyrian

* See Plan 2. † Ibid.

art as regards sculpture was never so highly cultivated, either before or after the reign of that renowned king. No one can help admiring the fine spirit in which all the figures, whether of man or beast, are set forth; especially the attitude of the eunuchs laboring under the heavy load of a wounded lion; others carrying a dead hare, asses at full gallop, gazelles in flight, and dogs in hot pursuit of a herd of wild asses. The most valuable discovery in this part of Assurbani-pal's palace was a representation of the monarch himself lounging on a couch covered with a rug, with his queen sitting on a chair, or throne, drinking with her consort right royally the loving cup, and having before them a table exquisitely ornamented.* Behind them stood their attendants, each carrying a towel and busily engaged in fanning their majesties to keep the flies from their faces and cups. The scene is represented in a garden, with the king and queen sitting below an arbor of vines and palms, evidently ready for their dinner, as two attendants are represented bringing some viands in round dishes just like those we found at Nimroud and Koyunjik, with musicians following.† As the vines show bunches of grapes, and the palm is devoid of fruit, it seems probable that the garden must have been in Assyria, because, in that country, palm-trees do not thrive; and although in some parts they grow to a certain height, they never bear proper dates. It may be that the kings of Assyria planted palms in their gardens in memory of their Babylonian conquests, and the fact that the vine is showing fruit, and the plans are represented without, indicate where they are growing, seeing that both bear fruit at the same time of the year in Southern Mesopotamia; that is, in July and August. In the same garden there are trees represented, which look like those of the cedar or cypress kind. These trees are now extinct in Mesopotamia. On the trees there are birds represented with a head of a notable chief, supposed to be Teuman, king of Elam, hanging on one of the branches.‡ Behind the king there is a stool, on which Assur-bani-pal's bow and arrows are laid.

During the time we were uncovering the sculptures at Assur-

* It is customary in the lands of the Bible now to drink a glass or two of alcoholic spirits before dinner, and it may be their Assyrian majesties were doing the same on this occasion.

† See Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 338.

‡ This depraved and disgusting exhibition is even now practiced in countries in the East where Christian civilization has not reached.



ASHUR-BANI-PAL, KING OF ASSYRIA, WITH HIS QUEEN, FEASTING IN A BOWER.

bani-pal's palace, the workmen suffered from excessive cold, which continued till the time I left for England in the beginning of May, and I do not remember ever having before experienced such cold so late in spring in that part of the valley of the Tigris. Snow actually fell as late as the 9th of March, and the rain was so plentiful during the year that the Tigris reached almost to the outskirts of the walls of Nineveh. One day, about the beginning of February, when Sir Henry Rawlinson and I endeavored to cross the river from Mossul to Koyunjik we were quite unable to do so from the strength of the current, though we tried to pass up the Khosar, which comes down from the Assyrian mountains and runs past Koyunjik before it falls into the Tigris. Our boat could not even make headway in this small stream at that time, though during the latter part of summer it is quite dry.

The storms were also in that spring most terrific. One night while encamping on the mound of Koyunjik, and I was fast asleep in my tent, there was a tremendous storm of hail and rain, and all of a sudden I felt myself going down a pit, with bed, tent, and everything else I possessed. My plight at the time can be better imagined than expressed. Taken so by surprise in a very dark night, with rain and hail pouring down in torrents, and I being engulfed in a pit with a deluge of water rushing down upon me and bringing with it heaps of the debris of the excavations, I could not for some time realize the true state of my position. Indeed, when I first felt myself going down, the fate of Korah passed through my mind, and I did not collect my senses until a number of my faithful Arabs came to my rescue, and quickly raised me out of the ditch half-drowned and covered with mud. It appeared that my tent had been pitched over one of the large tunnels dug at the time of Sir Henry Layard's excavations, which had been lost to the sight; and the quantity of rain which had fallen had undermined it; hence my mishap.

In the beginning of April, 1854, I closed all the different works, both at Koyunjik and Nimroud, and having pointed out the important sites to Mr. Boucher and made over to him the plan of the excavations for the use of Mr. Loftus, I left Mossul May 1st.

Though, as will be seen from the foregoing account, I had not a little trouble and anxiety in the discovery of Assur-bani-pal's palace, my connection with it would well-nigh have been forgotten were it not that I was appointed once more by the trustees of the

British Museum in 1877 to return to Mesopotamia and resume my researches. Indeed, some writers have even made it appear that it was some one else who enriched the British Museum with the beautiful sculptures and valuable inscriptions unearthed in the palace of the last great king of the Assyrians, the renowned Sardanapalus. Professor George Rawlinson, in alluding to Assurbani-pal's palace, refers to its sculptures as follows: "These slabs, which were recovered by Colonel Rawlinson, are now in the British Museum. The animals of chase include lions, wild bulls, wild asses, stags, and antelopes." * This seems the more strange when it is remembered that, as far back as April, 1856, his brother, Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson, in writing to the *Athenaeum*,† gave me the credit of having discovered the palace; and even if he had not done so, I can not conceive how any one else could claim the honor of having found it, more especially as I was at that time the accredited agent of the British Museum, and in sole local charge of the excavations, without even recounting the round-about way I went to discover it.

The publisher of the "*Illustrated London News*," however, was generous enough to give a prominent notice of my discoveries when the collection from Assurbani-pal's palace reached the British Museum in May, 1856, though I was thousands of miles away in Arabia Felix. In giving a few illustrations of the antiquities I discovered, the article begins thus: "Another fine collection of Assyrian sculptures has arrived in England, and has been deposited in the British Museum. A portion only of them is now exhibited; but arrangements are in progress to admit the public into the cellars, where they must remain until a becoming gallery is provided for them. They consist of about seventy slabs, chiefly selected from the north palace at Koyunjik, discovered in 1854 by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the companion and friend of Mr. Layard. It must be not a little gratifying to that pioneer of Assyrian research to find, through his example, an Oriental—generally indifferent to all works of art—so thoroughly interested in the undertaking and impregnated with the English energy to carry his individual labors to a successful conclusion. In 1852, Mr. Rassam was appointed by

* Rawlinson's "*Herodotus*," Vol. I, p. 495, note 8.

† *Athenaeum*, No. 1,485, 12th April, 1856.



SERVANTS AND ATTENDANTS OF ASUR-BANI-PAL, BEARING VIANDS INTO THE ROYAL PRESENCE.

the trustees of the British Museum to take charge of the excavations at Nineveh, and returned once more to Mossul. The difficulties he had to encounter were by no means slight. For several years his predecessor had tunneled through the most promising spots of the Assyrian mounds, and accumulated the works which have astonished and gratified the English nation. If success attended the new expedition, the result would have been received as a natural consequence; but if unsuccessful, no amount of energy, perseverance, or labor would have shielded the conductor of the expedition from undeserved blame, more freely bestowed, too, perhaps, because he was a foreigner in an Englishman's position. And yet the discoveries are in a great measure the result of good fortune, which no intelligence can command. The appearance of the mounds is nearly uniform. There are but slight undulations on the surface—sometimes, it is true, indicating the position of the ancient remains beneath, but as often leading the explorer to extensive barren operations. We may likewise rest assured that Mr. Layard had previously profited by every hint which the appearance of the ground afforded. The site of the northern palace, whence these, the finest sculptures, have been procured, was the lowest and the least promising part of the mound. It had been long ago tried by Mr. Layard, who only came upon a drain, and then abandoned the trench. At the commencement of his labors Mr. Rassam cut several trenches there, but, finding no trace of sculpture, considered the excavation of it useless, and removed all his workmen to the southern part and center of Koyunjik, and to the large mound of Nimroud; meanwhile the second French expedition at Khorsabad had discovered scarcely anything but plain mud walls, human-headed bulls, and small metal articles, and M. Place, wishing to possess for the Louvre a collection of smaller and more varied sculpture, Sir H. Rawlinson, with liberality which does him honor, transferred to him the whole of the northern portion of Koyunjik. M. Place was prevented by circumstances from availing himself of the offer, and confined his operations to Khorsabad. Mr. Rassam for months unceasingly exerted himself, but found nothing to return the nation for the money it had granted until three months before his appointment ceased, when, almost in despair, he tried once more an old abandoned trench on the north side of the mound. He had not proceeded a yard before he came upon the first of a series of chambers and passages lined with the most exquisite bas-reliefs

which have yet reached England. With redoubled energy he prosecuted his work, and previous to leaving Assyria he had the satisfaction of uncovering what then appeared the whole of the palace of Assur-bani-pal, the grandson of Sennacherib, and to pack and dispatch to England a selection made by Sir Henry Rawlinson, from the best fruits of Assyrian sculpture. Until the arrival of the slabs in England there was little chance of Mr. Rassam's exertions being appreciated, and, now that they have reached us, he is far away on the shores of the Red Sea. We, therefore, more readily bear testimony to the value of his services, and record our gratification, for his sake, as well as for the nation's, that success at last rewarded his perseverance and dispelled the anxiety which he must have suffered during so many months of discouraging labor." *

As I wished to reach England as quickly as possible, I took the unfrequented route through Northern Mesopotamia, and reached Orfa (the ancient Edessa) in a quick ride of nine days on dromedaries via Nissibeen (the ancient Nisibis), leaving the mountains of Sinjar on the left.† For the first three days we frequently passed encampments of the Shammar Arabs and other petty tribes dependent on them. The whole of the Shammar Arabs were at that time in open rebellion against their supreme chief, Firhan, partly because he tried to keep them from plundering in the Province of Mossul, from whence he was receiving a regular stipend for protecting the high roads, and partly on account of the hatred the tribe entertained against a cousin of the chief, named Hajjir, who had, contrary to Arab rule, treacherously killed a renowned chief while he was their guest.‡

Moreover, the Ottoman authorities being just then in great trouble on account of the Turco-Russian War, had no available troops to punish the refractory Arabs, and on this account their ravages were allowed to go on unchecked.

According to common practice, when any one wishes to travel

* Illustrated London News, 24th May, 1856, p. 553.

† My guide brought with him three dromedaries; the best we mounted together, he riding behind me, and the other two carried my servant, luggage, provisions, bed, and our Bedouin camel-driver, who accompanied his master, my protector.

‡ This treacherous chief was afterwards killed by a nephew of the murdered man.

safely through an uninhabited district, either in Syria or Mesopotamia, over which the Turkish Government has really no control, it is necessary to obtain the protection of the chief whose province it is to provide an escort. This generally consists of one known attendant, sometimes only a slave, who has power to escort the traveler through friends and foes without fear of molestation. Even a woman, according to Bedouin custom, has the privilege of protecting a traveler, although he is a murderer, while passing through the tribe which was seeking revenge; this protection is not only extended to the life of the individual, but also to his property. Thus if a chief of a powerful tribe gives his protection to a traveler, there is no fear of any member of his or any other tribe immediately connected with them molesting him, however great the value of his possession may be. The reason is obvious; because if any one dared to injure or plunder the person who is traveling under protection, both the chief and his tribe would be disgraced forever if they did not retaliate and punish the offender severely, even at the risk of being annihilated. This defense, however, does not hold good in the matter of petty tribes at war with each other, or in case the wayfarers meet with a plundering party belonging to a tribe who are at open enmity with the escort, or in passing through an encampment of a tribe when the escort is not himself entitled to the privilege of protecting a traveler. For instance, the Shammar Arabs inhabit that part of Mesopotamia lying between the Tigris and Euphrates, and extending for three hundred miles from the foot of the Koordistan Mountains, below Mardeen on the northwest, to the Median wall on the southeast; the Innizza tribe occupy the western side of the Euphrates, extending from the Pashalic of Aleppo to that of Baghdad, including a part of the district of Damascus; while the Montifij, or Montifig Arabs, hold the sway of Southern Mesopotamia, extending from the Median wall to Shat-al-Arab, the junction of the Tigris with the Euphrates. So an escort, even if he is a slave, from the principal chief of any of these three most powerful tribes of Mesopotamia and Syria, can pass a traveler unmolested through that part of the country inhabited by his own people. Supposing a traveler has to go from Damascus to Palmyra, and thence to Dair and Mossul, he has to find out, in the first instance, which is the most powerful tribe inhabiting the district between the first-named places from which he will have to obtain a guide. After reaching Palmyra he has to look out for

another escort who can safely assert his Arab right of hospitality. Ultimately, when he wishes to cross to Mesopotamia, he has to send to one of the chiefs of the Shammer Arabs, whose province it is to convey the traveler safely to Mossul. It is the duty of the escort, who is generally well acquainted with the state of the country, to recommend the safest route, and the chiefs who are best able to give the necessary protection; and sometimes they even advise the traveler to send to a deadly enemy of their own, if they know that he is the only man who can insure the safety of the wayfarer. The traveler in that case remains with the clan, or friendly tribe of the last escort, while a messenger is dispatched for another to take his place. Sometimes the Turkish governor of a district will recommend and assist in obtaining the necessary escort when he can not himself supply the traveler with the required guard of soldiers or police. Formerly Turkish soldiers had no power to escort any party through the country of the principal Arab tribes; but now, most of the Bedouins having been brought to some extent under Turkish control, the very uniform of an Ottoman soldier, regular or irregular, is sufficient to insure safety. He is only allowed, however, to escort a party on sufferance; because if any disturbance take place, and both the traveler and his Turkish protector are killed, there will be no one whose duty it is to revenge the murder. In these matters I always used my discretion, sometimes employing Arab escorts, at others taking with me an Ottoman guard, and very often going about without either one or the other, as I knew that if we met with a plundering party, neither the stick nor spear of the former, or the rusty arms of the latter, could save me; but most probably one would be killed in my defense, and the other would cut and run and leave me in the lurch. Nor did I ever carry firearms during my travels, as I knew that they could not save me if I was attacked by a band of robbers. The chances would have been that if I had fired, and even not wounded a man, I should meet with the same fate that happened to a large number of Europeans who had used their arms indiscreetly. Notwithstanding I have been traveling among Arab tribes, off and on, for thirty-five years (not counting the four years I was with Sir Henry Layard), it was my fortune never to meet with one single misadventure, nor to lose as much as a shilling's worth of anything by day or by night, though I slept alone in my tent, and very often away from my followers. I was sometimes told in the morning that the chief who

felt himself morally responsible for my safety kept watch all the night around my tent, for fear of some stray robber entering and stealing some of my belongings. The fact is, wherever I encamped I felt that all the Arabs around me knew who I was, and that no one would attempt to do me any injury for fear of the revenge of my Arab friends, who would be sure to take up my cause, even if it came to a dead fight.

As I said before, when I left Mossul to return to England, the whole of the Shammar Arabs were at sixes and sevens, and there was no one acknowledged as supreme chief of all the subdivisions of the tribe; so when I wrote to Shaikh Firhan, who was then the chief of all the Shammar Arabs, for an escort, he sent an answer to say that he was very sorry to be unable at that time to insure me a safe passage through the country I wished to traverse, as all the Shammar Arabs were in revolt, and he had no power over them. But as he knew that I was on friendly terms with the chief of the most powerful clan, called the "Aabda," he advised me to obtain an escort from him. That tribe was, fortunately, encamping within twenty miles from Mossul, and consequently I had no difficulty in communicating with their chief. The shaikh sent me his eldest son, Sirdee, to accompany me as far as Orfa, which is about three hundred miles to the northwest of Mossul. In a straight line the distance can not be more than two hundred and fifty miles, but in consequence of the frequent detours a traveler has to make for the sake of touching at towns or villages for provisions, the route is lengthened by forty or fifty miles. The nights were bitterly cold throughout the whole journey, and at first my poor Bedouin companions suffered severely from the excessive cold which was intensified by the heat of the day. My Bedouin friend told me that he never remembered such severe weather in that part of Mesopotamia, not even in winter. The whole country was covered that year with green pastures and flower-beds till nearly the commencement of summer, owing to the late and great fall of rain during the spring. Wherever we went, there were bitter complaints of the ravages of the Shammar; and when we came to the neighborhood of Orfa we found all the villages deserted, the inhabitants having taken refuge around the town, with their herds of kine and flocks of sheep, all huddled together as near the wall as possible. Abd Al-Kareem, half-brother of Firhan, who was considered to be the braver of the two and possessed immense influence among the Shammar on

account of his aptitude for plunder and his hatred of the Turks, was pillaging right and left, and even children in their cradles held his name in awe. He met with his death in time, for he was seized by treachery, and was hanged at Mossul near the bridge of boats on the Nineveh side of the river.

Although a few Bedouin marauders had awed all the villagers in the districts of Mossul, Nissibeen, and Orfa, the Turks, nevertheless, talked very grandly about their power, and the discomfiture of the Russians, whom they expected to see reduced to slavery ere three months were over, and the whole of their country added to the European provinces of Turkey! They hated the Russians; but both the English and French were looked upon with affection and respect, on account of the helping hand they held out to the Moslems in the Crimean war.

When we entered Orfa, my poor escort fell into an unhappy state of mind and great despondency, on account of the rumor they had heard of the intention of the governor of Orfa to arrest them on account of the misdeeds of their Shammer brothers. They knew only too well that it was always the custom with the Ottoman authorities to seize upon any Arabs belonging to a tribe which had been misbehaving itself, and keep them as hostages until a certain amount of plunder had been restored. My Aabda friend seemed much relieved when he was assured by the British consular agent and myself that, as he went into Orfa under my protection, no one would dare to molest him, especially as neither he nor his companion had done anything deserving the vengeance of the Orfa Government. They left the next day, and I took care to see that they got safely out of the place without being interfered with by the local authorities.

It was some time before I could engage a proper muleteer to supply me with the animals required for my journey to Alexandretta via Aleppo, as the Ottoman authorities had seized upon every beast of burden to carry provisions to the seat of war; and although a large number of camel-drivers and muleteers had made their escape, either by stratagem or bribery, they dared not show themselves in the place for fear of being caught and punished. However, after six days' delay, I was able to leave for Aleppo via Beerajeek, with an escort supplied me by the governor of Orfa to conduct me safely through what was thought to be the dangerous route. I found, on leaving the town, that a large caravan, consisting of about one

hundred men and more than two hundred laden horses, mules, and camels, was waiting to accompany me as far as Aleppo. They felt safe under my protection, as it was understood that I always traveled with a proper guard, and was known to most of the semi-dependent Arabs, either through my eldest brother's influence or my intercourse with the various tribes ever since I joined Sir Henry Layard on his two expeditions.

Soon after my arrival in London in the summer of 1854, the trustees of the British Museum conferred with me about the continuation of the national researches in Mesopotamia, and, as they found that there still remained much to be done, they resolved to carry on the work a little longer. They asked me to go out again for them to Assyria, and I need not say that I accepted their offer with great pleasure, inasmuch as I found that they were very much pleased with my discoveries, and wished the remainder of the palace of Sardanapalus properly excavated. Three or four days after I had accepted the appointment, and was preparing to return to Mossul, I received the offer of a political appointment at Aden, which I deemed myself bound to accept, as Sir James Outram, the then resident there, applied for my services to the Directors of the East India Company, and desired me to go out to him at once, as my services were urgently needed. I was at a loss what to do, as I had engaged myself to proceed again to Mesopotamia; but I thought I could not do better than submit my case to the trustees, and leave it to them to do what they deemed proper. They were good enough to allow me to relinquish my appointment under them. They were glad I was going to have a permanent employ under the Indian Government. Mr. Loftus, whom I have already mentioned, was at the time in Southern Mesopotamia, superintending the excavations on behalf of the "Assyrian Exploration Fund," and as he was commissioned to carry on the work in my stead, his expenses and those of his artist, Mr. Boucher, were to be shared equally by the British Museum and the society that sent him out. The result of the undertaking I have already related; and when it was finished, the trustees gave up all idea of carrying on further researches in Assyria until the Deluge and Creation tablets I had discovered in Assur-bani-pal's palace were deciphered by the late Mr. George Smith.* This created so much interest in England that the trus-

* See page 52.

tees of the British Museum resolved to recommence the explorations, and sent Mr. George Smith, and afterwards myself, to continue the work at Koyunjik and Nimroud. As I shall have again to revert to these expeditions, it may be well here to allude briefly to my service under the Indian Government, which intervened between my different engagements in Assyria and Babylonia under the trustees of the British Museum.

As the mail service between England and Aden was at that time irregular, and the railroad was not yet completed in Egypt, I chose my own mode of reaching that Arabian port. It was at the end of 1854 when I passed through Egypt just at the time when M. Ferdinand de Lesseps was, according to the then current report, using powerful French influence with the Khedive's Government to gain a firm footing for his nation in that country, more especially in order to destroy British preponderance. I went up from Alexandria to Cairo in one of the Nile steamers, which at that time plied between those two cities. From Cairo to Suez, Indian passengers used to travel in clumsy and rough vehicles, which seemed rather to torture the passengers than render them any comfort. I can not say that I chose an easier mode of traveling; but preferring my independence, and wishing to see as much of the country as possible, I hired two camels, one to ride myself, and the other for my luggage, and reached Suez in three days, putting up at night at the inns built expressly for the convenience of Indian passengers. Fortunately for me, a few days after my arrival at Suez I was able to take my passage in one of the old Indian navy steam-vessels called the "Feroze," returning from thence to Aden, and reached my destination after a most pleasant voyage with very agreeable officers belonging to both the army and naval services of India.

On my arrival at Aden, I was sorry to find that Sir James Outram had left for Oude, where he had been appointed chief commissioner. Colonel (afterwards Sir William) Coghlan, of the Bombay Artillery, had been appointed in his place. After a few days' duties under him I discovered that I had not lost anything by the change of residents, because, although Sir James Outram was my personal friend, I found his successor everything that a subordinate could wish for; just, firm, and, withal, courteous and sincere. I was not less fortunate in having as assistant resident Colonel (now Sir) Robert Lambert Playfair, the present consul-general at Algiers, who, by his genial society, coupled with his uprightness

and zealous discharge of his duties, earned the esteem and respect of all who came in contact with him.

As the allowance I received as political interpreter was found not to be sufficient, the direction of the post-office at Aden was added to my other civil duties, which office I held for three years; and was then raised by the Indian Government, on the recommendation of the Resident, to the grade of second Assistant Political Resident, and made a Justice of the Peace for the town and island of Bombay and its Dependencies. I was also appointed judge and magistrate for Aden, and, although I officiated in that capacity for nearly nine years, and during that time settled thousands of civil and criminal cases, it is a great satisfaction to me to remember that there was not one single appeal against any of my decisions.

After having been at Aden five months, my services were applied for by the Home Government, to purchase in Mesopotamia, and dispatch to the British army, then at war with Russia, mules, horses, and camels. This appointment I was obliged to decline, as I had then entered on my favorite task of reconciling the different Arab tribes around Aden, and felt that my work there was of more importance to the interests of the public service than elsewhere.

When the terrible Indian mutiny was crushed, the Indian Government rewarded all public servants for their exertions in suppressing the evil or preventing its spread; and I was among the latter, who received the special thanks of the viceroy with a substantial recognition of my services. Although it was rumored over and over again that certain individuals at Aden, both among the native troops and Indian merchants, were disloyal, and were in communication with rebels at Bombay and Kurrachee, I would not, when in charge of the post-office, allow any suspected letter to be detained or opened in my presence, in accordance with the temporary surveillance which had, at that critical time, been established in the Indian post-offices. I felt quite sure that no mischievous or disloyal person at Aden could raise a disturbance without my knowledge, especially among the Arabs, and I knew that I should only have been hated, instead of trusted, had I attempted to interfere with the usual delivery of letters.

When the momentous quarrel took place between the Emam of Muscat and his brother, Seyid Majid, the Sultan of Zanzibar, in 1860, about the sovereignty of the latter dependency, and the Viceroy of India acted as a mediator, Sir William Coghlan, the Resident

of Aden, was commissioned by the Bombay Government to settle the dispute; and as it was deemed necessary to have a responsible agent to watch the political affairs at Muscat during the investigation and settlement of the contention, Lord Elphinstone, then governor of Bombay, selected me to represent the British Government at the court of the Emam. It was at first thought that the whole affair would be settled, in not more than five or six months, but as is usually the case with such intricate matters, it dragged on for more than a year. At last it was ended, and I was allowed to return to my duties at Aden, feeling gratified that both the Bombay Government and Seyid Thawainnee, the reigning Emam, with all the British subjects residing in that principality, appreciated my services of Political Agent throughout my residence at Muscat.

After my return to Aden, the Bombay Government made some changes in what were called the Arabic appointments, including those of Aden, Muscat, Bushir, and Zanzibar. At the former place three Assistants were appointed, as that settlement was becoming more important every day. The judicial and political work had more than doubled since the shipping had increased tenfold, and Colonel (now Sir) R. Lambert Playfair having been transferred to Zanzibar as political agent, Sir Bartle Frere, then the governor of Bombay, appointed me as his successor as First Assistant Political Resident. This placed me in charge of the entire political work in the neighborhood of Aden, both on the Arabian and African coasts, and besides my judicial duties, both in civil and criminal suits, I had the charge of the municipality, police, and waterworks.

As soon as the news reached England of the imprisonment, by Theodore, king of Abyssinia, of Captain Cameron, the British consul of Massawa, and other British subjects, it was considered that no time should be lost in sending a suitable letter from Her Majesty the Queen to the Abyssinian potentate, requesting the release of the captives. It was resolved at the Foreign Office that I should be the bearer of the royal letter; and I was therefore ordered, through the Secretary of State for India, to proceed without loss of time to the court of Theodore, and use every means in my power to obtain the release of the captives. The sad history of that Abyssinian complication I have already related in my work entitled "British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia," and so I need not say anything about it here. Suffice it to say that, through the interference of irresponsible and meddling persons, both my fellow-

captives and myself very nearly lost our lives, and it was only through God's mercy, which made King Theodore take a liking to me, that we escaped an ignominious death. Although there was no lack of unscrupulous persons who indulged in misrepresenting certain facts and incidents in order to mislead the public, it is a very great satisfaction to me to be able to say that in all my transactions I have, without one single exception, earned the entire approval of Her Majesty's Governments, whether Liberal or Conservative.

After the end of the Abyssinian war, I was ordered to England on duty; but as I wished to remain a little longer in this country to recruit my health, when the time came for me to return to my post at Aden I obtained a year's leave of absence. In the meantime I was married; and as I did not care to take my wife to those regions, I resigned my Aden appointment, and retired from the Indian service in November, 1869.

CHAPTER III.

IN the year 1872 the late Mr. George Smith discovered the famous Assyrian Creation and Deluge records among the collection of inscribed tablets which had been heaped up at the British Museum, off and on, for more than twenty years. At one time it seemed that no one cared for them; but in reality they were then not as accessible to outsiders as they are now, and, consequently, only Mr. George Smith, who had charge of them, had the chance of examining them. As a matter of course, the reading of those interesting records created an immense sensation, not only in England, but all over Europe.

It was stated that the texts of those inscriptions were incomplete, on account of the fragmentary condition of the tablets; and as a part of them were missing, Mr. George Smith volunteered to go out to Mesopotamia and search for the remainder. All those who were interested in the matter thought it a crying shame that such important records should be allowed to remain buried in the mound of Koyunjik, especially when an agent had only to go thither and reclaim the treasure by the mere stroke of the Arab's spade.

The trustees of the British Museum had then no funds available for the renewal of the Assyrian explorations; and as there seemed no prospect of any body of gentlemen coming forward to subscribe the funds necessary for sending an expedition similar to that which took place twenty years before, by the formation of the "Assyrian Excavation Fund," the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* undertook the enterprise single-handed, although such an expedition might have cost them thousands of pounds. They thought that as Mr. Smith had deciphered the Creation and Deluge tablets, he was the most fit person to search for the missing portions of the inscription; but when Mr. Edwin Arnold, the eminent editor of that journal, consulted me about the expedition, and understood that I had no objection to go to Mesopotamia, it was proposed that I should undertake the work required. I volunteered to give my services freely, because, though it was nearly twenty years since I had had anything to do with Assyrian discoveries, it was impossible for me to lose my interest in the old

explorations; more especially as the portion of the records in the British Museum, and on which the public interest was then centered, belonged to my former discoveries, and I knew where to search for the remainder. It was found, however, that the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* had already committed themselves to the employment of Mr. Smith, and of course they could not break their engagement with him. Mr. Smith endeavored to arrange with me a division of the superintendence; that is to say, he would conduct the explorations at Koyunjik, and I at Nimroud, or vice versa; but I refused, because, not only did my former experience convince me that such an expedition would be a complete failure, but I myself would never dream of undertaking any such half-and-half arrangement.

So many were the difficulties he encountered that, after all the trouble and heavy expenses undertaken by the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Smith was only able to work two months at Nimroud, and one month at Koyunjik, and the few relics and inscriptions he found were recovered either from the old excavations of Sir Henry Layard or mine. But as his employers were quite content with the work he had done, and for which he had been specially sent out—namely, the discovery of the missing portion of the Deluge tablet, which was found after a few days' search in my abandoned trenches—they resolved to bring the work to a close, and telegraphed to him to stop work and return home. On the 7th of May, 1873, Mr. Smith began his explorations at Koyunjik, and on the 14th he discovered the fragments to which he alludes as follows: "On cleaning one of these inscribed fragments of tablets, I found, to my surprise and gratification, that it contained the greater portion of seventeen lines of inscription belonging to the first column of the Chaldean account of the Deluge, and fitting into the only place where there was a serious blank in the story. When I had first published the account of this tablet, I had conjectured that there were about fifteen lines wanting in this part of the story, and now with this portion I was enabled to make it nearly complete." *

* Smith's "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 97. It has now been proved by Assyrian scholars that this fragment of the Assyrian account of the Deluge, found by Mr. George Smith, does not belong to the tablet I discovered in 1853. The *Daily Telegraph* fragment is in the third person, whereas mine is in the first person.

On the death of Mr. Smith I was asked by the British Museum authorities to undertake the superintendence of the excavations in Assyria. Although I had fully intended, when I retired from the Indian Civil Service, not to separate from my family, nevertheless, when I thought of my former work, I felt I could not refuse an employment in which I took so much interest, and thus I did not hesitate to accept the proffered honor.

The difficulty that presented itself to me at the outset was the want of a proper firman; because, not only was the one which Mr. Smith had possessed far from satisfactory, but its term of one year had nearly run out; and in accordance with the conditions to which he had bound himself, it had become worthless in consequence of the excavations not having been commenced within three months from the date of the granting of the permit; and in like manner the engagement would become void if the work had stopped for two months without a legitimate excuse. It was therefore resolved that I should proceed to Constantinople, and obtain, through the assistance of the ambassador, Sir Henry Elliot, the necessary firman; but I was doomed to meet with the same treatment as Mr. Smith experienced at the hands of the very officials whom one would have expected to behave differently, especially to public servants who were sent on important duty. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had written to the ambassador on both occasions, recommending both Mr. Smith and myself to his good offices, and requesting him at the same time to render us every assistance in his power to enable us to conduct the national explorations in an efficient manner; but, unfortunately, these red-tape communications proved abortive. If we had been correspondents of some journal or agents of a mercantile concern we should have had a better chance of being treated more civilly. Although I spent my time going backwards and forwards to the British embassy for nearly two months, I could neither obtain one single interview with Sir Henry Elliot, nor receive from him a satisfactory answer. In the first instance I was referred to the secretary of the embassy, then to the first dragoman, then to the second, and lastly to the third, or assistant to the second dragoman, but my communications with all produced the same result; namely, annoyance and vexation of spirit! I thought if I addressed a letter to the ambassador, and brought to his excellency's notice the difficult position in which I was placed, it might receive some sort of an answer.

Accordingly I did this, but no notice was taken of my communication directly or indirectly. This, of course, placed me in a worse predicament than before, as I did not know whether I was justified in remaining any longer at Constantinople spending public money fruitlessly, or had better pack up my things and return home. In all my long official experience I never saw public business carried on in such a way, to say nothing about the discourteous manner in which I was treated in my position as an old public servant, and by the very last person from whom I should have expected such treatment. However, after I had been there nearly two months, our ambassador had to leave Constantinople with his colleagues in consequence of the termination of that memorable and abortive International Conference that took place at Pera in the beginning of 1877. Had I found, on arriving at the Turkish capital, that the state of public affairs, and the presence of the Conference there, interfered in any way with the object of my mission, I should have certainly returned home at once, and waited for a better opportunity. But the researches in Assyria and Mesopotamia did not depend on the settlement of existing political complications, inasmuch as the legitimate work of the embassy was carried on as usual, and the different departments at the Porte went on with their daily routine of work as before.

On the departure of Sir Henry Elliot, I called on the charge d'affaires, the Honorable Nassue Jocelyn, and asked him to speak to the Grand Vizier, Edham Pasha, about the object of my mission. He did so soon afterwards; but the only answer I received was that His Highness had no power to do anything in the matter, but that "the Sultan alone could give the permission and privileges asked for." He suggested, however, that a convention should be entered into between the British Government and the Porte, giving the sole privilege to England of making researches in Turkey, similar to that which had been agreed upon between Germany and Greece. As I did not know upon what conditions the German Government were excavating, I hesitated to give an opinion until I ascertained what the points were. Mr. Jocelyn was kind enough to telegraph to Her Majesty's minister at Athens, asking him to let us know what kind of an agreement had been made. We found out afterwards that the conditions were, first, "Greece to retain all objects discovered, with option of giving duplicates to Germany; secondly, Germany to have exclusive right of making

models of objects found, for five years; and, thirdly, Germany and Greece reserved exclusive right to publish scientific results of excavations." The convention was to be good for ten years.*

On receiving the above communication, I explained to Mr. Jocelyn that our case was different from that of Germany, because, England had had the privilege of making researches in Assyria and Mesopotamia for more than thirty years under two Sultans, and the British Museum was in possession of the bulk of the antiquities found in their excavations in that country, and that what we then wanted was the remainder of the collection. I also pointed out that any portion divided could be of very little use to the Ottoman Museum, but would prove of incalculable advantage to the literary world, because the British Museum authorities could then publish the different texts in a perfect manner. I said, moreover, that it was unlikely that England would consent to such an engagement as that entered into between Germany and Greece, because, not only the British tax-payers would object to their money being spent in such a one-sided arrangement, but that any one might go to the British Museum and copy any object deposited there by merely obtaining leave. And as for the privilege of publishing the results of any excavations without possessing the antiquities, I felt sure that the British Museum authorities would not care for such an empty favor, nor would they spend a shilling on such terms.

I must confess from the time that Sir Henry Elliot treated the mission with indifference, and allowed this public duty to be conducted as if the trustees of the British Museum were traders seeking to enrich themselves by plundering the poor Turk, and I, their agent, was a mere adventurer hunting for an employment, I thought there was no chance of our gaining the desired object. Had His Excellency taken the necessary steps on my arrival at Constantinople, when the Porte was favorably disposed towards England, everything would have progressed smoothly; but after the breaking up of the Conference, when British interests fell to their lowest ebb, no one could expect that any favor would be shown to England by Ottoman officials. From the time the re-

* It appears that Edham Pasha had held the situation as Turkish ambassador both at Athens and Berlin, and had heard of this one-sided convention while there, and thought it was a grand policy to copy in getting us to agree to the same terms.

quest was made, through the Department of Public Instruction, I lost all hope of ever obtaining a firman.

Although different Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Grand Viziers promised to grant what was asked, and the draft of the firman was actually made in our own terms, and required only the sanction of His Imperial Majesty, another new minister, named Jevdat Pasha, appeared on the scene. He laughed at the beards of the Grand Vizier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, by ridiculing the whole transaction. This man was the Minister of Public Instruction when that disgraceful permit was forced on Mr. Smith; but since the new constitution of a "Home Department," which was not in existence before, had been established, Jevdat Pasha was the first minister appointed as its head, which was very unfortunate for me. He set up no end of childish pleas; that Turkey had become a "constitutional monarchy," and its "Government was responsible to Parliament;" that if they granted any concessions to England, other foreign powers would ask for the same favors. He forgot entirely that the Ottoman Legislature could no more interfere with the prerogatives of the Sultan (which in Turkey are called "sacred") in the granting of firmans, than it could dictate to him in the case of other imperial mandates.

It pleased him also to overlook the fact that England was not asking for a new concession, but desired the continuation of favors granted by former Sultans long before the Turkish Ministry of Public Instruction formed its absurd rules under the influence of a Frenchman, who was the curator of the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. To the above objections I referred the Minister of the Interior to Article 6 of the "Excavation Regulation" of 1869, wherein it is set forth that if any friendly power desire to carry on researches in Turkey, it would be taken as a special case and an "Iradi-Imperial," that is to say, a firman, be granted for the purpose. Mr. Jocelyn, in his communication with the Porte, appealed to that article; and though the Grand Vizier and the Minister for Foreign Affairs accepted the application, and indorsed it, requiring only the formal sanction of the Sultan, the Minister of the Interior intervened, and prevented its being sent to the palace on the plea that the exemption had been rescinded by a subsequent ordinance of March, 1874.

On referring to the new regulation to which Jevdat Pasha alluded, no such clause could be found, but I learned afterwards

that the new Minister of the Interior, for the purpose of delaying the execution of the Iradi, invented the story. One day I was told that it was quite impossible for me to obtain a firman, but that a Vizierial letter would be given to me, which would answer the same purpose; another time I was informed that the Minister of Public Instruction had telegraphed to Baghdad to find out what Mr. George Smith had done with the antiquities obtained there, and that nothing could be done until an answer had been received. I knew that this was only an excuse to put me off; because, one day, an Armenian, the third or assistant dragoman of the embassy, who did not know a word of English, and who was, I believe, dismissed afterwards for misconduct, informed me that I must go to the Ministry of Public Instruction, and sign some documents giving security to bind me to certain responsibilities before a permit could be granted. I replied that when I accepted the agency of the trustees of the British Museum, I did not contemplate pledging myself to the arbitrary rules of the mining regulations, and, sooner than do so, I would resign my appointment, and return home. On finding that it was of no use to remain any longer at Constantinople, as the Porte seemed determined not to grant us any favors, and that the prolongation of my stay there would only entail further worry and expense, I returned to England after having waited three months and a half fruitlessly.

As I was at the Turkish capital before and after the memorable conference in connection with the late Turco-Russian War, and learned from different sources the real feeling of the Ottoman people with regard to the state of affairs in general at that time, I must allude briefly to some of the notable incidents which characterized the diplomacy and intrigue where self-interests had to be satisfied.

For some reason or other it was generally believed at Constantinople that Sir Henry Elliot was favorable to the Turks, and Lord Salisbury to the Russians; and no argument or persuasion could drive these two ideas from the minds of the Moslems till after the war commenced, when the majority of the more acute Oriental diplomatists began to find out their mistake as regards the latter. I used every day to frequent places of resort where groups of influential officials were in the habit of meeting and talking politics; and as they thought that I did not understand Turkish, they used to exchange ideas without any reserve. With few exceptions, every

one fully believed that if Russia declared war, both France and England would help Turkey, as was the case in 1854; and nothing would drive this foolish notion from their minds. Thus, depending on others, they had to suffer for their temerity! It was also unfortunate that these complications began soon after the murder of one Sultan and the deposition of another, when the entire management of the affairs was in the hands of only three or four Viziers. Russia had been intriguing for years in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina; and, having succeeded in fomenting disorder in all these provinces and enlisting on its side the sympathy of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, she now began to employ her wonted diplomacy at Constantinople, and by sowing the seeds of dissension among the high officials caused one party to clamor for resistance, and thus brought about that deplorable war, which occasioned so much misery and woe to millions of both Russians and Ottoman subjects. It was well known that Lord Salisbury reduced the Russian demands to a trifle; and that had the Turkish Ministry accepted his counsel, or advised the Sultan to do so, the Ottoman European dominions would not have been dismembered, nor the financial affairs of the realm brought to the verge of bankruptcy. The most intelligent and respectable among the Turks hoped all along that England would insist upon the conditions being accepted by the Porte which were unanimously agreed to by the members of the Conference, because British prestige was then in the ascendant, and nothing which England demanded would have been refused.

There were three parties at Constantinople just then, who employed their influence for good or evil; the first, which embraced the majority of the ministers, Christians who sympathized with Russia, and those who were connected with the press. Greeks and Armenians especially did everything in their power to excite the feeling of the Moslems against making any compromise with Muscovite demands. They exaggerated the power and resources of Turkey, and made it appear that if once the sword of the Moslems was unsheathed, and the banner of the Prophet unfurled, the whole of the armies of Europe would not be able to withstand their assault. The second party counseled forbearance and conciliation; while the third, which was very small, advocated implicit trust in the friendship of England, and full reliance on her wisdom. The Sultan was certainly on the side of moderation; but as he was

advised that if he submitted to Russia, and trusted to Lord Salisbury (whom they represented falsely to His Imperial Majesty to be hand in glove with Ignatieff), he would lose prestige and cause consternation amongst the Moslems all over the world.

When the European members of the Conference came to an ultimate decision that the Porte must accept certain reforms which were agreed to for the better government of Bulgaria, and only waited the assent of the Sultan, the advisers of His Imperial Majesty continued to beguile that august body by submitting the final decision to the "will of the nation." Any one conversant with Turkey must know that such a proposal was a mere artifice, seeing that there is no such a thing as public opinion in the Ottoman dominions; and any assembly which dared to oppose the secret commands of the Porte could be at once dissolved by any official sent from the palace for the purpose.

In order to show the members of the International Conference the desire of the Porte to treat with equal favor the Moslem and non-Moslem communities, there was summoned to the National Council every kind of dignitary from both the Christian and Jewish inhabitants of Constantinople, by which device it was thought the world would be convinced that the long-promised reform was at last to be established. The representative of the native Protestant community was the only member who advised conciliation and forbearance; and even Midhat Pasha went so far as to declare that Turkey was not in a position to face such a formidable enemy as Russia. All those who advised the acceptance of the decision of the Conference were hooted at, and those who preached a holy war and an appeal to arms received deafening applause. The result was a determined refusal of all Russian demands, and when this decision of the extraordinary Ottoman Assembly was communicated to the members of the Conference, and the Porte apparently persisted in its obstinacy, all the foreign delegates threatened to leave the Turkish capital in a body, thinking, as it was supposed, that this would bring the Ottoman ministers to a proper sense of moderation. But it had quite the opposite effect, and it only made the wily Turk still more stubborn than before. Wherever one went, whether in the bazaar, the coffee-shops, or public departments, there was one constant roar of laughter at the threatened departure of all the representatives of the great Powers. The Turk knew quite well that no serious harm was meant by such a

menace, seeing that the staffs of the embassies still remained at their posts, with *chargés d'affaires* in full force to carry on the usual work.

I need not enter into the subsequent history of these complications, and of the war which soon followed between Turkey and Russia; suffice it to say that, on the return of Sir Henry Elliot to England, it was deemed advisable to send as special ambassador to Constantinople Sir Henry Layard, who then represented Her Majesty in Spain, as he was more conversant than any other diplomatist with Oriental matters, and knew the ways of the Turks intimately, he having spent a great part of his life in the East, and acted for some time as *attaché* at Constantinople, under the most able and brilliant ambassador England ever had, the late Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.

It can well be imagined how delighted I was when I heard of his appointment, as I was certain that he would not be many months at the Turkish capital before he used his influence with the Porte to obtain for me the long-wished for firman, to enable me to resume excavations in Mesopotamia for the trustees of the British Museum. Sir Henry Layard having left England in April, 1877, I followed him, at the request of the trustees, two months afterwards, feeling sure that, through his influence, I should be able to attain the object of my mission.

Most unfortunately he arrived at Constantinople twelve hours after the war was declared against Turkey by Russia, the Porte having most unadvisedly rejected the Protocol which had been drawn up by General Ignatieff and subscribed to by Great Britain with the other great Powers. Had the Turkish ministers delayed their reply to the Russian ultimatum only one day, until the arrival of Sir Henry Layard, all those who know the politics of the time believe that, through his influence and the weight of his counsel, which was always looked up to by the Porte, that dreadful war would have been averted. But those who were clamoring for war, and those whose interest it was to curtail the power of the Sultan by drawing the sword, used their influence with the court to reject the ultimatum, without even waiting for a few hours of reflection. It was very extraordinary that the Turks, who are always considered to be very dilatory in giving a definite answer to most important matters, should on this occasion be in so much haste to accept the challenge of Russia when the lives of thousands of

unfortunate creatures were at stake. But so it was; and the result showed who were the greatest losers by the game.

On my return to Constantinople at the latter end of June, 1877, I found the Porte deeply engaged with prodigious measures for checking the advance of the Russian army, both in Asiatic and European Turkey, with scarcely any cash in the treasury, and most deficient in ammunition and other war requirements. Under the circumstances, the ambassador had a very delicate task to perform; but as he still took a lively interest in Assyrian and Babylonian researches, he did not shrink from employing the weight of his influence in paving the way for obtaining the required firman. Well acquainted with the tardiness of Turkish officials in conducting business, and the cleverness with which they put off an applicant for any boon or assistance, he went direct to the fountain-head, the Sultan, and begged of him personally what he wanted. His Majesty most graciously promised what was asked for, and forthwith gave the necessary order to the proper minister to prepare the document. As I had another mission to perform in Armenia and Koordistan of a political nature, which obliged me to hasten my departure from the Turkish capital, I could not wait for the firman, but was assured that it would reach Mossul as soon as I should arrive there.

I had received orders from Sir Henry Layard, under direction of the Foreign Office, to visit the Christians of those parts of Asiatic Turkey, who were reported to be suffering from persecution and oppression, and to learn from personal intercourse and observation the real state of affairs. There was such an outcry in England during the late Russo-Turkish War about the maltreatment of the Christians by their Moslem neighbors, and the danger of their being massacred by the so-called ferocious Koords, that every one thought the doom of the poor Armenians and other Christians in Koordistan was sealed. The stories were undoubtedly invented by those whose interest it was to create a feeling of alarm and to magnify certain incidents of lawlessness, in order to produce hatred and disgust against those whom they wished to malign. It was the same in Turkey, but there the Christians were represented as the tyrants, and the Moslems, the oppressed. Darweeshes and other religious zealots gave woeful accounts of the suffering and anguish of their co-religionists who fell under the power of the Russians. They represented to those who were willing to believe their stories

that Moslem women were enslaved, and the men were made to drive herds of swine, and feed on nothing but their milk!

Doubtless in out of the way places, where the Ottoman authority is merely nominal, the weaker were domineered over by the stronger; and as the Moslems, whether in Armenia, Asia Minor, or Koordistan, have always looked down upon all Christian sects as being the subjugated races, and themselves as the conquerors, they considered it to be their right to harass and tyrannize over the unbelievers!

My departure on this mission took place in the hottest part of the summer, during the months of July and August, when very few people would think of attempting the journey. Indeed, I myself had only traveled once in the heat of summer, when in company with Sir Henry Layard, and then we had to travel at night, and rest in the day. Had I gone to Wan, the capital of Armenia, through Asia Minor, by way of Trebizond and Erzeroom, the journey could have been made in the day-time without the risk of sun-stroke; for by this route, after leaving the Black Sea in a southeasterly direction, high mountains are ascended, where the excessive heat of lower Mesopotamia and Syria is not felt. But I had to visit Diarbekir, the capital of Turkish Koordistan, first, where serious disturbances had already commenced in the provinces. Formerly the British consul of Erzeroom, in whose jurisdiction Diarbekir was situated, used to visit the place periodically, and sometimes spent the winter months there; but latterly no English consul had gone near the place for a great number of years prior to my visit in 1877.

As I found that the quickest way of reaching Diarbekir from Constantinople was by Smyrna, Alexandretta, and Aleppo, I took my passage on board one of the French steamers of the "*Messageries Maritimes*," which took me to Smyrna, where I was transferred to another vessel belonging to the same company, which came from Marseilles, and was going round the Syrian and Egyptian ports and returning to the same French port direct from Alexandria, touching at Sicily. We had to touch, on our way to Alexandretta, at Rhodes and Marsine, where the mails and cargo were delivered and taken in.

At Alexandretta I found England was represented by Mr. Augustine Catoni, the most energetic and influential consular agent in the place. Both he and his estimable wife are always ready to

make English travelers as comfortable as possible in their hospitable house, and no one need fear having any trouble at that port or on the journey to Aleppo, if they trust themselves to the guidance and advice of Mr. Catoni. I found a servant of my late brother awaiting me, and I was glad to engage him to accompany me on my journey.

I was surprised to see that port so much improved, both as regards its pestiferous atmosphere and malarious marshes, since my last visit in 1854. In those days, with the exception of two or three tumble-down stone houses, the whole place consisted of dirty reed huts surrounded with slimy quagmires, in which was thrown every kind of dirt and rubbish—a sink of filthiness, which even the frogs shunned! But now the worst and greater part of the marshes have been reclaimed, innumerable fine houses and magazines have been built, and the former fever and poverty stricken inhabitants are changed into a healthy-looking and thriving population.

CHAPTER IV.

WE left Alexandretta at sunset, on Tuesday, 14th August, 1877, and no sooner had we commenced our journey than the sky became overcast with dense clouds; thunder and lightning overtook us just as we began to ascend the Bailan Mountain. Every effort was made to reach the town before the storm burst upon us, but the night was so dark, and there were so many ravines on our way, that I was each moment afraid of falling headlong into one of them by pushing forward incautiously. The darkness was so intense that I could scarcely see the head of my horse, and if it had not been for the flashes of lightning which blazed out at intervals and enabled me to see where we were, I doubt if we should have got over our journey safely that night. At one time when on the brink of a steep precipice, which we had to skirt, a flash of lightning illumined both mountain and dale, and saved me and my horse from falling headlong into a deep abyss. Just as we reached the outskirts of the town the storm burst upon us in right good earnest, and we had only just time to take shelter in Khan-Aljadeed, or new caravan-sary, to escape a thorough drenching. It being the middle of August, no one ever expected at that time of the year to meet with such a storm in these parts, and I therefore never thought of providing myself with the necessary protection against wet.

I have always had a great objection to taking up my quarters at a khan, and at that time especially, it was not my intention to halt in the town of Bailan, but to go on to the top of the pass, and sleep there. However, being somewhat wet by the unexpected downpour, and not knowing how long the rain would continue, I was compelled to remain in that dirty and uncomfortable inn for the night. It was the more necessary to halt there as the rain had penetrated part of my luggage and bedding, which had to be dried before we could continue our journey. The khan was overcrowded with passengers, and every nook and corner had been taken possession of before my arrival. The courtyard was also crammed to overflowing with riding and baggage animals, horses, mules, and donkeys; and there was no end of hubbub among the muleteers, who were quarreling for the best billet or fodder for

their beasts. As soon as the innkeeper found who I was, he gave up to me his own private room; but with all his good intention I could not sleep from the annoyance of the cats and fleas which infested the place. I could not move a foot without tripping over an empty bottle, or huge box, or a water-pot; and to make matters worse, my own bed was of no use as it had got wet, and my servants had to sit up all night drying it, together with my clothes. I was heartily glad to resume the journey early next day, though I must confess my host tried his best to make my short visit agreeable. He cooked me a kind of dinner which could only be recommended for its quantity—certainly, not its quality. His coffee was not as bad as it might have been; but his nargheela, or hubblebubble, was neither overclean nor sweet. The next morning we went on to Khan Addiarbekirlee, which we reached in four hours' ride; about one hour up to the Pass, and the remainder down the Taurus range of mountains. This place is at the foot of the mountain on the border of the plain of Antioch, along which runs a clear and wholesome stream descending from the mountain above. There is no village or town near, but a few huts have been erected for the convenience of passengers, either by Turcomans or Armenians.

I found on arriving there, that a Turkish official named Rasheed Effendi, who came with me in the same steamer from Smyrna, was comfortably settled in my favorite hut built at the edge of the stream, a branch of which ran through it, making the air cool and refreshing. He at once invited me to share the hut with him, which I was glad to do, as I felt rather tired, and knew that there was no better accommodation in the place. He had intended to depart for the next stage soon after my arrival, but as he found my followers much fatigued on account of the rough night we had had, he did not move until his servant had cooked for me some stewed chicken and pillaw, which I thoroughly enjoyed.

Rasheed Effendi was going to Aleppo as Moodeer Albakkaya, or Director of the Outstanding Claims of Public Revenue. In every large or small town in Turkey such an officer is appointed to collect old government claims, because the Porte can not forego the pound of flesh; and for the sake of collecting a few piastres the poor peasants and other poverty-stricken individuals are fleeced unmercifully.

I resumed my journey at three o'clock P. M., and reached Ifreen at eight. Here again was my friend, Rasheed Effendi, comfortably

settled outside the coffee-shop, and ready to receive me with open arms. I found him surrounded by all kinds of beasts of burden, because a large number of muleteers, who were either going to or coming from Aleppo, had halted there for the night, and I could not do otherwise than follow his example. The coffee-shop was quite unfit for any human being to sleep in during the hot months; and to push on to the next station at that time of the night was out of the question. We were pestered all night by the incessant noise the muleteers and their animals made, and also by the swarms of fleas which infested the place. I took care to leave very early the next morning, and reached the large village of Tirmaneen in four hours and a half.

At Ifreen there is also no village, but the chief of the district, a Turcoman nobleman named Omer Agha, to whom the place belonged, built a coffee-shop and a khan for the convenience of wayfarers near a large stream of the same name. Later on he improved it by having a comfortable bungalow erected in its place, with six upper rooms and a wide veranda. It was let to an Armenian, who tried to give it a European aspect, by engaging in partnership a man from Aleppo, half Greek and half Armenian, who went down with his Europeanized family to give luster to the place. But even with such an embellishment the thing did not take, because most of the visitors preferred spreading their carpets on the dirty ground outside the building, to going to the expense of engaging one of the snug chambers. The owner of the Ifreen villa is considered to be the wealthiest man in that part of the world, and is renowned for his liberality and hospitality. He lives about three miles from Ifreen, on the way to Alexandretta, where all his followers have settled, and since he has established himself there, has kept the country clear of all marauders and highway robbers. A few years ago it was not possible to travel from Ifreen to Antioch without the fear of being robbed, and perhaps killed. His only fault is that he is very fond of the prohibited drink; and, being a strict Mohammedan, it is considered very extraordinary that he not only drinks spirituous liquors himself, but insists upon the innkeeper having them for sale, and it was commonly whispered that the building at Ifreen was used more for the retail of aracki than coffee!

On each journey I usually took up my quarters at every village in the same house I occupied before, because, generally speaking, I chose the nicest and cleanest dwelling in the place before I ven-

tured to locate myself in it. I also promised the inmates of the house that I would go to them should I visit that place again. So at Tirmaneen I chose the house of a fine old Turcoman, named Mohammed Zekeriah, who had two wives, the elder, a country-woman of his own, somewhat passé, and the other a pretty young Arab girl. Generally speaking, all good Moslems are bound to provide a separate room for each wife, as it is considered quite improper and illegal for two wives to sleep in the same room. A Moslem may marry four wives, but must not have more than one if he can not provide separate apartments for the second, third, or fourth wife. On a former occasion I was allowed to occupy the room belonging to the elder wife, as it is always considered the best and most spacious in the house; but on this occasion I found my room was already occupied by a Turkish official who had preceded me. When, however, the Arab wife saw me she invited me to her own chamber, which I accepted gratefully. As soon as I sat down she brought me some water and mashed melons, with a basket of most delicious fresh figs; the latter of which I enjoyed very much. The figs of this district are small, but extremely luscious; and a person might eat two pounds of them without fear of their disagreeing with him. Their seeds are scarcely perceptible, and the skin is so very thin and delicate that it can not be detached from the pulp; the fig has therefore to be eaten whole.

On my next visit to the place, I found, to my great sorrow, that my old host had died from heart-disease, and that both his Turcoman and Arab wives had left the place; the former returning to her family, as she was too old to be wooed again; and the latter had been seized upon by an ardent admirer as soon as the prescribed time of her widowhood expired in accordance with Mohammedan law. I was, therefore, compelled to find another suitable lodging; and as I had seen, on a former occasion, when passing through the village, a nice stone house, I went to try my luck there. On entering the courtyard, I was met by a host of women, who gave me anything but a good reception; but as soon as I began to speak to them in Arabic they seemed somewhat reconciled to my presence, and on my telling them that I wished to see the landlord, they sent immediately for him, and asked me to take a seat in the meantime. It was not long before my future host made his appearance, and as soon as he saw me he ordered the best room in the house to be got ready, and before half an hour had passed I was comfortably set-

tled in a nice, clean chamber, all built and paved with hewn, smooth stones, and having regular door and windows, with proper shutters, quite a luxury and an exception to the rule. I found afterwards that my host was the wealthiest and most pious man in the place. He was never known to miss one of the five daily prayers imposed upon good Moslems, and his liberality was famed far and wide. I had not been there two hours before I became aware that he possessed four wives—two Turkomanees, one an Arab, and the fourth a Circassian, who was the youngest of them all. My chamber happened to be near hers, and, as she was suffering from intermittent fever, she kept coming in and out, asking me for a specific remedy. I showed her all the medicines I had; and having recommended one, she insisted upon my tasting it for her. As a matter of course, I did not care to taste either the emetic or quinine; but as she said that she could not take anything unless I tasted it myself first, I had to change my prescription, and gave her pyretic saline instead. She seemed to be the favorite wife, and the most cared for, as she was dressed in finery and attended to like a lady; while the other three were working hard, both in and out of doors. It was very striking to see the contrast between her and the other three wives. She was fair and refined; the others were dark and masculine. It was also very amusing to see the difference in the ideas of dress between an Arab and Koordish, Circassian or a Turcoman wife; a fair average between the two would perhaps be impossible. The Arab will wear no drawers, because it is a disgrace to do so; and the other races must wear them because it is considered a disgrace to appear in public without them. The former do not consider it unbecoming to expose their bare legs, but they think it most improper to show their breast, and will cover it with any dirty rag, sooner than let it be seen, or even take up the lower part of their skirt at the expense of exposing their legs up to the knees to cover it; the latter, on the contrary, do not mind walking about with part of the breast uncovered, though their legs and feet must be quite concealed.

Although my host had four wives, he had no children; and the want of offspring to possess his wealth was a source of great grief to him. He had been advised to marry a young Circassian, with whom he might be more fortunate, and so he went to Aleppo and married a handsome girl of that race about seventeen years of age. When I was there they had been married more than a year, and his disappointment was still a source of bitter grievance to him.

On my next visit to the place, about two years afterwards, I was dumfounded to find, on entering the same house, that its occupants were perfect strangers to me; and on looking into the room which I had formerly occupied, I saw that a Turkish Harim had taken possession of it. I was told that my old pious host had died of fever, that three of his wives had gone away, and the fourth, who was the youngest next to the Circassian, had married the old man's nephew, one of the sons of the chief of the village, who inherited the property, and that they were then living in the same house. His wife recognized me at once; and both she and her husband expressed great sorrow that the only decent room in the house had been taken possession of by some Turks, who had arrived there a few minutes before me. While meditating what to do, a young girl who was sitting with the Turkish lady came out, and offered to take me to her father's house, which settled my difficulty; but on entering the courtyard I found, to my great dismay, that it was the chief's residence. When my fair conductor found I hesitated, she said that if I did not care to occupy her father's reception-room, she would lend me her chamber. Naturally, on entering the guest-chamber and seeing her father sitting there surrounded by a host of visitors, I begged to have a room to myself; and in less than a quarter of an hour my young friend prepared her room for me, and undertook to act as my hostess as long as I lived under their roof. She was most particular in her attention, and provided me with everything I required. Her father and some of his guests paid me a long visit in the evening, and seemed to enjoy the tea and biscuits which I gave them. When I first saw the chief, the father of my hostess, I was quite startled, as I thought that my late host, the possessor of the four wives, had come to life again. I found out afterwards that they were brothers, and indeed no twins could have resembled each other more than those two did. Both the families of the chief and his late brother were fair and good-looking.

As I desired to reach Aleppo early in the morning, we started from Tirmaneen at two A. M., after having partaken of a nice cup of coffee and milk, which had been prepared for me by my cook, with the assistance of my young hostess and her sister. Of course there was no end of adieus and complimentary exchange of sentiments on parting; I promising to repeat my visit to them if I returned home that way, and they wishing me all prosperity and

blessings on my onward journey, and a safe return to them. Five hours' slow march brought us soon after sunrise in sight of the minaret on the famous castle of Aleppo, and I left my followers and hastened on with the Turkish escort to the British consulate, which was reached in two hours' quick pace.

Mr. Skene, the British consul, with his usual hospitality, invited me to his house during my stay at Aleppo, for the purpose of providing myself with the necessary outfit and provisions for the long journey. Both he and his wife, with their wonted kindness, made every one feel quite at home. All those who knew Mr. Skene intimately must acknowledge that he was one of the most estimable and hard-working consuls in Turkey. He was proficient in Oriental learning. Every language he knew he spoke fluently; and he was unsurpassed in his knowledge of the character and habits of the different nationalities of Turkey.

Mr. Skene informed me that he had discovered the real site of Carchemish, the old capital of the Hittites, on the bank of the Euphrates, known to the natives by the name of Yarabolus, about fifteen miles below Beerajeeek, and that he had pointed out the place to the late Mr. George Smith.* He thought that some valuable remains might be found in its ruins, and therefore recommended that the British Museum should explore the spot. As I possessed no permission just then to excavate anywhere, and the firman which I was expecting applied only to Mesopotamia, I made up my mind to ask our ambassador at Constantinople to include Yarabolus in the next permit, especially as I was certain that the trustees of the British Museum would not be unwilling to spend a few pounds on the chance of obtaining some historical records from that interesting locality. In the meantime, Mr. Patrick Henderson, who soon afterwards succeeded Mr. Skene in the consulate at Aleppo, obtained the necessary permit from the Porte, as he also took a great interest in archaeological researches. So when the ambassador succeeded in including in my second firman the

* It appears that when Mr. Skene mentioned the ruin to Mr. Smith he ridiculed the idea of its being the site of the ancient Carchemish, as he followed the exploded notion of former travelers and savants, that it was situated at the junction of the Khaboor with the Euphrates, where the present Albissaira is situated. But on visiting the place and seeing the remains, he was forced ultimately to come to the same conclusion.

Pashalic of Aleppo within the range of my archaeological researches, and the trustees desired me to see what I could do in that locality, I found that Mr. Henderson had already commenced operations; and as I did not think it either advisable or right to interfere with his work, I refrained from having anything to do with that site.

Mr. Henderson, whose official duties prevented him from giving his whole time to the superintendence of the excavations, was obliged to carry on the work most of the time through agents. He made some interesting discoveries during the short time he carried on the explorations, of both bas-reliefs and inscriptions in hieroglyphic characters, which are now in the British Museum. Efforts have been made to read the Hittite inscriptions; but none have yet been deciphered, though both Professor A. H. Sayce, Mr. Hyde Clarke, and others, have tried to fix the value of some of the ideographs.

I left Aleppo on the afternoon of the 21st of August, and, according to the custom of the country, was accompanied for about an hour's ride from the town by a number of friends, and the dragoman and the kawasses of the consulate. It is generally considered advisable, when going a great distance, to make a short stage the first day after leaving a town, in order that the luggage may be re-adjusted on the animals, and if anything has been forgotten, there is time to obtain it. I followed this course, and only went as far as the village of Hhailan, about two-hours' journey, or seven miles, from Aleppo.*

We encamped outside the village near a muddy stream, as no one in his right senses would take up his quarters in the dirty huts at that time of the year, on account of the fleas which infest the place, even in the open thoroughfares. Although it was the hottest time of the year, when the thermometer goes up in the day time to between 85 and 100 degrees Fahrenheit in that part of Syria and Mesopotamia, I found it so chilly at night that I was obliged to use an extra rug on my bed. It was difficult to understand what caused the unusual cold that night. I could not make out whether the rivulet had anything to do with it, or it was

* The average rate of traveling on horseback is about three miles an hour, but I generally traveled, when the luggage was left behind, at the rate of four miles an hour; so when I mention my arrival at a certain place, the latter calculation is always meant.

occasioned at that time of the year in consequence of the heavy rain which fell in the north. The natives of the place told me that they had very seldom felt such a cold night during the summer months. No rain had fallen near the place for more than two months.

The next day only five hours' journey was made, as far as the Moslem village of Aghbirhan, where the villagers had taken the wise course of encamping outside their huts; and, as a matter of course, I took my quarters in the tent of the chief, because I had intended to remain there only a few hours during the hottest part of the day, and start again in the afternoon. I gladdened the hearts of the shaikh and his family by having a sheep killed on my arrival, and allowed them to appropriate the skin, the head, feet, and all the interior part of the animal—besides the dinner they enjoyed from my kitchen. They told me that they had not tasted meat for months, as the whole village could not afford to kill a sheep among them. They complained of oppression from both the heavy taxation and conscription, consequent on the then existing Turco-Russian war. Although they said that they had scarcely any young men left to till the ground, and more than half of the fields remained uncultivated, they were called upon to pay the heavy taxes in full, and the chief assured me that not only had he sold everything he possessed to satisfy Government demands, but he had to incur heavy debts at Aleppo to keep out of prison. In the afternoon I made a short stage of two hours and a half, as I intended to commence my journey very early the next day. The difficulty has always been to get my followers to rise early, or to make them get up at the time I appoint; and it is very rare that the muleteers load their animals without grumbling. They begin to show their displeasure by abusing each other, the animals, or themselves,—“Be quiet, thou brute; may the father of him who sold thee be everlastingly burnt!” “Get up, thou lazy rascal; thou art snoring like a donkey;” “May he who brought me up in this avocation never receive God's mercy,” etc. The great difficulty was to make a start, because, even after the animals had been laden, the chances were that one or two loads would fall down, or one of the animals go astray in the dark, and an unnecessary loss of time be occasioned through the carelessness of the muleteers. I invariably showed the muleteer the whole of my luggage before I engaged him, in order that he might know what he was expected to carry on each animal. No difficulty was ever made at the outset; but as soon as

the bargain was struck and the loading begun, he would commence to grumble, and declare that the things required double the number of animals. Sometimes a stool, a water-jug, or even a small drinking-can, was complained about as being too heavy to place over the luggage, and so disputes and quarrels became the order of the day.

Our journey the next day lasted only about six hours, as far as the village of Zamboor; and as the weather was extremely hot, and I knew that it would be far from comfortable to live in tents under a burning sun, I made up my mind this time to take up my quarters in the village, even at the risk of being tormented with fleas. When we were within five or six miles of the village, I left the luggage, and hurried on with part of my escort to find a shelter from the heat of the sun; but on coming near the place, I galloped on alone to choose clean and comfortable quarters, leaving my party to follow slowly on. As a matter of course, if I entered the village with the Turkish escort, they would at once take me to the chief's house, whose duty it is to render hospitality to distinguished travelers; and as that functionary has only one spare room in his house, where all wayfarers and the idle villagers resort, it is anything but pleasant, after a long and fatiguing journey, to take up one's quarters there, especially as it would be quite impossible to have the proper rest and do any writing while there. Moreover, I knew that, even if I wished to choose any other house in the village in preference to that of the chief, the chances were that I should not be admitted if the escort was with me. I have therefore, on most occasions, entered a village alone, and, after choosing my quarters, sent to my followers to join me. For this reason, when we came within a mile of the village of Zamboor, I left my party, and, seeing from a distance a house having an upper chamber, I rode straight to it, being certain that if that room could be secured I should be safe from fleas, and enjoy fresh air. To my great disappointment the house proved to be that of the chief of the village, who was a Turcoman, and the very upper chamber I had looked forward to was the room I particularly wished to avoid, as it was full of guests, all chatting as loud as they could about the war and its consequences. The chief, whom I found sitting with his guests, invited me to sit down; but having thanked him for his civility, I told him that I was too tired to take my rest in that noisy assembly. On going down stairs, I was met by the good wife of the chief, who asked me why I was going away, and, on explaining to her my rea-

sons, she said at once, "Come up with me, and I will soon have the room cleared out for you." It did not take her long to disperse the assembly, including her husband, over whom she seemed to possess a wonderful spell. No sooner was the chamber free of the noisy crowd than she called her two daughters, and ordered one to sweep the room, and the other to fetch water and sprinkle the floor to make it cool; and before many minutes were over I was comfortably settled in my temporary residence. She was also good enough to take in my servants, and allow them to prepare my dinner. This obliging family were so pleasant and attentive to all my wants that I always made it a point, after that visit, to take up my quarters in their house when traveling between Beerajee and Aleppo. One of the daughters, a handsome girl of about seventeen years of age, was very rich, and had had a most romantic history. It appeared that she married a very wealthy husbandman, with whom she had lived for a year, and at his death had inherited all his property. After that another man wooed her; but as he did not bear a good character in the country, her father refused his consent, but she settled the matter by eloping with her lover. Before many days were over, however, he killed a man in a fit of jealousy, and was obliged to flee the district, and take shelter in some secure place, where he could not be arrested; and so the Turcoman girl was obliged to return to her father's house, and remain in an unhappy state of uncertainty. She was always dressed in fine silks, and covered from head to foot with silver trinkets, and was the idol of all the bachelors in the neighborhood, who were seeking her, either for her fortune or handsome face!

We left Zamboor soon after midnight on the 24th of August, just as an eclipse of the moon began to darken our way after a bright moonlight. My host was the first to notice the phenomenon before we finished loading, by saying, "Behold, the moon is going to be swallowed up." The consequence was that we had to travel for nearly an hour and a half before we could see our way properly. My kawass and I hurried on to the Euphrates, which was reached about seven o'clock in the morning. As I have already given an account of the clumsy way passengers are taken across the river at Beerajee, I will pass on and relate how I fared in that Mesopotamian town. As there are no hotels in these out-of-the-way places, and the khans, or caravansaries, are not fit to live in, I did as I was recommended, and took up my abode in the Monophysite

Armenian Church on the hill. Most of the Eastern churches in the rural districts have what they call a guest-chamber, in which they receive the respectable class of travelers. Those who go about with their full complement of servants do not require more than the lodging, and, generally speaking, they invite the head ecclesiastic to dine with them, but those who can not afford to have many servants, or others who do not wish their attendants to do any cooking on these occasions, have their meals brought from either the public cooking establishments, or some respectable family, who are always ready to do what is needful on these occasions for the sake of a little present. As I always travel fully provided with those domestic comforts, which can be carried about without much inconvenience, I invariably had my meals prepared the same as if I were stationary, unless, however, I accepted the hospitality of some native gentlemen, who are in the habit of entertaining strangers; or to whom I was introduced by a friend, or well known, either from personal acquaintance or reputation.

There is a large community at Beerajeeck composed of Armenians of every sect, Monophysites, Roman Catholics, and Protestants; and as soon as they heard of my arrival, their principal men called on me, and I returned their visits in the afternoon. The natives of Beerajeeck have a peculiar, and not a disagreeable, custom of treating a visitor with fruit and sweetmeats, which civility was accorded to me; and by the time I returned to my quarters I felt that I had eaten fruit enough to last me for the next six months. The Kayim-Makkam, or lieutenant-governor of the place, and the Kadhee, paid me formal visits in the course of the day, which I had to return soon afterwards, as it was my intention to start for Diarbekir that night.

The Christians spoke very highly of these two functionaries, both as regards their administration of justice and friendly feeling towards all classes, whom they always treated on an equal footing. This spoke very well in their favor for keeping things quiet, seeing that the Moslem population of Turkey were very much irritated on account of the non-intervention of the European Powers to give a helping hand to the Osmanlees in their struggle against the overwhelming forces of Russia.

To show how uncertain the administration of justice in Turkey is, the next time I visited Beerajeeck, the town was governed by two quite opposite characters; the governor was weak and irresolute,

and the Kadhee ignorant and fanatical. A few days before I arrived, a party of Christian wayfarers, who were coming to Beerajeeek from Aintab, on passing one of the villages below the hills in the province of the former, were met by a number of Turcoman marauders, who plundered them of everything they possessed, and severely wounded one of them. When they proffered their complaint to the proper court, they were told by the Kadhee, the president of it, that unless their evidence was backed by Mohammedan witnesses their complaint could not be entertained, as it was unlawful to receive the evidence of Christians against Moslems. Although that Christian evidence disability had been abrogated by an imperial mandate during the early part of Abd-al-Majeed's beneficent reign, nearly forty years before, through the great influence Lord Stratford de Redcliffe possessed at the Sublime Porte, every now and then a fanatical Kadhee, or wily governor, starts up and lays down the law as it suits his convenience and religious views.

I left Beerajeeek an hour after midnight on the 25th of August. The weather was intensely hot and sultry; and by the time we reached the village of Kanlee-Hoshar, at 8.45 A. M., we had emptied all our water-vessels from excessive thirst. As the people of the village were encamping outside it in tents, I took up my quarters in the largest, whose owner received me with every mark of welcome. But the heat in the black tent was stifling, the thermometer rising in its shady part to more than 105 degrees. Being anxious to push on, I resumed my journey at 3.30 P. M., under a scorching sun. I had unfortunately dined on stewed badinjan, which in India is called brinjall, or the forbidden fruit. I suffered from a parching thirst all the evening, not from want of water, but because the more I tried to quench my thirst, the more my mouth and tongue became dry. We reached our halting-place, Hawak, a Moslem village, at nine o'clock, where I staid at the house of Joseph Ballo, who received me very civilly, and placed his whole establishment at my disposal, and, after having refreshed myself with a cup of tea, I went to bed.

The next day being Sunday, the 26th of August, I remained stationary, to give myself and followers a little rest. It has always been my rule never to travel or allow any work to be done on the Lord's-day, and it is a remarkable fact that those who were obliged to observe it, whether Christians or Moslems, always appreciated the rule, and felt very pleased to have a day of rest.

The village of Hawak boasts of some vegetation, with here and there an attempt at kitchen gardening, as there is a good deal of water running in front of it; and after the very arid country we passed through the previous night, together with the oppressive heat, the sight of a little green was very refreshing. My host took me to see the spring from which their water was obtained, and it was delightful to sit there for a few minutes, and enjoy the clear and cool water issuing out of the rock.

The majority of the inhabitants of Hawak are retired dancing-boys, called Kocher, who had spent the best part of their boyhood in amusing a certain voluptuous class in Turkey and Persia with their fun and exhibitions, which have ever been a disgrace to those countries.

I spent a very pleasant Sunday in the village, as I kept within doors during the hottest time of the day; and by having the floor of my chamber constantly watered, and the door and windows closed, the heat was brought down at least ten degrees.* As I wished to resume my journey before midnight, I slept for a few hours soon after dinner. We started at eleven P. M., and traveled all night, reaching our halting-place, Joorneyrush, at half-past eight o'clock the next morning. The night was pleasant, quite different from the one spent on the road the day before; and as it was cloudy in the morning, the effect of the burning sun was not felt before we reached our destination. Ibraheem, the head muleteer, and my butler, Hannah, were laid up on that day with the common complaint of the country, intermittent fever, preceded by a fit of ague. I was told that there was a good deal of sickness in the village; and no wonder, as the people were hard at work in the fields bringing in their harvest. I occupied a small room in the best house in the village, built of gray sandstone; and as a protection against heat, fleas, and flies, I had the floor of my chamber, as usual, saturated with water, and closed the shutters of the windows and door. By this means I managed after breakfast to have three hours' sleep, which prepared me to travel again all night, in order to avoid the heat of the sun. We started at 10.15 P. M., and went

* Wetting the floor of a room in the summer months has two advantages; first, it makes the fleas lie dormant if the water does not actually kill them; and, secondly, the evaporation causes a good deal of cool air in a dark room.

on until daylight, when I left the luggage and pushed on with my kawass, cook, and one of the escort to Swairak, which place was reached at 6.30 A. M. On entering the town we met some Swairakee horsemen, who had volunteered their services to join the Turkish army at Erzeroom, then at war with Russia. The patriotic Moslems of the place, and even some of the well-to-do Christians, assisted in finding their accouterments and the purchase of the horses to carry them to the field of battle; but most of the men who were engaged for war had not the least intention of going further than a day's journey, as they disposed of their animals and arms, and went back after a time, with made-up stories for the satisfaction of those who sent them. This kind of trickery was of common occurrence all over Turkey, as the love of personal benefit was stronger than the desire for the national weal.

Swairak is a town of some importance, inhabited by Turcomans and Armenians with some few families, a mixture of Arab, Turcoman, and Koordish nationalities. I took up my quarters in the same Armenian Church which I occupied on a former occasion; and on my arrival was visited by a large number of the Christian community, who gave me a woeful account of the ill-treatment they received at the hands of their Moslem townspeople, especially the young ones, who would accost them with insults in the streets. When the place was formerly under the Pashalic of Diarbekir, it was better governed, especially as the seat of the local government was distant only two days' journey; but now it has been transferred to the Pashalic of Kharpoot, a distance of eight days, just because a certain Pasha recommended the transfer to suit his own purposes. After that, the place was badly governed, especially at the time of which I am writing; for the man who had been sent from Kharpoot to act as a temporary Kayim-Makkam was quite unfit for the position, and, having a touch of fanaticism in his character, he paid no attention to the grievances of the Christians.

An old Armenian priest, who dined with me on a former occasion, joined me at my evening meal, and I was shocked to find he was the worse for drink. Although he had a plate before him, in which he was assisted to the food, he would stretch his hand over his plate every now and then to the dish to help himself, saying, that to be helped and made to eat from a separate plate looked like begging. What made matters worse, whenever he found a nice

piece of meat or vegetable, he would help me with the spoon which he had been using. It will easily be imagined that I was glad when the dinner was over.

Sarkees Effendi, the head of the Armenian community, paid me a visit with a member of the Council of State in the course of the day. He is a very intelligent and pleasant man, and it gave me great pleasure to see him again in the evening. He was quite a contrast to the priest.

The little that could be gleaned of the public opinion in that country showed that both Mohammedans and Christians were very much dissatisfied with British politics. The former thought it very unfriendly of the maternal uncles of the Sultan* to leave the Ottomans to fight their battles with Russia alone; while the latter considered it a great shame for England to be always sympathizing with the Turks against the Russians, and preventing the Muscovites casting off from them the hateful rule of Islam. One priest went so far as to say publicly that he doubted the Christianity of the English for wasting their money and energy to bolster up an anti-Christian power; but every one knew that they cared more about money-making than religion; while the Russians, on the other hand, were the friends of all oppressed Christians. I told him that he was very unwise to use such language, because, if it was heard by any Mohammedan, he would only bring misfortune upon his community.

I slept on the terrace of the Church, and was roused soon after midnight to resume the journey. After traveling about six hours and a half, we rested during the heat of the day at the village of Kainagh, which was reached at 7.30 A. M. Here the villagers were living in tents, and I took up my quarters in the largest one, which belonged to the chief, who, with three members of his family, was suffering from fever. My head muleteer had another attack of fever as soon as we arrived; and so, between the moaning of one and the whining of the others, I had anything but a peaceful time of it. Besides these woeful outbursts, the heat of the tent and the troublesome flies kept me from sleeping, in spite of weariness after the night journey. As I was very much fatigued and in want of sleep, I felt that I was not far from following the example of the

* They have a notion in Turkey that one of the Sultans, supposed to be Saladin, had married an English wife, and thus the Emperors of the Ottomans are considered to have English blood in their veins!

fever-stricken party in their groaning! I tried to soothe the complaint of the invalids with pyretic saline, but they were too sick to derive any benefit therefrom.

The natives of this village have a peculiar way of cooling their water by digging a hole in the ground, about two feet deep, and filling it with water from a muddy stream that runs a short distance from the village; which, in my opinion, causes a great deal of the sickness among the people. It was quite enough to see the state of the water to discover that it was unfit for drinking; and I only wonder that more serious diseases are not engendered by it, knowing that all kinds of filth collect in the pool. I told the villagers that they must not expect to enjoy good health as long as they went on drinking that filthy and unwholesome water; but I fear my advice was not attended to, for the mere reason, I suppose, that they learned to do so from their forefathers, and it was contrary to their filial duty to abandon a custom which had been handed down to them by their ancestors.

As I wanted to avoid traveling in the heat of the sun, which I knew would be very powerful in the valley of the Tigris, I ordered the loading of our animals soon after nine o'clock P. M., and at 9.40 we started and reached the khan of Kara-Bakcha about midnight.* My cook, escort, kawass, and I, halted for about half an hour near the khan until the luggage arrived, when we again mounted our horses and resumed the journey, crossing the hill of Karrach Dagh, which means in Turkish, rugged mountain,—a very appropriate name for it. The whole descent towards Diar-bekir, which takes two hours to ride over, is covered with large boulders as hard as flint, and my wonder has always been how the poor animals manage to go through it without breaking their hoofs. We had intended to halt at a village called Koosh-Dooghan (Turkish, bird hatching), but on reaching the place at seven o'clock, we found that it had been deserted; so my escort had to find another resting-place for us at the village of Wineybirg, about a mile out of our way. I found, to my disappointment, on arriving there, that the natives were living in tents, which fact at once destroyed my hopes of having a few hours' sleep and getting shelter from the flies and heat of the day. My host was a Koord, and right civil

* Kara Kakcha are two Turkish words meaning black garden, from the nature of the ground around the springs, which are in the vicinity of the khan.

and attentive he and his family were. It has always been my lot to find both Koords and Turcomans most obliging and extremely hospitable; and though, generally speaking, they are most strict in their religion, and considered to be fanatical Moslems, I never on any single occasion had reason to complain of their want of respect and attention.

As soon as the sun was set and dinner over, I tried to sleep for a few hours, before we resumed our journey. Although I did not intend to start until one or two in the morning, the muleteers and servants made ready to start before midnight, as they were anxious to reach Diarbekir as early as possible. One of the greatest difficulties a traveler has to contend with on the road, is to induce the muleteers, and even his domestics, to start from their halting-place punctually; but when a town is approached they are always in a great hurry to reach it. On any ordinary day the muleteer drives his baggage animals at the rate of about two and a half miles an hour; but the day he comes near a town he is sure to push on at a furious rate, and accomplish the same distance in a little more than half the time.

If there is no hotel in a town, and living in a khan is objected to, it is advisable, and indeed most necessary, for a traveler, if he wishes to insure comfortable lodgings, to communicate beforehand through a friend with an influential resident to engage him quarters. I therefore followed this rule, and wrote from Aleppo, asking the Rev. Thomas Boyadjian, the head and pastor of the Armenian Protestant community at Diarbekir, to engage me a house to live in during my stay; and to make him more sure of the exact time of my arrival, I sent another letter from Wineybirg, to inform him of my approach.

As I expected, we reached the suburbs of the town at five o'clock, just at sunrise, on the 28th of August; and as I did not like to disturb Mr. Boyadjian's family at so early an hour, I ordered our baggage to be unloaded, and waited at a fountain near a garden outside the city. I had scarcely been there half an hour, when I learned that Mr. Boyadjian, with Count Pisani (one of the telegraph officials) and other native Christians, had gone on another road in search of me. Fortunately, one of the horsemen, who was following them, saw me, and galloped off to tell them I was there. After waiting half an hour longer, my friends joined me, and we all entered the town together. As the house which Mr. Boyadjian

wished me to occupy was not ready, he kindly invited me to his house, where I was welcomed by his amiable English wife, who had left her country to share the life of her estimable husband in that distant land. Happily for me, Mr. Boyadjian was a member of the Council of State, which gave him some standing with the authorities; and as I had a very gracious firman, and a strong recommendation from the Sublime Porte to different governors-general of the Provinces I had been commissioned to visit, I was able to employ him semi-officially in any important communication that passed between me and the governor-general. It was most fortunate that an able and accomplished Ottoman functionary as Abd-ar-Rahman Pasha was at the head of affairs in such a fanatical place as Diarbekir during those days of disorder and confusion. A very bitter feeling then existed among all classes of Moslems against the Christians, on account of the war between Russia and Turkey, which they supposed had been undertaken by the former power to destroy the Mohammedan rule.

Soon after our arrival, a large number of the principal residents of Diarbekir, both Christians and Mohammedans, called on me; and one and all gave me a sad account of the state of affairs in the rural districts. The former fixed the blame on the Moslems for their religious hatred of the Christians, and the latter attributed the disorders to the want of proper troops to put down Koordish excesses; but they assured me that both Mohammedans and Christians shared alike in the general insecurity. In consequence of the war, the Ottoman Government had withdrawn all the regular troops from Koordistan, and left the stronger to ill-treat the weaker; thus affairs were going from bad to worse, and at the time I was at Diarbekir the disorders were at their height.

On my communicating the unhappy state of affairs to the British ambassador, who made it known to the Porte, the latter felt bound to remedy the evil, and so they authorized the governor-general, Abd-ar-Rahhman Pasha, to stop an infantry regiment proceeding from Baghdad to the seat of war through Diarbekir for the protection of the well-disposed in the lawless districts. Of course, one regiment was not sufficient to keep order throughout the whole Pashalic; but still it gave the men in authority some power in a large portion of the province where the Koords were becoming more troublesome every day.

The native Moslems of the town were always reckoned to be

great fanatics, and bore intense hatred towards the Christians; so after the war broke out between Russia and Turkey, this animosity was intensified fourfold, and no Christian could go about without being insulted for his religion or nationality. I had to report many disgraceful incidents to the governor-general, who lost no time in having the guilty punished and the law vindicated. But in the Provinces the anarchy, which was accompanied by atrocities, was equally disastrous for law-abiding Moslems as well as Christians. In fact, certain marauding Koordish tribes inhabiting the mountains between Diarbekir, Bitlis, and Moosh, such as the Rushkootan, Shaikh Dadan, and Sasoon tribes, were the terror of the neighborhood; and at the time I was traveling in that country there was no bound to their depredations. Though they were plundering and committing fearful ravages all over the country at the time I passed through the disturbed districts, I never met with any of them; but my escort pointed out on several occasions the dangerous neighborhood we were in. Twice we had to pass through the villages of those who were called brigands and rebels, and, as a matter of course, I was advised not to halt in any of the suspected places for fear of a sudden attack. But from all I saw of the people, they did not seem to show any sign of hostility; on the contrary, when passing through one village, where a few days before a caravan had been attacked and some men killed, the chief came out and invited me to have some refreshment; but I was obliged to decline the honor, as I wished to push on as fast as possible.

Abd-ar-Rahman Pasha had a very difficult task in keeping order at Diarbekir, on account of the hatred the fanatical Moslems bore to the Christians, and the want of proper police to keep order. Religious hatred and jealousy kept up a constant feud between Christians and Moslems, and it required a man with tact and firmness to keep things quiet. These qualities happily were possessed by the then governor-general. The same Abd-ar-Rahman Pasha was a few years afterwards made Grand Vizier; but for some reason or other he did not keep that high office long.

The Moslems of Diarbekir during that troublesome time accused the Christians of sympathizing with the Russians, and did everything in their power to foment a serious quarrel and bring about deplorable results, but their maneuvers did not succeed. One day, after I left Diarbekir, some roughs of the place, during the night, smeared the door of one of the mosques with filth, and the

next morning the fanatics raised a hue and cry against the Christians, whom they accused of being the perpetrators of the disgraceful act. As soon as the news reached the ear of Abd-ar-Rahman Pasha, he sent for the heads of the Moslem community, and told them that he expected them to find out the evil-doers from amongst their own people. He said that no one in his right senses would dream of entertaining the absurd idea that any Christian would dare to commit such sacrilege to a Mohammedan place of worship, especially at a time when they were anxious to live at peace with their neighbors, much less to insult the religion of their rulers.

There is a very important Protestant community at Diarbekir, which has been reclaimed from the old Armenian Church attached to the American independent form of worship, but neither the Chaldeans nor the Syrians have contributed any share to the established reform.* Some Armenians, also, have attached themselves to the rites of the English Church, but these are few in number. The whole, or at least the majority, of the Reformed Armenians would prefer the Episcopalian form to that of the Non-conformists; but, for some reason or other, the Sublime Porte refused to sanction the establishment of such a community. With the exception of some isolated cases in different parts of Asiatic Turkey, where the reformed Christians have attached themselves to Episcopalian principles, one and all have adopted that of the Presbyterian, because all the reformation that took place in Koordistan, Syria, and Asia Minor, was originated by American missionaries, belonging either to the Congregational or Presbyterian Churches. It is due to the zeal and diligence of these good and pious American ministers of Christ, who have done so much towards the regeneration of the corrupt Eastern Churches, that the native Protestants bear an honorable name among all classes and creeds, even with their brother Christians from whom they separated. They are considered by the Ottoman authorities to be men of exemplary characters, and on whose word they can always depend. Education, through the instrumentality of the American Board of Missions, has also effected a great change in both male and female proselytes,

* Whenever the word "Chaldean" is mentioned, it means an ancient Christian community in communion with the Roman Catholic Church; but the word "Syrian" means either the Christians who are in communion with the Church of Rome, or the old Monophysites, called Jacobites, from Jacob bar Addaius.

and the only drawback is that most of the Reformed Christians are too poor to make any great show before other communities. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, are always ready to sow the seed of discord wherever they go, and never lose an opportunity of persecuting those who do not agree with them in matters of faith. But their educational system is beyond all praise, and far superior to that of the Americans, both as regards higher culture and languages. Moreover, the Latin priests, who are generally at the head of the Vatican missions, are wonderfully active and vigilant. They are always ready to proclaim their doctrine as the only sure way to salvation, denouncing the other denominations as heretical, and doomed to everlasting torment! It is an extraordinary fact that, though they have repeatedly tried to gain a footing in Armenia proper, they have not been able to make many converts; and, with the exception of a small village near Moosh, called "Seat of the Franks," there is not a sign of the Roman Catholic doctrine in that country.

After having spent about ten days at Diarbekir, I left for Wan, visiting, on my way, the districts of Saart, Bitlis, and Moosh. Throughout the journey I heard everywhere the common cry against the ravages of the Koords, and the maladministration of the local authorities. Even admitting that the reports which reached my ears were greatly exaggerated, and allowing a good margin to the woeful stories I heard, no doubt a good deal of misery and suffering was caused from want of proper protection to life and property. The apathy and weakness of the local authorities in the rural districts, and the dishonesty of the tax-collectors, were the main cause of the disorder, which has been the bane of Turkey for the last forty or fifty years; and it seems to me that the mismanagement of affairs is always on the increase. The Koords, especially those who are nomad tribes, have never been brought under proper subjection; so when the Ottoman Government became entangled in a war like that in which she was engaged with Russia in 1877, the weak had to suffer at the hands of the strong, and all those who possessed local power acted as it seemed good in their eyes, because they knew they could do so with impunity.

CHAPTER V.

DURING that memorable war, almost all the tribes in Turkish Koordistan were more or less unruly. They not only refused to pay their proper taxes, but took exception to the law of conscription; and all those who volunteered to assist in the Jihad, or holy war, against the Russians, considered it to be their right to plunder the villages they passed through, and mulct all wayfarers whom they happened to meet.

In traveling between Diarbekir and Saart, I saw almost every day crowds of men, women, and children, hurrying from their villages to take shelter in some secure place from the ravages of the lawless Koords. Any one who dared to deny the brigands anything, was sure to lose his life. This kind of lawlessness was not exercised merely over Christians, but also over peaceful Moslems; and while I was traveling in the Pashalic of Diarbekir, no less than three Mohammedan chiefs were murdered by the Highland Koords of the Rush-Kootan, Shaikh-Dadan, Sasoon, and Mootkee tribes. Neither the governor-general of Diarbekir nor that of Wan was able to put down Koordish excesses. They had merely to depend upon the assistance of the local police, who, in many instances, proved utterly untrustworthy; and it was generally reported that they were at the bottom of the robberies committed, and indirectly encouraged them. I was assured by many Mohammedans that the Circassians in the employ of the Ottoman Government were known to plunder on the highway whenever they found an opportunity of doing so without being detected. It was the common practice of the former to steal horses and cattle, and they always managed to dispose of them to their relatives and friends without much trouble. Their custom was, when a number of them were sent on special duty, to organize themselves into a pilfering party, and proceed to a grazing field where kine, horses, or mules had been left unguarded; and as soon as they found there was no one to give an alarm, they hemmed in a number of animals, and rode off with them. As soon as they were safe out of the district they sent the booty for disposal with two or three of their party to Ras-al-ain, or any other station appointed by the Porte for the

Circassian emigrants to settle at. If a hue and cry was raised against them before they were safe out of the district in which they had committed the robbery, their pursuers were roughly handled and carried off as prisoners on the pretense of their having attacked the imperial guard in the execution of their duty. The unfortunate people, for fear of the false charge being fastened on them, would forego their property, and feel thankful that they had escaped further pecuniary loss and imprisonment, especially if they were wealthy; because, if the local authorities discovered that their victims were well-to-do, they would be sure to create all kinds of difficulties, in order, with greater facility, to fleece them of what they possessed.

One day, when visiting a man in authority in the districts, I met two Koords guarded at the entrance of the Government House, who were heavily chained, and on my asking what crime they had committed, I was told that they had done nothing themselves, but came there merely as complainants. The story of their incarceration was as follows: A Koordish chief, who was known all over the country as a freebooter, had pillaged the villages of these men, who were also chiefs, but of a lower grade; and as they had no power to protect themselves against his ravages, they went to lay their complaint before the Turkish deputy governor. No sooner did the notorious robber hear of their departure to complain, than he sent an emissary with a handsome bribe to forestall them, and pave the way for further demands.

As a matter of course, when the oppressed individuals laid their complaint before the authorities, they were told that the chief would be summoned, but they must give personal security that they would prosecute when their opponent arrived; and as they knew no one in the place to stand bail for them, they were detained, and, on the pretense of their escaping, they were put in chains. Now it was their turn to begin to satisfy the rapacity of the governor, and the more they gave, the more they increased the difficulty of extricating themselves from their misfortune. They were most willing to forego their claim, and even to forgive their adversary; but it was of no use, as they were reported to possess immense wealth, and the authorities were bent upon securing more of it. One day they were told that the chief could not be found, and another that he was dangerously ill; but at the same time both sides were being mulcted of their money, because

the accused had also been threatened with an immediate arrest, if he did not pay further hush-money to satisfy the cupidity of the authorities.

Both Abd-ar-Rahman Pasha, the governor-general of Diarbekir, and Hasan Pasha, the governor-general of Wan, were trying all they could to remedy the evil; but with the staff they had at their command, and for want of funds, it was impossible for them to establish the required reform or enforce order in the disturbed districts.

I was surprised to find that the state of serfdom in that part of Koordistan had never been quite abolished, but, on the contrary, in some of the inaccessible mountain fastnesses, Christian villages with their inhabitants had been recently bartered for, and sold by their Beys and Aghas as if they were their own slaves. Any man who dared to change his habitation to another village while he was held in a kind of bondage, was sure to meet with his death. I was told by some Koordish chiefs that this old feudal law was submitted to, even by Moslems of the lower class.

In the lowlands, especially in the plains of Bitlis and Moosh, the Christians complained of the constant arbitrary demands of their Mohammedan neighbors, who were continually exacting whatever they chose; and if their orders were not complied with, they would either punish the poor people by incendiary or night robbery, or set the Koordish brigands to attack them. On asking the Mohammedan villagers about these complaints, they did not deny the reported misdeeds, but said, as they were tyrannized over by other more powerful tribes, they considered it right that they should in turn recoup themselves from those who were beneath them. Some went so far as to say that, as the Turkish authorities oppressed them, they were obliged to turn to their neighbors for contribution!

Among the Koords and Arabs, with whom life and property have no value, the Tanzeemat,* or regulations, and local councils,

* The Tanzeemat is derived from the Arabic word Na-dham, which means to put in order or regulation. It was established at the time when the late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, our indefatigable ambassador at Constantinople, prevailed upon the Sublime Porte to institute the first reform in Turkey, about fifty years ago. Everything was conducted on the non-regulation system, which is called in Turkish, *Mis-tasna*, from the Arabic word, *Mistathna*, which means exceptional.

have done more harm than good. Even those semi-civilized people said that the Tanzeemat was of no advantage to them, because it conferred no benefit on the peaceful inhabitants, but had proved a shelter to the wrong-doers and malefactors; and thus a large number of them escaped punishment, from want of proper witnesses to convict. For instance, a Christian or a Mohammedan in humble circumstances would always hesitate to give evidence, for fear of being revenged by a relative of the accused party, and although sometimes the native police arrested a robber in the very act, and actually with the stolen articles in his possession, the culprit got off because he was not seen in the act of stealing! As for the local councils, they are more than useless; and both Christians and Moslems admit that the members of these tribunals sit either as dummies, or to hatch up mischief, and enrich themselves at the expense of the poor and unprotected. Generally speaking, the Kadhees of the districts possess and exercise immense power in these institutions; and, being presidents of the local councils, and, with very few exceptions, the most corrupt officials in Mohammedan countries, receive, or indeed exact, bribes without the least compunction. They generally manage to enlist the services of the most servile Christian or Jewish member of the council, to act as go-between to receive the requisite bribes from the victims of either plaintiffs or defendants, and sometimes from both! Of course it would be out of place to employ a Mohammedan member in these nefarious transactions, because, if he were an honest member, he would disdain the idea of being so meanly employed; or, should he be a man of a grasping character, would prefer laboring for his own benefit.

I have also been informed that most of the highway robberies committed by the semi-independent rural and nomad Arabs and Koords are instigated by members of these local councils; and if there should be any expedition organized by the local authorities for chastising the robbers, due notice of it is given to the offending party, in order that they may be prepared for the attack, or evade it by moving to some other locality. It is very extraordinary that this is the common belief in every town, and even the authorities do not scruple to admit the truth of it. The latter complain that they have no more power left them to punish criminals summarily, as they did on former occasions, and thus a large number of guilty people escape punishment by the mere fact

of their case being defended by their accomplices. The miscarriage of justice is also realized through the fear of honest witnesses coming forward to tell the whole truth, because, if they did so, they would be in deadly fear of being assassinated by a relative of the criminal.

On several occasions when Christians complained to me about the difficulty of obtaining justice in their individual cases, when the court that tried them included Christian members, I inquired into the grievances, and was told that the decisions were signed by both Mohammedan and Christian members. On asking the latter why they agreed to the unjust decree, I was coolly told that they were afraid to do otherwise! In the majority of the judicial cases that are settled in the interior of Turkey, the Kadhee draws up the sentence or decree, and, having signed it, hands it over to those members of the court who are of his opinion; or those who are willing to agree to whatever he says; and having done so, the document is passed on to the remainder to do likewise. As in some cases the members of the court can not read or write, and the majority of other councils in the Provinces do not understand Turkish, they sign the sentence or order without even knowing the meaning of it.

There is no doubt some of the complaints of the Christians against their Moslem persecutors were greatly exaggerated, and in some instances horrible stories were invented to create sympathy, and breed hatred against their oppressors; nevertheless, it can not be denied that the Christians in the out-of-the-way places were ill-treated and insulted by their more rude Mohammedan countrymen. It is to the shame of the Government that they allow such an unhappy state of affairs to exist at the large towns in Asia Minor, the so-called Armenia, and Koordistan.

In consequence of the unsettled state of the Province of Diarbekir, the governor-general supplied me with a large number of police, who, on account of their special duty in the hilly districts, were mounted on mules with a Yooz-bashee, or captain, to command them. He was one of the finest Ottoman officers I ever met, possessing every good quality required for a gallant soldier. He was famed in the country for his bravery, and liked by both Moslems and Christians. But my muleteers could not endure him, because he used the whip when the animals were slow in their march. At any other time I should have hurried

on with my escort to the halting-place, but on this occasion, as the chief of the escort could not trust the luggage out of his sight, he continued to drive the baggage animals with his whip. My head muleteer was so irritated that he stood still, and called out to the officer: "Hast thou come here to tyrannize over me? I never bargained, when I engaged myself for this unhappy journey, that my animals would be driven like post-horses. Away with thee and thy protection, and may God never prosper thee!" As a matter of course, the captain, who did not understand a word he said, flourished his whip and told the man "not to eat dirt."

After a quick march of three hours, we reached the Armenian village of Jarrik. I took my quarters at the house of the chief, who behaved very civilly; and as soon as I arrived he had a lamb slaughtered, from which his family prepared me and my party a savory stew. I invited the captain of the guard and the priest of the village to join in the dinner, which consisted, besides the native cuisine, of a variety of viands from my kitchen and what fruit could be obtained at that time of the year in the village, such as melons, grapes, plums, and apples. The chief told me that not many days before my visit his brother had been shot dead by a band of Koordish robbers, when he was keeping watch at his melon cultivation, and the authorities had no power to bring the culprit to justice. I felt somewhat indisposed at night, and fearing lest I should get worse, were I to sleep in the open air, had my bed made within doors.

We resumed our journey at two o'clock the next morning, and arrived at the Koordish village of Haidarlee at six A. M. Osman Agha, the chief of the escort, asked me to let him halt there for a few minutes, in order that he might obtain some food for his men, as he thought it would be too long for them to wait until we reached our halting-place. While waiting there, the chief of the village, who was a Koord, gave me a very sad account of the ravages committed daily by the Koordish brigands in the neighborhood. They spared neither Christians nor Moham-medans. He said that two Moslem Kahias,* or chiefs of villages, not far distant, had been assassinated, and the daughter of another had been murdered, merely because they had tried to protect their

* In that part of Koordistan the head of a Moslem hamlet is called "Kahia," and the chief of a Christian village is styled "Rayis."

property, and that he himself was in daily fear of meeting with the same fate.

After having waited about half an hour at Haidarlee to enable my escort to have their breakfast, we resumed our journey, and reached the Armenian village of Hosainee about eleven A. M. I took my quarters at the house of the Rayis, or Armenian chief, who, immediately upon my arrival, killed a sheep for my dinner, and acted civilly in every manner possible. Considering that all the country people were suffering from the ravages of the lawless Koords and greedy officials, the village of Hosainee seemed to be in a flourishing condition, and it was a great pleasure to me to see a Christian village, in the midst of anarchy and disorder, making some show of respectability, when even Moslem peasantry were loud in their complaints against the malpractices of their co-religionists.

In the evening we had a dust-storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and a little rain. This was the first rain of the season, which, in that country, as well as Syria and Mesopotamia, begins with a dust-storm, and when it is over the air becomes quite fresh.

The weather having now become a little cooler, we started from Hosainee at four A. M., on the 13th of September, and reached the historical city of Farkeen at 8.15. Here the governor sent out a guard of honor to meet me, and he himself called soon after my arrival. I found there some very fine old ruins, especially of two churches and a mosque. There is every indication of the Persian kingdom having extended so far in days gone by there being unmistakable remains of their art all over the place. On the wall of the town, lions and the sun are portrayed with Cufic inscriptions below them. The ancient name of the place, I was told, was "Mea-Farkeen."

I took up my quarters there at the house of the Syrian Jacobite chief, Rayis Kullo, who, with the principal Christians of the place, came out to meet me on my arrival. They were very comfortable quarters, and the room I slept in, except those at Aleppo and Diarbekir, was the cleanest I have had since leaving Alexandretta. The inhabitants of this town are Koords and Jacobites, and both communities seem to fraternize much more freely than Moslems and Christians in other places. In the course of the day, I was called upon by the leading men of both com-

munities. They informed me that the Christians of Farkeen enjoyed greater liberty, and had better protection to life and property, than other non-Mohammedan sects in the same Pashalic; so much so that during the then existing lawlessness many a well-to-do farmer from the neighboring villages had come there for security.

We started from Farkeen a little before four o'clock the next morning, and reached the Armenian village of Kairik in about four hours' ride. Here Osman Agha again asked me to halt for a short time, in order that his men might have some breakfast. Having heard that the Motsarif, or governor, of Saart, the capital of the district, was on a visit in a village not far distant, and as it was necessary for me to consult him about some matters connected with the existing disturbances, I resolved to spend a few hours here, and go on to Zarggil in the afternoon. But on reaching Barsic, after two and a half hours' ride, I met Aakif Bey, the son of the governor, with a guard of honor awaiting my arrival. He told me that his father was staying at the monastery of the Jacobite community, about four miles off, outside Zarggil, and invited me to halt there for the night. In about an hour and a quarter we reached the monastery, where I was welcomed by Solaiman Bey, the governor of Saart, and the dignitaries of the Church. The former, who occupied the best vacant room in the monastery, offered me his room on my arrival, saying that he could manage without it. As a matter of course, I declined his kind offer, and said that I should never think of putting him to any inconvenience. The head ecclesiastic cut the matter short, however, by placing at my disposal one of his furnished rooms; but I accepted the governor's invitation to enjoy his hospitality in the evening. His Excellency's son, and the overseer of the religious endowments, dined with us on the terrace; and as the Turks are fond of good living, there was no lack of the delicacies of the season and cooling draughts.

Solaiman Bey was one of the few Ottoman rulers who were liked by both Moslems and Christians, and he had a knack of pleasing one party without offending the other. At the time I visited his district the country was in a state of great disorder; and although he had no troops to check the ravages of the Koords, he managed to keep things quiet.

Having been informed of the panic existing among the Chris-

tians at Huzzo, the capital of the Sasoon tribe of the Highland Koords, on account of the murder, in open day, of a wealthy banker, the chief Armenian in the place, I thought it desirable to visit that town, and report to the governor-general about the state of affairs.

We were unable to start early the next morning, being delayed waiting for a supplementary escort, which had been ordered by the Motsarif to augment my guard, on account of the unsettled state of the country. His Excellency sent his son, Aakif Bey, to accompany me to Huzzo, and thus, under the guidance of this officer and Osman Effendi, the chief of the Diarbekir mounted police, we became a formidable party. It was a long and tedious journey of nine hours' ride, as we could not find a suitable halting-place to rest at for an hour or two, and so we were obliged to go on without stopping until three P. M. When we reached our destination the Kadhee, the collector, and some leading men of the place came outside the town to meet us. The former was then acting as Kayim-Makkam. They conducted me in the first instance to the Serai, or palace, to rest for a while, and after having taken a cup of coffee, they conducted me to the house which had been engaged for me; but on seeing that I did not care for it, they transferred me to the house of an Armenian banker, which was certainly the best in the town. It suited my purpose to have quarters there, as I could, with greater facility, inquire fully into the case without creating jealousy. The banker had been lately murdered, and his poor widow met me sobbing. As soon as I entered her house she pointed out to me the room where her husband met with his death at the hands of four Koordish ruffians, and showed me the broken chests from which the treasures and jewels of his family, worth about £5,000, had been plundered. She related to me the whole frightful tragedy, which made my heart ache through horror. The poor widow had scarcely recovered from the fright of the diabolical deed, as she was unfortunate enough to witness the dreadful scene of the butchering of her husband and nephew in broad daylight.

It appears that some chiefs of the Sasoon tribe had been treacherously seized and imprisoned by the Saart authorities for lawlessness, and their relatives had been trying to obtain their release by bribery through the Armenian banker. Months and years had rolled by without their having gained the desired end,

and ultimately two of the prisoners had died in jail from smallpox. The brothers of the deceased Koords, finding themselves bereaved of their relatives and fleeced of their money, determined to revenge themselves on the banker, who they thought had deceived them. The poor man had done his best; but though he labored by intercession and bribery, he found it difficult to rescue the prisoners. He had been in the habit of keeping an open house, and among the people he received as guests were these very men who now meditated his destruction. One day four of the ruffians presented themselves at the house of the banker, armed to the teeth as the Koords generally are when away from home. They occupied the guest-chamber as on a former occasion, and the next morning while breakfasting with their host they dispatched him with their daggers. A nephew of his, who was standing by, fell upon his uncle to ward off the deadly blows, and himself met with the same fate. The wife, hearing the sounds of commotion, rushed to the bloody scene, and no sooner had she entered the room than one of the Koords, who had his gun in his hand, fired at her; but fortunately the bullet missed her, and buried itself in the wall of another room, which was occupied by the governor of the place, who was then sitting on the terrace surrounded with no less than thirty Dhabtias, or police. Both the wife of the banker and the servants of the house called to him for help; but he sat quietly smoking his cigarette,* without making an effort to save the life of his host, although he was staying in his house and receiving his hospitality.

When a new governor arrives at a town where there is no suitable accommodation for him, he is generally entertained by a respectable inhabitant of the place until a proper abode is prepared for him. So in this instance the new governor of Huzzo had taken up his quarters at the banker's house, as it was the best in the place, and had been living there some days before the Koords made their appearance. Consequently it was whispered that there was some understanding between the two parties of what was going to happen, because the very fact of four Koords daring to commit such an outrage while the governor of the place was present with a large body of armed police, justified the

* Since the Crimean War the Turks have changed the chebook, or pipe, for cigarettes, and now the former smoking apparatus is very seldom used in any part of Turkey.

assumption of a connivance on the part of the local authorities. As soon as they had killed the poor banker and his nephew, they coolly called for water to wash their bloodstained hands, and when they had done that, they commenced to plunder the house. They began by breaking open the treasure-chests and jewelry-cases, and filling their bags with what they could find. If all that I heard was true, the worst part of the transaction was that the murderers, being afraid to pass out of the town with their booty for fear of the townspeople, as the deceased was liked by all the Koords of the place, prevailed upon the governor to send a few of the Dhabtias who were with him to pass them through. How far this story is to be believed it is difficult to say, but the Moslems of the town testified to me of the correctness of the main points. When I left the place the case was under investigation by the local authorities at Saart; and, although the indictment against the murderers had been proved, the allegation of the apparent neglect of the governor of Huzzo to render the necessary protection to the banker and his family had not been brought home to the accused.

The town of Huzzo stands on the top of a valley which overlooks the plain of Saart in one direction, and the salt-pits in the other. In the afternoon I walked to the top of the old castle, and had a view of the country around. It is very curious, though there are fresh-water springs in the valley, yet below a certain depth all the water is saline, and the natives dig wells at different spots, and draw the water, which is condensed into salt for the use of the neighborhood. Lately the authorities tried to place a restriction upon this enterprise and the free sale of the salt, and as the manufacture of it belonged to certain families among the Sasoon Koords, its monopoly created great dissatisfaction among the people.

After having visited the castle, I went over the Armenian church of the Virgin Mary and the old mosque outside the town. The latter, which is in ruins, must have been formerly a magnificent building, as it was built very neatly of hewn square stone. The minaret was in a tolerably good state of preservation, and it contained two passages, one for ascending and the other for descending, very unlike the generality of minarets in Mohammedan countries.

Some of the leading men of the place, both Moslems and

Christians, called on me. The commandant of the guard and the Kadhee dined with me, but left soon after dinner, as they knew that I wished to go to rest early, in order to be able to leave for Saart that night.

We left Huzzo at 3.15 A. M., on the 17th of September, and as the night was dark, and the descent to the lowland very rough, my Armenian hostess sent a servant with a lantern to show me the way until we got safely out of the rugged path. After a march of four hours and a half, we reached the Armenian village of Barsa, where we halted for about three hours under a clump of trees outside for refreshment and rest. The ecclesiastics of the place came out to offer their welcome, and brought me some new-laid eggs and milk, but what I enjoyed most was the delicious cold water from a clear and refreshing spring close by. After traveling two hours and a half longer, we reached one of the tributaries of the Tigris, which comes down from Bitlis, called Bashoor; and having crossed another river of the name of Kaizaray, we reached Saart at four P. M. About half an hour before I reached the town, the acting Motsarif, the commandant of police, and Khoaja Jaboor bin Shamma Abbosh, the head of the Chaldean community, and other leading men of the place, came out to meet me. I was conducted straight to Khoaja Jaboor's hospitable house, where I was welcomed by all his family. He gave me the best rooms in his house, and as visitors of all nationalities and creeds came to see me, cigarettes, nargelas, and coffee were constantly in requisition.

Khoaja Jaboor is reckoned the most hospitable man in the Pashalic of Diarbekir, as his father was before him. His house is never known to be without guests, and his generosity is famed far and wide. I was told that he was never known to have less than twenty strangers enjoying his hospitality daily, whether high or low. It is quite a pleasure to speak to him, as he is a thorough gentleman, but somewhat prejudiced against what he called heretics,—that is to say, non-Roman Catholic Christians. As for Protestants, who are nicknamed in Koordistan and Armenia "Prot," he considered them to be worse than Farmasoon.*

* Farmasoon, which means Freemasons, are looked upon in Turkey with abhorrence, as they are considered to be Athelists. When I informed some of my Moslem and Christian friends that I was myself a Freemason, they were struck with amazement; but on explaining to

Early the next day (18th September) most of the high officials called, and I had to return their visits in the course of the day. Solaiman Bey, the Motsarif, was still absent, settling some disputes among the Koordish tribes, and his son, Aakif Bey, who accompanied me to Huzzo and back, was attacked with fever soon after my arrival at Saart, and I had to go and administer to him some quinine. The nights had then become somewhat cooler, but the days kept their usual closeness. A telegram reached this place in the course of the day that the Imperial Ottoman troops had defeated the Russians at Plevna, and that the latter had lost about six thousand soldiers in killed and wounded, with the same number of prisoners.

Khoaja Jaboor took me to see the miserable church of the Chaldeans, which was not only small and in a dilapidated condition, but also dark and gloomy; and even in the daytime they had to light candles to enable the congregation to see. It appears that the necessary funds were collected for building a new place of worship in a different part of the town, but the Moslems had prevented its construction. As soon as the Chaldeans had obtained a firman, and collected material for building it, the Kadhee and other fanatics telegraphed to Constantinople against its erection, on the plea that the spot where the Church was going to be built was either sacred or entailed. Then some other devout Christians offered their houses for the purpose, and when everything was ready for commencing the foundations, up started again the same hinderers, and arrested the work. The most discreditable part of the business was the fast-and-loose way the Porte acted throughout the whole transaction. On one hand, at the request of the French embassy, they issued the necessary orders for the erection of the new church, and on the other they were ready to listen to any frivolous objection raised by one or two bigots of the place. Indeed, the Ottoman Government went so

them that no one would be admitted into the craft without believing in God, they were somewhat reconciled; but still, they could not make out why, if there was no harm in the brotherhood, their meetings were kept strictly private. I was told once by an Arab friend that the Farma-soon were so tender-conscienced about their secrecy, that when one of them was found so intoxicated one day that he could not distinguish between his father and mother, as soon as he heard a man whisper in his ear that he wished to know something of the mystery of his craft, he immediately became sober, and stood as mute as a wall!

far as to order a court of inquiry to examine into the causes of the dispute, and though the decision given, as I understood, was in favor of the Christians, the matter was still in abeyance when I left Saart.

From the time of the Mohammedan conquest up to the middle of this century, or soon after the Crimean war, no Christians were allowed to build a new church in any part of the Sultan's dominions; and even if any of the old places of worship were dilapidated they could not be repaired without a special firman. Since the happy influence, however, the late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe possessed over the Sublime Porte, those restrictions have been taken away; and now, not only are all Christians allowed to keep their churches in thorough repair, but they can, except in out-of-the-way places, build as many as they like, provided they apply for a license to do so.

A novel incident occurred while I was at Saart, consequent upon a quarrel between my head muleteer, Ali, and a follower of a powerful Koordish chief in the neighborhood, which might have ended seriously had not the acting governor referred the settlement of the matter to me. My man was counting some silver coins which he had received from a tradesman, when a Koord went to him, and asked him to change a lira—Turkish sovereign. Ali, who was a hot-headed Moslem, turned round sharply, and said to him, "Have I come here to act as banker, that thou shouldest ask me to change thy gold into silver?" whereupon the Koord called him all kinds of uncomplimentary names, which were, as a matter of course, returned by Ali, with more than five-fold abuse. These maledictions brought the contending parties to blows, and in an instant each combatant was joined by his sympathizers, the Koords taking the part of their countrymen, and all the muleteers who were in the bazaar going to the assistance of their comrade. The police, fearing lest the quarrel might end in a serious riot, arrested the originators of the disturbance, and took them before the acting governor, who, on seeing the press of the multitude, fancied that the whole town was in revolt. The charge brought by the Koord against my man was that he had blasphemed his religion—a common accusation generally brought forward by a fanatic against an antagonist, especially a Christian, when he has a weak case to support.

The acting governor, on finding the breaker of the peace to

be a protégé of a formidable chief, and the accused an employee of a British official, came to the conclusion that the only way to keep out of political trouble, would be to send the case to me for settlement.* I must confess I did not quite relish the honor thus conferred upon me, in having been chosen arbitrator in such an intricate matter, especially at a time when an error of judgment one way or the other might have brought about grave consequences. However, nothing daunted, I put on a bold face, and went into the matter in right good earnest. The contending parties having been admitted into my presence, I allowed each to tell his own story, and refused the interference of any bystanders, knowing that there were scores of witnesses on both sides ready to swear in the favor of their friend. I first scolded my head muleteer for causing a disturbance about a trifling matter, and then upbraided the Koord for his inhospitality in ill-using a stranger, who ought rather to have received his protection. I made light of the accusation of blasphemy, and tried to convince him that he must have misunderstood Ali, he being too good a Moslem to revile the religion of a brother Mohammedan. But I said, sooner than have a man with such a stain on his character in my employ, I would dismiss him, and leave him to the mercy of the governor-general, to deal with him according to law. I recommended that as my Diarbekir escort were returning to their headquarters, both my muleteer and his accuser should be sent with them for trial. These words acted like magic on the minds of the litigants, because no sooner were they hurried away from my presence than they begged that I should settle the case then and there myself. I sent word to say that I had not come there to hold a court of justice, but if they wished to let bygones be bygones, I was willing to ask the acting governor to pardon them. On such occasions there is always some one to act as a go-between, and as soon as these peacemakers, my host being the foremost among them, had managed to make matters up, the disputants were brought back to me, with a request that I should overlook their faults; they were all smiles, and looked as if no quarrel had ever taken place

* In the capitulations existing between the European Powers and the Sublime Porte, if any subject or employee of the former commit a crime or misdemeanor, before he can be tried and punished the consent of his consul, or any other person representing his Government, must be obtained.

between them. When I saw them in such a happy mood, I told them that if they were willing to seal the settlement of their dispute by an embrace, to show me that they were in earnest, I would forgive them. My head muleteer and the Koord kissed each other most affectionately, and retired, thanking me for having brought their litigation to a satisfactory conclusion. Thus ended a disagreeable quarrel which might have terminated in bloodshed, as both parties were ripe for a fight.

After having spent three days at Saart, I left for Bitlis on the 20th of September, and in consequence of the rebellion of the Mootkee tribe of Highland Koords, I could not travel through the usual route, which was shorter by one day than the one I was recommended to take by the acting governor. Even going by the longer road, the authorities were obliged to supply me with a strong guard, for fear of an attack by Koordish brigands. Our road lay through a mountainous country, and we had to halt after a ride of four hours and a half, at a village built on an eminence, called Koofra, inhabited partly by Koords and partly by Jacobite Christians. My escort were billeted in the houses of the Christian villagers, as they did not dare to enter any of the huts of the Koords, for fear of a row. It has ever been my rule to pay for the forage of my escort, and if they were few in number, I generally allowed them to have their meals with my servants, to save the poor villagers from their exactions.

The Christians here complained of the oppression of the Ottoman authorities, especially with regard to the tax which is received in lieu of conscription. Formerly all the Christians and Jews paid what was called capitation-tax to their Moslem rulers, from which every follower of Mohammed was exempt, as the latter supplied the fighting element, and the former the funds; but since the Crimean war this degrading impost was changed to what is now called "Askariya," or military assessment,—that is to say, instead of the Christian subjects of the Porte conforming to the law of conscription, they pay a certain tax in lieu thereof, which, saving the change of name, is the same as the former. The capitation-tax was levied yearly, directly by the authorities, on adults in three degrees: the first paid about fifteen shillings; the second, ten; and the third, five; but priests, paupers, and beggars, and men above sixty years of age, were exempt. As each man was taxed separately, and received a receipt for the same, his sect was

not responsible in case he left his native place, or died; but they were bound to give information of his whereabouts if they knew it. The Nazammia, however, is levied on each sect in a lump, according to the number of the male adults of the community, and the assessment is left to their principal men to arrange according to their discretion. There is no appeal against their decision, and any one refusing to pay what is demanded of him can be sent to prison by the committee legally appointed for this purpose. Every few years a readjustment is made by the authorities in case of deaths or increase in the male members of a community; but in the rural districts, where a good deal of imposition takes place, this rule is not strictly adhered to. Thus, if half of the male population of a village die, or leave the place, the remaining inhabitants have to make up the deficiency. The Christians of Koofra assured me that, though their village did not contain more than half of the men who were in existence when the first census was taken, some having died, and others having fled from oppression, they were forced to pay the original impost in full. They had complained several times to the proper authorities, but could get no redress.

When the capitation-tax was suppressed by the Porte, it was intended to place all Moslem and non-Moslem Ottoman subjects on the same footing with regard to the conscription; but the Porte preferred the exemption of the Christians from military service to their embodiment in the Ottoman army. Whether this was done from fear of the Christian soldiers proving troublesome in time of war against any Christian power, or for the sake of replenishing their treasury, it is difficult to say. The Christians themselves protested against the proposed enlistment, and those ambassadors, who possessed at the time prestige at Constantinople, used their influence with Sultan Abd-al-Majeed's Government to commute the conscription to yearly impost on all adults whose age would make them liable to serve in the army. This exemption was not extended to other non-Moslem communities; and, although the Ottoman Government would never think of drafting them in their army, they were constantly threatened with the enforcement of the conscription, in order that every time they refused to conform to the existing law they could be made to pay dearly for it.

We slept at Koofra on the terrace in bright moonlight, and, the air being cool and pleasant, I enjoyed a comfortable rest. We

resumed our journey at five o'clock the next morning, and went on without halting until we reached the Koordish village of Shaikh Joomaa at 2.15 P. M. Our journey lay through a thickly-wooded country, by a very rough road, across two high mountains. We passed a large number of springs on our way, yielding most delicious cold water. I took up my quarters under the shade of some thick trees outside the village, and its chief administered to my wants.

The next day our journey from Shaikh Joomaa to Bitlis, a distance of about five hours and a half, lay through picturesque scenery of both mountains and dales, with rough and difficult passes. After we had got over the disagreeable part of our journey, we came down to a very rich hilly country, studded here and there with innumerable well-to-do Koordish villages, where tobacco and vines grow most luxuriantly. This valley might well be termed a land flowing with milk and honey. It was most pleasant to the eye to see such rich soil taken advantage of by the industrious peasants; the level fields are used for the growth of tobacco, and the slopes of the hills for the cultivation of vines. We met on our way a large cavalcade of gypsies traveling southward seeking for pasture. One woman was carrying the tiniest twin-babies I ever saw. They could not have been more than a week old, and I feel sure that their aggregate weight did not exceed ten pounds. Their mother carried them in her arms, and seemed quite proud of them. It is very singular that the majority of Koordish gypsies are very fair, and some of the girls are extremely pretty and delicately formed. Their religion is supposed to be Mohammedan, but in reality they possess some peculiar belief of their own, like a number of semi-Moslem communities in Turkey, who, for the sake of pleasing the governing body, adapt themselves to their mode of worship.

About a mile before we reached Bitlis, or just at the end of the valley below the town, we passed a large number of mineral springs, two of which I tasted and found most refreshing. Their flavor reminded me very much of seltzer and Vichy waters. Two other copious springs, which run down higher up the valley, tasted very much of iron, and the rocks through which they passed where actually dyed with rust. The water, notwithstanding, sparkles when it is taken out of the springs and poured out for use. The American missionaries at Bitlis are the only inhabitants who use it as a beverage. When I found these valuable

waters running down the valley to waste, I thought what a pity it was that some speculators did not go there and turn such a gift of nature to good account, and export no less than three kinds of mineral waters to Mesopotamia, Syria, and India, where they would be appreciated. Their export could be easily managed by floating them down to the Tigris by the Bitlis River, which could be made navigable by means of locks as far as Saart, a distance of about seventy miles.

As I neared the town of Bitlis, the acting Kayim-Makkam, with the members of the Council of State, came out to meet me with a guard of honor. My friend, Khoaja Jaboor, of Saart, had written to the head of the Armenian community, Awdees Effendi, to receive me, and so I was escorted by my party to his house, situated in the upper part of the town, where I was received most hospitably. The officials of the place staid with me a few minutes, and then left. Soon afterwards a large number of the leading men of Bitlis called, including the Reverend George S. Knapp, the missionary of the American Board, who has a large and important establishment there. My host's house was strongly built of square smoothly-hewn stones, and indeed most of the houses in the town are built in like fashion, as strong as a castle, because in that country, where life and property are of no value, every one has to protect himself against the attack of the Koords. The town is divided into several quarters by valleys and rivulets at some distance from each other. Half of the population live on one side of the deep and long valley, and half on the other; so, when any one wishes to pay visits to different parts of the town, nearly a whole day is wasted by going over dangerous bridges, and up and down precipitous, so-called roads, partly paved and partly hewn out of the rocks. I always wondered how I and others managed to get safely up and down on horseback without an accident, especially when riding a spirited horse.

Every one who called on me complained of the devastation caused to the Armenian villages in the neighborhood by the inroads of the rebellious tribe of the Mootkee Koords. Even in the town itself, where the authorities possessed only nominal power, the Christians were much harrassed by the lawless Koords, who entered the bazaars and plundered the shopkeepers at their will.

I had to return the visit of the acting governor and other officials in the evening, because at that time the Moslems were

keeping Ramadhan, and the most convenient hour with them to transact business, or receive visitors, was at night when they had broken their fast. I was never allowed to go about without an escort for fear of molestation. Indeed, from the time I entered Koordistan, a special guard attended on me day and night, partly for security, and partly to show the natives that I was a distinguished traveler visiting the different Koordish and Armenian districts under the favorable auspices of the Porte.

It was curious to see every one, except the Christians, going about armed to the teeth, and I thought how dreadful it would be if any row took place in the town, especially through fanaticism, when the authorities might not have it in their power to quell the disturbance. Though the Koords possessed anything but a good name in the place, I found them always civil, and whenever I passed any of them, they stood and returned my salutation.

The stories told of the evil deeds of the Mootkee Koords were horrible. One large and flourishing Armenian village, called Parkhant, not more than three miles from Bitlis, and containing about one hundred and fifty families, had actually been destroyed by their constant attacks during the weak and tyrannical rule of the former Kayim-Makkam, named Bahran Bey. Though he was well provided during his term of office with efficient force to put down any lawlessness, he did not extend to the poor villagers the protection they needed. Having been plundered on several occasions by the ruthless Koords, they applied to the governor of Bitlis for protection, especially as they had heard that a large body of marauders from the same tribe were coming down to sack the place, as they did other villages. The governor sent them a force of police, commanded by a Yooz-bashee, or captain; but when the brigands appeared on the scene, these braves did not lift a finger to save the Armenian villagers from destruction. After having killed four men, and wounded several others, the Koords plundered the village, and went off with all the live stock they could find, leaving the peasants without the means of carrying on their usual agricultural pursuits. The consequence was, the village was deserted, and its inhabitants removed into Bitlis to seek a livelihood. No sooner were the refugees comfortably settled on the hospitality of their fellow-religionists than the Kayim-Makkam sent for their leading men, and demanded the arrears of taxes

which they would have been liable to, had they not been plundered and abandoned their village. They pleaded poverty, as the Mootkees had taken all the property they had, and they were obliged to live on the charity of their brother Armenians. The inhuman governor refused to listen to their just plea, and sent them forthwith to prison, although at the time the snow lay thick on the ground and the weather was severely cold. The leading Armenians of Bitlis went to the governor to intercede for the oppressed villagers; but he reprimanded them for their interference, and said the State dues must be made good before he could liberate the defaulters. The pleaders, finding their entreaties unavailable, volunteered to collect among themselves three thousand piasters, if he would release the poor peasants. He agreed to do so; but no sooner was the money paid than he changed his mind, and imprisoned the men again for the balance.

Another serious complaint was that a Koord of Bitlis, having been refused a pair of shoes which he demanded from an Armenian shopkeeper, shot him dead. The authorities neglected to arrest the murderer and bring him to justice, on the plea that he could not be found at the time, but had since been drafted among the special constables at Bitlis in defiance of the law. There were other minor complaints in every town and village I visited between Diarbekir and Wan; but as I did not hear both sides of the stories, I could not quite satisfy myself as to the truth of the story. Suffice it to say, that the whole country was in an unhappy state of disorganization, and my wonder was that the Ottoman authorities were able to keep order as they did, with the small armed defense they possessed.

While at Bitlis I visited the establishment of the American missionaries, and was glad to find it in a flourishing condition, though they had to work among a suspicious and bigoted class. Mr. and Mrs. Knapp had two independent ladies to assist them, the Misses Ely, who came from America to help in the good work at their own expense. It was quite delightful to be in the company of such a godly family, after having been for so long among wild Koords and uneducated Christians. Mr. and Mrs. Knapp had been there for nineteen years, and their presence in the town, coupled with their good name among the Mohammedan population, had saved the poor native Christians from a good deal of maltreatment and oppression. This was acknowledged to me by the

Armenians themselves, and even by my host and others who had no love for the tenets of the American Presbyterians. It must be very gratifying for the American Boards of Missions to know that, wherever their missionaries settle, they are looked upon with respect, and their upright dealings and exemplary conduct are held in great reputation everywhere. I do believe that at a Mohammedan court of justice their word would be accepted without even an oath.

Mr. Knapp had a large congregation of reformed Armenians, and on Sunday I went to a service at which he officiated in their language, and though I was not able to understand what he said, I could see that the congregation were very attentive.

After having spent four days at Bitlis, I left for Moosh on the 26th September, my host and another Armenian magnate of the name of Miksee Karibjan, a member of the Council of State, accompanying me some distance outside the town. After a ride of five hours, we came to a large pond formed by a copious spring, which the natives asserted had no bottom, and communicated with a lake on the Nimrod Dagh—a mountain which begins about ten miles eastward, and stretches from the southern extremity of Lake Wan to Akhlat. I was told also that the lake on Nimrod Dagh contained very good fish, which are caught in abundance by the natives. There are here some ancient Toorbas, or Mohammedan mausoleums, belonging to the old Tartar conquerors of Armenia, the same as those found at Akhlat. There is also an old khan near the spring, which must have been built by some pious Moslem in days long gone by for the convenience of travelers. Hundreds of these ruined caravansaries are to be seen all over Turkey in isolated places, which show the flourishing condition of Asiatic Turkey when ruled by the Arab and Tartar conquerors.

We resumed our journey as soon as the luggage rejoined us, about sunset, and as there was no village in the plain of Moosh nearer than four hours' journey, we made a short detour to our left, and halted a little after seven o'clock at Afgood, situated on the hill. The people of the village were half Armenians and half Koords, and I took my quarters with the chief of the former. When he found that I was going to pay for the feeding of my escorts' animals, he tried to cheat me by charging nearly double for the rations he supplied to them; and when I reproached him for his conduct, his only excuse was that he had made a mistake!

We left Afgood at half-past five o'clock the next morning, and descended again to the fertile and well-cultivated plain of Moosh. After a ride of four hours, we came to the large Armenian village of Khaj-Koy, where I halted at the chief's house for three hours, to breakfast and to inquire about the state of the country. The inhabitants here also complained of Koordish tyranny, which they declared had completely ruined them. Not only Koordish brigands came down, they said, from the mountains to plunder them, but even their Moslem neighbors who lived in the plain harassed them with their arbitrary demands, either on the plea that they were in better circumstances, or that they had been impoverished by their rulers, and wished only to recoup themselves through their neighbor's generosity! We resumed our journey at noon, and reached the town of Moosh in three hours. About a mile distant from the town the commandant of police, with Vartan Agha, one of the Armenian notables, came out to meet me, and the latter invited me to take up my quarters in what was once his house, but which hard times had compelled him to sell. The Armenian community had purchased it as a residence for their bishop. The prelate being absent, I was entertained, at his request, by his friends, and soon after my arrival the head officials and leading men of the place, both Koords and Armenians, paid me a visit. Each had his own story to tell, but they all agreed that the then existing state of lawlessness among the Highland Koords required putting down with a strong hand. Troops had reached Moosh to march against them; but it appeared that the arrival of the latter had spread as much consternation among the tradespeople as the excesses of the Koords; because the Turkish soldiers were allowed to go into the bazaars and obtain from the Armenian shopkeepers anything they wanted for less than half the usual price; and in some cases they paid nothing, with the excuse that the things were too dear, or that they themselves had not been paid by their Government.

Moosh is a town of some importance, and contains about six thousand inhabitants, two-thirds Mohammedans, and one-third Armenians. Both Moslems and Christians cried out against the Tanzeemat, which they said had benefited only the unruly. An officer of police told me that since he had been in the service no one had profited by its rules, except those officials whose aim was to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor. He cited a case

in point, in which he was the principal witness to prove the absurdity of instituting such a law for Koordistan.* He said it came to his knowledge one day that some Koordish brigands intended to attack the next morning an Armenian village, a short distance from Moosh, because they could not obtain, by peaceful means, the blackmail they demanded from its chief. Whereupon he collected as many Dhabtias as could be spared from the town duty, and proceeded to the village at night, arriving there at dawn, just in time to see the marauding party beginning their onslaught on the poor inhabitants. On seeing the imperial constabulary entering the village, the brigands decamped; but one of them, who had fired at a man and killed him, was hemmed in by the commandant of police and his party. Finding he had no chance of escape, he ran into the nearest hovel and shut the door, threatening to shoot the first man who dared to attempt to take him. The officer, fearing lest any of his men should be shot if they tried to force the door open, warned the robber that if he did not surrender quietly, he would set the hut on fire. Hearing this, the Koord surrendered without much trouble, and was taken to Moosh for trial. After the preliminary examination was finished, the officer thought that his part of the transaction was over, but not so; the court of inspection (court of the first instance) worried him from day to day with frivolous questions, until they made him regret that he had ever troubled himself to catch the murderer. Ultimately, when days and weeks had been spent in useless examination and cross-examination, the culprit was allowed to run away, after he had satisfied his judges with their due rewards!

* Though Moosh is considered, in the European sense of the word, to be in Armenia, the natives do not know the country by that name, but call it Koordistan. Some of the better educated Armenians, however, have adopted the word for the sake of aspiring to their former independence, but the Ottoman Government have always refused to recognize the name. They divide the whole range of mountains bordering on the Mediterranean—Syria, Euxine, Mesopotamia, and Assyria—into two distinct countries; namely, Koordistan and Anatolia,—Asia Minor. In the former, the general language of the country is Koordish, and in the latter Turkish. The same also with the word Syria, which is not known among the people of the land. The well-educated class, however, have made choice of the modern misnomer of Soorea, but have not succeeded hitherto in calling themselves Sooreans, but merely "Oolad Sooreea," or sons of Syria.

CHAPTER VI.

HAVING spent two days at Moosh, I left for Wan about eight A. M., on the 28th September; but as my host, Vartan Agha, informed me that there were some antiquities with cuneiform inscriptions at a village called Tirmait, and he was kind enough to offer to accompany me thither, I visited that place first, though it was a little out of the regular Wan road. On coming out of the town of Moosh, I was invited by one of the Moslem notables of the place, who had a garden outside, to partake of some fruit. My companion and I, therefore, halted for a few minutes to enjoy his hospitality. Our entertainer was excessively civil, and, like the majority of Moslems, when they want to do the polite thing, was most affable and courteous. After having spent about half an hour with him, we resumed our journey, and reached our destination soon after two o'clock in the afternoon.

The Armenian inhabitants of that village were very poor, but I was told by Vartan Agha that when he first knew the place, about fifteen years before, they were in good circumstances, and their chief, the father of the present one, was so well off that he could entertain a regiment without feeling the cost; but then the present chief was not only a pauper, but heavily in debt.

In the afternoon the chief of the village, Vartan Agha, and myself, visited the burial ground on an artificial mound, near the village where the Armenian antiquities were found. They consisted of pieces of a black basalt block, which must have been formerly an obelisk, the greater part of which lay buried in the ground. The few letters I was able to copy were not sufficient to give us the history of the monument; but I hope that some future traveler will be able to dig the whole of the fragments out, and give us the benefit of his research. The natives of the place had been digging in the field outside the village, and discovered the foundation of an ancient church, which I visited to see if there was any indication of ancient Armenian remains. The style of the ruin showed that it belonged to a much later period than even the fourth century of the Christian era.

We left Tirmait at three A. M., and went on until we reached

the large Armenian village of Liz at 11.30. The Kayim-Makkam of the district, who had been on a visit there, came out with the chief to meet me. As the house of the latter was the best in the village, I was invited to rest in it. I found out, after I had settled myself in comfortable quarters, that the Kayim-Makkam had been living there before my arrival, and in order to provide me with the best accommodation in the house, he left it to make room for me.

Liz is of some consequence, and there is a school in the place, though the natives were extremely poor. The chief, who was greatly interested in the education of his people, took me to see the school, and the boys sang an Armenian hymn for my edification. Soon after my arrival, a large number of Koordish chiefs from the neighborhood came to see me, and they repeated their visit in the evening. They expressed a hope that I would go and see them; but as they lived some distance out of the way, and I was in a hurry to reach Wan, I declined their civility with thanks. We had a dust-storm, accompanied with rain, in the evening, and the night was very close.

I had, the next morning, to break my rule of not traveling on a Sunday, as I wished to be at Kopp, the capital of the district, on that day, to confer with the governor and the Bishop of Moosh, who were there. I was obliged to make a short journey of nine miles, and as Vasi Bey, the Kayim-Makkam, was proceeding thither, we traveled together. The rain of the night before had changed the weather completely; so much so that on leaving the village I felt it bitterly cold, and, looking at my thermometer, found it as low as 44 degrees Fahrenheit. We reached Kopp at 7.30 A. M., and Vasi Bey was kind enough to lend me his quarters for the day, and he staid pro tem. with the collector. Kopp is the seat of the Kayim-Makkam, and, being the headquarters of the district, there was more life in it than in other villages that I had passed through since leaving Saart. The bishop had only gone there from Moosh to collect his tithes. He called on me in the afternoon, and gave me a sad account of the existing want of security to life and property all over the country. The Motsarif of Moosh had not arrived, but was expected there the next day; and as I had gone thither for the sole purpose of consulting with him about some important matters regarding the state of affairs at Moosh and Bitlis, I resolved to wait for him.

Having been informed by the Bishop of Moosh and the Kayim-Makkam of Kopp that there was a very fine monastery about three miles from the village, in which an old Armenian hermit lived, whose age was said to be more than six-score years, we rode up there in the afternoon with some Koordish chiefs. Certainly the old patriarch looked very aged, and had for some years past lost the use of his legs, but his intellect seemed quite bright. He told me that he remembered well the reigns of both Sultans Abd-el-Hameed and Moostafa; and as these two sovereigns ascended the Ottoman throne in 1774 and 1757 respectively, he must have been at least one hundred and twenty years old when I visited him at the latter end of 1877. As the Abbot said that he quite remembered the reign of Sultan Moostafa (III), I calculated that he must have been then ten years old, in order to remember such a remote date.

I met here a very intelligent Armenian doctor, who told me that he had been sent by the Ottoman Government as a public vaccinator, but that, in consequence of prejudice and the state of the country, he had found it difficult to get on.

On Monday, the 1st of October, Saeed Pasha arrived at Kopp from his tour of inspection, and in the afternoon we met, and had a long talk about the existing state of affairs. Although he admitted that the Christians were oppressed by the Koords, he denied the truth of the more grave charges that were made by the Armenians of Moosh and Bitlis against the Koords and the local authorities.

We resumed our journey early the next morning, and as we had to travel between Kopp and Wan through disturbed districts, caused by the lawlessness of the Haidaranlee Koords, I was supplied with a formidable escort, who kept a vigilant watch all the time we were on the way. On passing the Armenian village of Lattar, about seven o'clock A. M., the principal men of the place came out to invite me to halt, as they had some complaints to make about the misconduct of their Koordish neighbors, who were constantly assailing both their life and property. As I was in a hurry to push on, I ordered the servants to proceed with the luggage to the end of the stage, and I entered the village to inquire into the alleged grievances. One of the serious complaints was that a married woman, whose husband was away, had been outraged by two Koords, who had come down from the mountains

the night before; the other, that the son of the village priest had been shot dead by other Koords, because he would not supply them with the corn they demanded. The first story seemed to me difficult to believe, on account of the conflicting statements that were made, and, as far as I could make out then, the case of the murder was not an uncommon crime among the bloodthirsty Koords, with whom the taking of a man's life in a dispute about property is very little thought of. The murderer had been arrested, and, while remanded for trial, he was allowed to escape, according to former precedents; that is to say, when the local authorities, either from personal motives or political reasons, find it convenient to give facilities to a criminal to get away.

After having spent about an hour and a half at Lattar, and half an hour on the road for the sake of refreshment, we reached our halting-place, Takshoor, about two o'clock in the afternoon. We passed through very wild country, and scarcely saw any travelers on the way, on account of the dread they had of meeting with the Haidaranlee brigands, who infested the country. We traveled in sight of "Soobhan-Dagh," i. e., the *Divine Wonder Mountain*, all day, and the village of Takshoor stands at the northern foot of it. This mountain vies almost with Ararat in height and grandeur. Its summit is covered with perpetual snow, and is visible from a very great distance. Though the natives of this village are Mohammedans, they complained to me of the evil deeds of the Haidaranlees, who, they said, would not leave them alone. I met here a large number of Bashi-bazooks, who had come from Bayazeed to collect provisions for the Ottoman army engaged in the war with Russia. Most of them had known me in Mesopotamia and other places; and, on seeing me, came to offer their salutations.

We left Takshoor at four o'clock the next morning, and after two hours' ride we sighted Lake Wan, which looked a magnificent deep blue. We passed a number of encampments of the Haidaranlee Koords, with whom my Dhabtias would have no communication, as they said they were too treacherous to deal with. I ventured to visit one of the tents to have a drink of "doe," or sour milk, which the Koords prepare to perfection, and the people, as far as I was concerned, seemed most civil. After four and a half hours' ride, we reached the Armenian village of Norsheen,

situated on the edge of the lake. The inhabitants looked miserably poor, and their hovels extremely wretched.

About half an hour before we arrived at the village, we met three men returning from the seat of war, denuded of everything. They told us that a party of Koordish brigands had attacked them on the other side of the village, and plundered them of whatever they possessed. We asked them to return with us to point out the place where they were robbed, in order that we might try and get their property back; but they said they would rather lose it altogether, than attempt to retrace their steps, for fear of reprisals. Soon after we left the village, my escort espied some men on the hills, trying to escape behind the rocks, and in an instant they galloped off in all directions in search of them. They only managed, however, to arrest one man, who happened to be the leader of the gang of thieves, and, as he was considered to be a robber, every Dhabtia thought that he was in duty bound to chastise him with the whip and stick. Even my head muleteer, Ali, would have a hand in the summary punishment; and when I scolded him for interfering in matters which did not concern him, he said that a man who plunders innocent travelers was worse than a viper, and he only wished he could hang him then and there! The wretched Koord groaned under his castigation, and called on me for protection. As I thought the poor man might be innocent, I told him that if he swore to me by the divorce that he knew nothing of the robbery, I would ask the Dhabtias to let him go. He did so at once; but no sooner had he uttered the word than all the bystanders, including Ali, called out, "Do not believe the thief, sir; let him prove first that he is married."* It then struck me

* Among the Mohammedans, swearing by the divorce is the most solemn oath that can be taken; because, as soon as a married man utters the word, his wife becomes divorced from him, and she could then marry another man without the trouble of obtaining a legal separation. It is not necessary, according to Moslem law, for a man to go through the ceremony of obtaining a legal decree for a divorce; he has merely to pronounce the word "Battalak"—that is to say, by divorce—and the deed is done. Should he live with his wife after he utters this word, it would be considered tantamount to living in a state of adultery. When a woman wants to get rid of her husband, she has only to apply to a Kadhee, and prove to him that her husband had divorced her by word of mouth before two witnesses, and she would obtain a legal decree.

that the man might be a bachelor, in which case such an oath would be meaningless. It was found out afterwards that he really had no wife, when he was taken before the proper tribunal, and adjudged to be the ringleader of a band of robbers.

As a matter of course, our prisoner was handcuffed, and led between two horsemen until we reached our halting-place, Akhsara, at 10.30 A. M., where he was placed under a strong guard. This village, the inhabitants of which are Armenians, boasted of some gardens and vineyards; and at the time I was there every one was busy bringing in his harvest. As usual, I took up my quarters in the chief's house, which was not over-clean; but my host did his best, and was extremely civil. About midnight I was awakened by a tremendous noise, and, on inquiry, was told that there was a large number of horsemen hovering about the place, who seemed bent on some mischief. I found out in the morning that they had kidnaped a son of the priest of the village, who was keeping watch at the threshing-ground. Both father and mother, and other relatives of the youth, were bewailing him. The chief of my guard, having suspected that the boy was taken away for the purpose of being questioned as to my business and movements, kept watch with a large number of his followers round my room all night. When we resumed our journey at a quarter past five o'clock the next morning, I found that my guard was increased by a number of Armenian horsemen, headed by their brave chief, who assured me that he would sooner sacrifice himself than allow any harm to happen to me. I was told that the whole country was overrun by brigands, and, as a matter of course, whenever we ascended a hill, or passed through a valley, I expected to see a ferocious band of Koords confronting us. Fortunately, we reached our halting-place, Ardeesh, the seat of the Kayim-Makkam of the district, at 8.30, without meeting with either friend or foe. About half a mile before we arrived, the governor of the place came out to meet me, and conducted me to the Government House, where he kindly provided me with comfortable quarters. Although he was fasting himself, he had some breakfast cooked for me, and both he and the Kadhee kept me company while I was eating, though they did not touch anything themselves. In the evening he provided me a sumptuous dinner, which I was told had been prepared at his harem. Of course, at this meal both he and the Kadhee joined me, as it was then after sunset, when the Mohammedans break

their fast. They cease from eating and drinking as soon as dawn commences, and every good Moslem is bound to partake of something at that time, called "Sihoor," before they begin their fast. In every Mohammedan country the fast of Ramadan is considered obligatory, and neither smoking nor even the taking of snuff is allowed. Generally speaking, the month of Ramadan, which is lunar, is passed in feeding well and feasting, because even the poorest among them consider it most essential to have a good meal in the evening, and the well-to-do keep open house for both rich and poor. Those who have no particular business to transact turn night into day, and vice versa; and woe betide a man who asks a devotee to do anything while he is fasting, especially towards sunset! He would get more abuse than blessing. As a matter of course, the fast of Ramadan is kept most rigidly, and when it falls in the summer solstice, when the days are long and the temperature very high, the desire for drink becomes much intensified.

Ardecsh stands about two miles from the lake, and the town of Wan can just be seen to the northwest of it. Rasheed Effendi, the governor, a native of Roumalia in European Turkey, was a most enlightened man, and, withal, a very strict Moslem. He assured me that the Armenians were given to much exaggeration, and, although they were sometimes badly treated by the Koords, they themselves were to blame for being too exacting in their dealings with those who had always been their superiors. While I was there, the priest of the place was in custody for having seduced a married woman in his parish, whose husband had sued him for adultery, and the case created a great scandal, especially as the priest was a married man himself.

Having been informed that our next stage, the following day, was a long one, I made up my mind to depart very early in the morning; but, as I overslept myself, we did not make a fair start until nearly five o'clock.

The Kayim-Makkam sent with me one of his superior officers, named Khaleel Effendi, to escort me to Wan. I was glad of his company, as he was full of information, and knew the country well. He pointed out to me two cuneiform inscriptions on a rock about three miles from Ardeesh, called "Ilan-dashlaree," which mean in Turkish, snake stones, or rocks. He informed me the reason they were called by that name was, because the natives have a tradition that there is an old snake or serpent occupying a cavity

in the rock, which had lived there ever since the Deluge! He showed me the place, and assured me, if I looked steadfastly into the cave, I should see the enemy of mankind moving about; but I failed to notice any living object. All that I could see from a distance was a faint sign of what seemed to me a fossil snake on the rock, and nothing more.

About eight A. M., I halted for breakfast at a Koordish encampment in the village of Arnis. The chief was away at the seat of war at Bayazeed; but his son, a very handsome young man, received me with every civility. He told me that he had been fighting against the Russians, and had just returned with a number of followers laden with booty of arms and clothes, which they captured from the enemy. It was very amusing to see some sedate Koords wrapped in the gray cloaks of the Muscovites, and others actually wearing the boots which they had brought from the field of battle. As for Russian arms, they had a large number; and to hear how exultingly the Koords spoke of their victories, one would fancy that the whole Russian army in the Caucasus had been utterly annihilated, and that the Sultan had only to send and proclaim an amnesty, and all the Russians would submit!

My host having learned that I took a great interest in antiquities, informed me that he knew of some built into the wall of one of the stone houses in the village, and as he was good enough to volunteer to guide me to the spot, I accepted his offer. It took him, however, a long time to find the exact place, as he had forgotten in which house he saw the relic; and when he hit upon it, the room was so dark that we had to wait some time before we could get a light to enable us to see our way into the chamber. After having exhausted my patience, I found the object of our search was nothing more than a black basalt stone with a few scratches on it.

When we returned to the tent, I found that the chief's family, though they were fasting, had prepared me a nice Koordish breakfast, consisting of fresh butter, curded milk, and honey, with the usual thin bread. I had scarcely finished the meal, before a messenger arrived, post-haste from the seat of war, bringing a most woeful report of the destruction, by the Russians, of a large body of Koordish volunteers, among whom was the father of my host and a large number of his followers. My feeling at the time can be more easily imagined than described; for, being most bigoted

Moslems, who hated even the name of a Christian, it was enough to make their blood boil to see a co-religionist of those who had slaughtered their relatives, sitting among them, and enjoying their hospitality. However, they all kept calm, as if nothing had happened, and the young chief, my host, in particular, continued his civility to the last, and when I arose to depart, he actually held my stirrup to enable me to mount my horse more easily,—the most complimentary attention a Moslem, especially a Koord, could pay to an unbeliever.

We traveled that day for five hours along the lake, until we lost sight of Wan altogether, as we had to go round the extreme northeastern corner of the lake to cross a marsh and a river named "Bundmahee," which came down to the lake from the direction of Bayazeed, teeming with fish. There is a bridge over the river very near the lake, which I had to cross. The fish were very tame, and seemed not to mind the passers-by. The water was so thick with them, that they literally hid the bottom of the stream from view. I was told that the natives of the country did not care for them as food, and, as I had nothing to catch them with, I could not make out what kind of fish they were. They looked to me more like trout and carp. They kept a good distance from the lake, probably to avoid the salt water.

We passed a large quantity of cereals heaped up along the edge of the lake, awaiting transport for the army at Bayazeed. I was told that thousands of boat-loads had gone to waste for want of beasts of burden to carry it away. The authorities found it so difficult to find proper transport that they had to press the wretched peasants, both male and female, to carry it to the seat of war on their backs; and many had perished under the burden. It is supposed, by competent authorities, that the Ottoman army would have proved successful in their last bloody contest with Russia if their commissariat had been more efficient; or, at all events, they would not have been so disgracefully beaten in Asia Minor and Roumalia. The brave Turkish troops had sometimes to feed on nothing but unwholesome biscuits, consisting of sand, sawdust, and other rubbish, with not more than half of real corn-flour. All the nomad and rural Arabs in the lowlands had volunteered, and supplied camels, mules, and other beasts of burden, as good Moslems, to assist in the jehad (holy) war, to convey corn to the army; but the cameleers and muleteers had suffered so much from want of

needful protection on the journey, and the lack of proper attention on the part of the Ottoman military authorities, that both the owners of the beasts of burden and their drivers swore that they would rather see the Russians marching into Mesopotamia than contribute any help to save Islam from destruction. Some Arab cameleers, whom I met returning homewards from Asia Minor, told me that they had gone up with a number of comrades in charge of one hundred laden camels, and they were then returning with scarcely one-third of the number. Some had died, and others became disabled from the rough journey and want of proper food. The men themselves had suffered from privation and fever, and a great number of them died from want of care, while others had been murdered by the Koords on the way back. They said that had the commissariat people done their duty properly, the cameleers might have accomplished their task, and returned to their country safely in proper time; but they were so delayed at the seat of war through the mismanagement of the Turkish officials, whose duty it was to receive the supplies that went up for the troops, that they had to leave without a receipt. First, on their arrival they had great difficulty in finding out the proper officer whose duty it was to receive the grain; and, secondly, when they succeeded in doing so, after waiting for some time, they were put off from day to day, until ultimately compelled to collect the remaining camels, and forego the proper voucher. On their way back they were attacked by Koordish marauders, who killed two of their party in what the Arabs called a cowardly way, as they had been fired at without warning.

When Arab marauders want to plunder any party, they challenge them to give up their property in a peaceful manner; and even after they refuse to do so, the plunderers never resort to bloodshed, but try merely to rob their victims by means of the cudgel. As long as those who are doomed to be mulcted of their property make no effort to protect themselves with firearms, or any other deadly weapon, there is no fear of loss of life, or even wounds. But the Koords intimidate their victims in the first instance by drawing blood, as it is the case with all highland marauders, and afterwards make a rush for the plunder. Formerly—that is, in the olden time of Arab chivalry—no plunder was considered either legal or meritorious, except it was taken in broad day, in order that those who were going to lose their property

might have a chance of protecting themselves. Even now, any robbery committed at night is considered by well-bred Arabs to be low and cowardly.

Khaleel Effendi and I, with part of my escort, pushed on, after we crossed the bridge of Bundmahee, to the Armenian village of Mairak, situated on a hill, as we had intended to halt there for the night. We arrived at two P. M., and the chief of the village immediately had a room swept and prepared for me. After having waited an hour and a half for the luggage, and seeing no signs of it, I took it for granted that the muleteers had mistaken our halting-place, and gone to another village. My host thought that they must have kept to the lower road, and gone on to Jarrik, another Armenian hamlet, about an hour and a half further; because very few travelers would take the trouble to ascend the hill on which Mairak was situated, when, by following the lower road, they would soon come to another large village, called Jarrik. My escort and I, therefore, remounted our horses, and proceeded thither; but I was not a little concerned to find, on arriving there, that my servants had gone on to another village, called Hadirth, as the chief told them that I had passed. On asking him why he had deceived them, he told me frankly that he was afraid I was a Turkish Pasha with a large retinue, and neither he nor his people cared to have them as guests for fear of extortion; but he begged me to remain, and said he would send and call my people back, as they had not gone far. Sooner than send for them, I preferred following them, though very tired, having been more than twelve hours on horseback, except the short halt at the Koordish encampment and Mairak. We overtook the luggage as it was entering Hadirth at six o'clock, just a little too late to find comfortable lodgings. The result was, that I had to sleep in a dirty room infested with fleas, as the whole village was full of invalided soldiers, who were returning home from the seat of war. Indeed, when we first arrived, I thought we should have no room to shelter us for the night, as I was told that the place was overcrowded with soldiers, and there were three or four men in every hut. While I was meditating what to do, a young Koord came out and invited me to his house, in which there were no soldiers billeted. Without much ado, he turned his harem out of the only room in the house to accommodate me; and, although I protested, both he and his mother refused to listen to my entreaties that they should

be allowed to remain where they were. My cook had some difficulty in preparing my dinner, as no wood could be found in the village, and the only fuel that could be had was some weeds and dried cow-dung.

We left Hadirth at four o'clock the next morning (6th October), and reached the village of Tarlashay at 6.40. As we were then only three hours' distance from Wan, we halted there for breakfast. We remained five hours there, as my escort wanted to give the Wan authorities notice of my approach. I was recommended, both at Bitlis and Moosh, to be the guest of Keork Bey, the head of the Armenian community of Wan; and so he was telegraphed to by my hosts in both towns to do the needful for me. When we arrived within two miles of the city, the brother of Keork Bey, and Khoaja Yeramiah Shahmeer, a former dragoon of the English consul of Diarbekir, came out to meet me. Having reached the outskirts of the town earlier than my escort calculated upon, and fearing lest the governor-general would find fault with them for allowing me to enter the town without the proper honors being paid me, we halted at Keork Bey's garden, which was situated at the extreme end of the northern part of the town, where I was treated with some fruit. I had not been seated in the garden ten minutes, before the Allai-Beyee (commandant of police) arrived with a guard of honor, to receive me on behalf of the governor-general. Yoseph Bey Tamir Agha, one of the old nobility, and head of the Moslem community of Wan, accompanied the commandant, and I was informed by the latter that, as His Excellency, Hasan Pasha, wished that I should be comfortably and properly lodged during my stay at Wan, he had asked Yoseph Bey to receive me as his guest. At first I demurred, giving as my reason that Keork Bey had already been asked to receive me. Finding that the governor-general knew nothing of my former intention, and thinking it would be impolite to refuse the hospitality of the chief Moslem of the place, who had willingly offered it, I thanked both Hasan Pasha and my future host for their polite invitation. Indeed, I was very glad to be the guest of such a great man as Yoseph Bey, especially at a time when there was so much ill-feeling between the Christians and the Moslems. I knew that the former would not look on me with suspicion if I was the guest of Yoseph Bey, as I should always try and keep a constant intercourse with the

Armenians of the place, and endeavor, through friendship with all, to create a better feeling between the two parties. I am glad my efforts to bring about a better understanding between them were of some avail; and I must say I always found the Moslems more easy to pacify than the Christians. Although the former are considered the most bigoted, I found them, on the whole, more tolerant than their Christian neighbors.

I was told by an Armenian gentleman that a few days before my arrival at Wan, the notorious fanatical Koordish chief, Shaikh Obaid Allah, had visited Wan with a number of his followers; and as Yoseph Bey had always an open house, he received him and his retinue as his guests. My informant had an occasion to go one afternoon to see Yoseph Bey on business, and as it was dinner-time, he was asked to join them at that meal. When Shaikh Obaid Allah came to the table and found one of the guests to be an Armenian, he told Yoseph Bey that he could not defile himself by sitting at the same board with an infidel, and asked his host to order the Armenian to leave. This Yoseph Bey refused to do, saying that it was not customary for him to turn any one away from his table on account of his faith. Whereupon the Koordish chief swore that either he or the Armenian must leave the table; and when he was told that if he could not eat in company with a Christian, he had better go and find another house, the indignant fanatic left forthwith with all his followers, heaping all manner of maledictions on the head of the *corrupt* Moslem, for having associated himself with swine-eaters!

Yoseph Bey's house is built outside the city of Wan, or that part of it which is not surrounded by a wall. The bulk of the inhabitants live in that locality, where many of them can enjoy the luxury of having gardens attached to their houses, and drink pure cold water from the copious springs that are abundant in the eastern part of the valley. The suburbs of the town stretch over five miles to the east and southeast, and about three miles from north to south. All the roads are intersected with water-courses, that irrigate the different gardens according to regulation. My host's house was surrounded by an extensive garden, in the center of which a summer resort, called Koyshk, was built, with a fountain playing inside it, which made it a delightful retreat during the heat of the day. On my arrival at the hospitable abode of my host, I was ushered into this pleasant nook, and, though my

entertainer was fasting, I was, nevertheless, at once supplied with a nargeela and coffee. In the evenings we always dined together, in company with some of his relations and friends, but I breakfasted alone until the fast of the Ramadan was over. Besides the Koyshek, to which I could resort whenever the weather was oppressive, Yoseph Bey provided me with a suite of apartments for the use of myself and followers; and as it was just the season for fruit and vegetables, I feasted on the best of everything.

The night being pleasant and cool, and the change from the discomfort of sleeping in dirty hovels, infested with all manner of vermin, to an airy and well-furnished apartment, enabled me to have a most delightful night's rest. Early in the morning the metropolitan of Wan, Yeramia Effendi, Keork Bey, whose guest I had intended to be, with the leading Armenian gentry of the place, called on me. As soon as they were ushered into my chamber, I was left alone with them, and we remained together for some time. It appears that the governor-general had given orders to my host, that whenever any of the native Christians called on me, he was to leave me alone with them, in order, as I supposed, that it might not be said by the Russophiles that the Armenians had no opportunity of acquainting me with their grievances. As a matter of course, they had the same stories to tell as I had heard in other places in Armenia and Koordistan, of the diabolical behavior of the Moslems towards the Armenians, and they confirmed the charges of burning and plunder by Turkish soldiers of their bazaar, which was wholly the property of the Armenian community. They alleged that, having set different shops on fire, they and their comrades helped themselves liberally under the cloak of keeping guard. The authorities and the Moslem section of the inhabitants, however, declared that the fire originated in one of the Armenian shops, and the troops had only been sent there to protect what was left of the property; and if any pilfering had taken place, the Armenians were as guilty as the rest of the inhabitants. Generally speaking, whenever a fire occurs in a Turkish town, it is caused through mischief or thirst for plunder; and, as a matter of course, during that momentous time, when hatred of race and religion was intensified between Christians and Moslems, through the Russo-Turkish war, every misfortune was attributed to the enemy. With regard to the pilfering of the soldiery, it was not beyond possibility; because, in such cases, the

temptation to misappropriate certain goods which happen to be scattered about, is not uncommon among a class of men who are always ready to steal. I was, therefore, not surprised that such an accusation was made against the soldiers. As I was not sent there to hold a court of inquiry, I could not ascertain exactly the real facts; and, although I understood at the time that the Porte had ordered the matter to be sifted, no good result was gained by it.

In the afternoon I called on His Excellency, the governor-general, Hasan Pasha, one of the old nobility of Albania, whom I found most affable and pleasant. He was formerly governor-general of Kharpoot, and, in consequence of his benign rule in that Pashalic, where he was beloved by both Christians and Moslems, the Porte considered him the most fit man to govern Wan and its dependencies during that troublesome time. Of all the Mohammedan nationalities, the Albanians are considered the most tolerant and unprejudiced with regard to the Christians, and doubtless Hasan Pasha possessed not only these good qualities, but was besides meek in his own estimation, and conciliatory. He told me that he had found out from long experience that the people of that part of Koordistan, which is known in Europe as Armenia, are very much given to misrepresentations and suspicion, and the Christians, especially, were corrupt; that, though the complaints of the latter were in some instances true, yet in the main they were very much exaggerated. He asserted that their co-religionists on the border of Russia were constantly trying to foment conspiracy and sedition, and were aiming at becoming again a great nation; but he thought it was laughable for people like the Armenians to aspire to such a position among the nations of the world, when they could not even withstand the assaults of the Koords, unless they had the Porte or a foreign Government to protect them.

With regard to the secret organization of Russian agents for the purpose of creating discontent and ill-feeling among the Christians of Turkey against the ruling power, I had been informed of it from other sources. I have even heard that Circassian high commissioned officers in the Russian army were in the habit of going about among the Mohammedan mountaineers, both in Persia and Turkey, instilling into the mind of the native population the advantage of the Russian rule over that of the Moslem and English

Powers. They tried to prove to them that the Russian Government made no difference between a native-born and a subjected race, or between a Christian and Moslem or Jew, in the matter of promotions and honors. With the exception of certain isolated cases, the Turks looked down upon the subjected races; and they would never, if they could, promote any man to great honor in a post of trust, however deserving, unless he was of their nationality.

One of the emissaries was himself a Circassian general, who pointed out his uniform and decorations to those whom he wished to convince of the truth of his statements, and challenged any man who could point out one single case where the British Government conferred such a rank as he held on any Indian soldier. I tried to explain to some men the difference between the nationalities that are subject to Russia, and those under the British crown in India, with regard to the religious scruples and strict observance of caste principles; but as there is no such horrid usage in Turkey, I could not make them understand the force of my argument.

I was glad to find at Wan an establishment of an American mission, which made my stay there most pleasant. As usual, the missionaries were beloved by all parties, and their presence had mitigated, in a great measure, the hatred of the Moslems towards the Christians. Dr. Reynolds especially, by his medical skill and philanthropy, had endeared himself to high and low, and, be it said to the honor and credit of all the members of the American Board of Missions in Turkey and Persia, that even the enemies of their religion have not a word to say in disparagement of their good work. Their proselytism is confined to the Armenian community, and their object is to instill into them pure Christian worship; and as the Armenians are not very much prejudiced against Protestantism, the Americans do not find it difficult to labor among them successfully.

Though the better class of the Armenian community are very zealous in promoting education and culture among their people, yet the ignorance which prevails is beyond description, especially in matters of religion. The female portion, above all others, are devoid of any spiritual training, and very few of the lower class understand even the common dogmas of their faith. I was told that hundreds who attend Church do not even know the Lord's

Prayer, and to comprehend what the priests say during the Church service is far beyond their intelligence. Though the leading Armenians are doing their best to extend education among all classes, they have not advanced much in the culture of the women in either Armenia or Koordistan. At Wan the native Armenians were increasing their schools, and trying to establish a higher standard of education among the scholars; and for this purpose they had brought over, at very great expense, some superior teachers from Constantinople. They had been trying to establish an Armenian university at Wan at the time I was there, but it appeared that the influential Moslems of the place, backed by the local authorities, had objected; and though they possessed the ground and the requisite funds, the Porte could not be induced to sanction the proposal.

Contrary to the common practice in Turkey, the assistant of the governor-general was an Armenian, named Magherdich Aghatonian Effendi, and a very excellent and good man he was. He managed to get on well with all; but I do not think he cared much for the post, as he knew he was placed there as a puppet. I heard that his predecessor, who was also an Armenian, had been removed on account of his independent spirit, as he would not consent to any measure of which he did not approve. Although Aghatonian Effendi never gave his support to a harsh or unjust act, he always avoided looking minutely into any proceedings of the local authorities which were not considered very obnoxious.

There is no doubt if the Armenians possessed half the pluck of the Greeks, the Koords, or their Christian neighbors, the so-called Nestorians, they would not submit to the bullying and insults which they receive at the hands of their oppressors. They have, however, lately shown more independence; and if foreign intrigue continues, it may be that ere long they will prove a source of serious trouble to their rulers; but I doubt very much whether they will ever attain the exalted position of becoming an independent nation. Russia must, sooner or later, incorporate the bulk of them among her Eastern possessions, and thus gain nearly three millions of Christian subjects, who are peaceable, industrious, and orderly.

One of the most remarkable observances that still exists among the Armenians of Wan and other cities in the so-called Armenia, and Koordistan, and even in some parts of Asia Minor, is the

seclusion of women, as in the Dark Ages. No respectable woman is allowed to be seen in public; and the men are as particular about hiding their wives as any strict Moslem. Even the common women, let them be as old as great-grandmothers, would never show their face to a stranger without having it covered with a yeshmac, or cloth, reaching over the nose. I was told that this custom is strictly adhered to in their dwellings, where no stranger is admitted; and in some families, even the husband does not possess the privilege of seeing his wife's mouth or nose, except on certain occasions. This unpleasant practice of bandaging the lower part of the face is only obligatory on married women; those unmarried do not cover their mouths, but only hide their faces when they walk out of doors. Among certain nationalities in the East, when a woman attains the age of twenty-five or thirty, she begins to look old; but among the Armenians, who are kept secluded, their good looks begin to fade soon after they are married, especially after the birth of two or three children. There are very pretty girls to be seen among the Armenians of Wan; but good-looking married women, of some years' standing, are very rare. Of course, the Armenians of Constantinople, Syria, and the country bordering on the Mediterranean and the Euxine, are now more or less Europeanized; and not only have they given up all idea of seclusion, but the higher classes follow all the rules and etiquette of European society. It is to be hoped that, from the spread of education and civilization in those remote parts, the rude and degrading habits which have kept the women of the East almost in a state of bondage will vanish, as has been the case with their more fortunate sisters farther west.

It seems very strange that all the Christians of Turkey should adopt the strict seclusion of their women, which was introduced by the Arab conquerors, while the nomad and rural Arabs, Turcomans and Koords, who are strict Moslems, have not followed that odious practice. The most respectable women among the latter would not consider it at all improper to receive and converse with a man, although a stranger. I have myself been very often entertained by Moslem women of those nationalities when their husbands were away, without the least fear of its being considered improper. Doubtless the strict observance of the harem system began with the spread of the religion of the Koran, when the followers of Mohammed were allowed to possess more than

one wife; and as the Christians, Jews, and other non-Moslem communities were either forced, or they themselves considered it good policy, to imitate their conquerors in large towns where the latter predominated, they have kept to the custom ever since. The practice is, however, fast fading away in the large towns, where the habits of the West are being introduced; and among the female Mohammedans of Turkey a good many European ideas have been incorporated into their social habits. Even ladies of the highest class in many large cities, especially at Constantinople, do not hesitate to go about in public with their faces uncovered, and frequent places of resort wearing gloves, buttoned high-heeled boots, with parasols of all shades and colors, as a finish to their whimsical attire!

The Armenians possess, in the valley of Wan, a large number of fine monasteries and churches; and among the latter there are the "Yadee Killisa" (Turkish words, meaning Seven Churches) and "Karmirwar Mairamana," which are delightfully situated high upon the hills, with a plentiful supply of running water to irrigate the gardens and cultivated grounds that surround them. Indeed, in the majority of cases, both in Koordistan and Armenia, the Christian places of worship, which have the appearance of opulence, are situated in much finer positions than those of the Mohammedans; and my wonder has always been that, with such bloodthirsty and avaricious Moslem neighbors, they have been allowed to retain them, when, in other parts of Turkey, hundreds of Christian churches have been wrested from their owners by Moslem conquerors, and converted into mosques. It may be that, after the first outburst of Mohammedan fanaticism, when the Christians were allowed more liberty, the arbitrary confiscation of endowed church property had not reached the Highlands; or else, as has lately been the case, all Christian communities in Koordistan were protected by their respective feudal chiefs, to whom they paid certain impost to save themselves from plunder. But since the Porte obtained entire control over the Koordish Provinces, except in a few isolated cases, the whole feudal system has been done away with; and, whether Koords, Armenians, or any other community, they are only accountable for their acts to the common rulers, the Turks, who have it in their power to fleece them all alike, or leave them to their own devices.

While I was at Wan, the monastery of Yadee Killisa was

guarded by Turkish police, because it was feared that the refractory Koords would attack the place, as they did other monasteries in the time of the Russo-Turkish war, and plunder it of its valuables. The brigands had already carried off some flocks of sheep belonging to the monastery, and the few that were left had to be guarded within the precincts of the building.

I found in this church some cuneiform inscriptions, built in different parts of the walls, and also on some loose pieces of an obelisk of rough black basalt. Indeed, such fragments of ancient Armenian records are to be met with in every part of the lake valley, especially in churches. With the exception of the inscriptions engraved on the rocks, and out of the reach of mischievous hands, all monuments are found in a dilapidated condition, and built in walls, evidently having been brought from other ancient sites.

There is an artificial mound near the Armenian Church of Dara Killisa, called "Tooprac-Kalaa," the Turkish for earthen castle, which shows an Assyrian origin. I visited the mound one day in company of Monsignor Yeramia, and as soon as I set my foot upon the top of it, I was possessed with a great longing to examine its contents; but, unfortunately, I had then no firman to enable me to gratify my desire. Although I asked the governor-general to let me open a few trenches in it, and promised that if I found any ancient remains I would let him have the custody of them until the pleasure of the Porte was known, he was afraid to let me begin without special imperial sanction. But, thanks to Sir Henry Layard, our then ambassador at Constantinople, who managed to include Wan in the firman, and obtained permission for me to explore it for the British Museum. By virtue of this, I was afterwards enabled to excavate the mound, but as I have to revert again to my researches there, I will pass on to other topics.

CHAPTER VII.

AFTER spending a fortnight at Wan, I started, on the 22d October, for Mossul, by way of Bash-kalaa, Joolamerk, Teearee, and Bohtan. The weather by that time had become delightfully cool, and, having had a heavy rain the day before, I found the roads, on resuming my journey, somewhat heavy from their muddy state. As usual, the first stage to the Armenian village of Norchokh was a short one,—a little more than three hours. I lodged there in the chief's house, which was considered the best and cleanest in the place; but, as a matter of fact, it was the filthiest and gloomiest abode I ever occupied. Unfortunately, I had not brought with me any tents, because, when I left Aleppo, it was too hot to use them on the road, and I did not like to be troubled with the transport of bulky luggage through difficult mountain passes, preferring to use what accommodation could be obtained in the villages I passed through. Moreover, I always found it good policy to live with the inhabitants of the villages or camps I visited, as I could then, with greater facility, obtain the information I required. I very seldom was disappointed, nor was I ever refused admission into any quarter to which I took a fancy.

A few days before I set out for Wan, the governor-general had left for the Provinces to make arrangements about the transport of provisions to the army at Bayazeed; and, to my surprise, I heard on my arrival at Norchokh that His Excellency was returning to Wan, and was expected at that village towards the evening. I had not been an hour in the place before Hasan Pasha made his appearance; and as soon as he heard that I was in the village, he came and paid me a visit. We mutually invited each other to dinner; and as he had better accommodation for taking our meal in comfort, I accepted his invitation, on the understanding that what my cook had already prepared should go to add to his hospitable board. My cook had dressed three or four courses, among which was the famous Turkish dish called "pillaw;" that is, boiled rice with hot-melted butter poured on it. Generally speaking, the rice is boiled in plain water; but those who wish to have it made rich, cook it with mutton or chicken-broth, and my cook used to garnish it with fried almonds and sultanas, which

made some of my Turkish guests smack their lips. I certainly never knew a cook dress pillaw to greater perfection than Meek-hael (that is, Michael), and as this is the standing dish all over Turkey, I was never at a loss, on an emergency, to provide my dainty followers with a meal. One officer took such a liking to my pillaw that he would taste nothing else morning, noon, and night, as long as he was certain of having that dish. My cook was also very skillful in dressing another favorite Turkish dish, called "dolma;" that is, any vegetable stuffed with rice and minced mutton, seasoned with onions, pepper, and salt, and boiled in water made acid with either sour grape or lemon juice, or a berry called "simmack." This forced meat is generally stuffed in cucumber, marrow, onion, cabbage, or vine-leaves—the latter covering being preferred by the Turks. The way the onion is stuffed, is by having it boiled just enough to allow the separate bulbs to be forced out without breaking, and then stuffed with the prepared minced mutton and rice. Though this dish is peculiar to Turkey, it is always liked by those who had never tasted it before. Both pillaw and dolma are easily prepared, and any ordinary European cook could learn without much difficulty how to dress them.

The village of Norchokh was the dirtiest I ever saw in any part of Turkey; and as its inhabitants keep a large number of buffaloes, which are in almost every hovel, one had to walk ankle-deep in filth in going about the place; and what made it worse was the heavy rain that fell the night before.

The priest of the place informed me that, some time before, that village, with others in the same district, had been sacked by Koordish crusaders from Southern Koordistan, who were going to join the Turkish army at Bayazeed. There was no limit to their lawlessness, and they had gone so far as to desecrate every Armenian church that they passed, among which was that of Norchokh. The wretches not only used these churches as stables, but committed every act of indecency and infamy that could be imagined by a fiendish mind. In one church I was told they had actually outraged a girl on the altar; and in the church of that village, which was shown to me by the priest, I saw excrements of both man and beast in the most sacred part of the edifice. Not satisfied with this diabolical act, they pulled down the roofing, defaced the walls and pillars, and did every other damage that

their wicked hands were able to accomplish. Throughout my journey, along the track of those inhuman wretches, I noticed the devastation that had been caused by them in every place through which they passed. A large number of villages were so ruined by them that the inhabitants had to take shelter in other localities. This devastation was not confined to merely Christian habitations, but a number of Mohammedan hamlets shared the same fate. A chief of one of the latter told me that when he upbraided these crusaders with their impiety in plundering Moslem habitations, they told him that he and his co-religionists were as bad as the Christians for tolerating their existence.

We left Norchokh at six A. M., after having bid my friend, Hasan Pasha, good-bye. He was also starting at the same time on his way back to Wan. The weather was cloudy, and it threatened to be a wet day; but, fortunately, it cleared up about eight o'clock, and afterwards we had beautiful sunshine. The mountains around looked most superb with their peaks covered with snow. We reached the citadel of Khoshab at eleven o'clock; and at 12.30 P. M. we arrived at our halting-place, Shoosnamerrick, which is inhabited by Koords. Here I occupied the best room in the place, which was neither clean nor comfortable, but was better than at my last quarters. The great discomfort I experienced in these villages was from the dirty state of the ceiling, which every now and then sent down showers of unwelcome insects and smut; and when it rained, the annoyance was aggravated by the trickling of slush in every nook and corner of the room. The roofing of the huts being composed of very crooked and shapeless rafters, covered over with coarse branches of trees and loose earth, proves a capital receptacle for vermin; and as the natives do all their cooking in them, besides the constant fires that are kept up during winter, the place looks more like a dirty chimney than a human dwelling. Moreover, as the roofs of all the houses are connected with each other on the same level, and easily mounted, they become the resort of dogs and goats, which are continually rambling about on them. The consequence is, every time any of these animals move on the roof, they send down a shower of dirt, fleas, flies, and spiders. I took the precaution, before I left England, to provide myself with tarpaulins, which answered different purposes admirably. They protected my luggage from getting wet when we were on the move; I used them under my bedstead, or carpet on wet ground, to pre-

vent dampness, and keep down the dust when camping in a sandy soil; and I had also one suspended over my bed when I was unfortunate enough to stay in a dirty hovel with a low ceiling almost touching my head.

The people of the village, though Moslems, complained bitterly of the extortion and malpractices of the Koordish crusaders, who had plundered their habitations of everything worth taking, and pulled down the huts to provide themselves with fuel. I was told that the open lawlessness of these savages had so much frightened the Christians and Mohammedans who happened to be unfortunate enough to live in their track, that a large number had deserted their villages when they heard of their approach, and took shelter in out-of-the-way places. But it appears that when these heartless brigands entered a village and found no one in it, they vented their rage upon the habitations, which they destroyed, and burned up all the cereals they could find. When I heard of these vicious acts of oppression, I remembered a story told at the time when some of the fanatical Koordish chiefs were troublesome, and Sir Stratford Canning (afterwards the late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) urged upon the Porte to put them down. Ali Pasha, the then Turkish Grand Vizier, told him that the Ottoman Government were obliged to tolerate their excesses, because they expected them to prove of incalculable assistance to them in any hostile engagement with Russia. The Turks quite forgot that the defeat of the Sultan's forces by the Egyptian troops under Ibraheem Pasha at Nizib, in 1839, was mainly owing to the treachery and misbehavior of the Koordish contingent that joined them; and that it was quite impossible to rely on their help, as was proved later on at the last engagements near Bayazeed, when a few detachments of them gave the disciplined army in the field more trouble than they were worth.

We left Shooshnamerrick at 6.30 A. M., and an hour after we left we began to ascend the high mountains that divide the plains of Mahmoodia from Albac. It was intensely cold going up, especially as there was a keen easterly wind blowing. When we had ascended about a thousand feet above the plain of Mahmoodia, we were enveloped in a very thick mist, and by the time we got to the top the air was so rarified that I felt I could scarcely breathe. After we had gone over the "Chokh" Pass (which is about eight thousand feet above the level of the sea), and begun to descend to the

Plain of Albac, the weather became warmer. The mist which enveloped the mountains, and through which I had just passed, changed into heavy clouds, overshadowing the country around; and by ten o'clock it commenced to rain, and continued to do so until the next morning. I had to travel nearly four hours in the rain before we reached Bash-Kalaa, the capital of Albac. Here I was received very civilly by the authorities, and put up in an empty, clean, and convenient house, belonging to a respectable Armenian of Wan, who is a member of the local Council of State. He, with other leading men of the place, including the Jewish Khakham, or Rabbi, called on me in the evening, and gave me the same account of the chronic disorder, oppression, and Koordish lawlessness. They complained, especially, of the constant raids of the Shikak Koords, who occupied the Persian mountains bordering on the Albac district. These Koords have sometimes lived in Persian and sometimes in Turkish territory, when it answered their purpose to do so; that is, when it suited them to plunder Persian villages they moved to the Ottoman frontier, and when they fell foul of the Turks they returned to their former quarters; and, as a matter of course, wherever they happened to be they managed to get scot free, through the dishonesty and apathy of both the Persian and Ottoman officials. If the Porte complained to the Shah's ministers of the Shikak misconduct, they replied that it was absurd to accuse them of such a deed, when they resided at so great a distance from the district that had been plundered. The Turks likewise gave the same answer when the Persians complained to them of the Shikaks.

Bash-Kalaa contains a large number of Jewish families, who were formerly in a flourishing condition, but, through oppression and insecurity, have become very destitute, and a large number of them have in consequence been obliged to emigrate to other parts of Turkey. It is very curious that when an Armenian is dissatisfied with his lot he emigrates to Russia; but a Jew would always prefer living among the Turks than be yoked by Muscovite rule. This shows that there is more toleration towards their co-religionists from Mohammedans than from the Christians of Russia.

The morning of the 24th of October having dawned with heavy mist, which did not clear up till nine o'clock, a start could not be made before 9.45. We reached Hozee, a Nestorian village, at 3.30 P. M., after having halted about half an hour on the road

for refreshments. I had arranged to go on three hours longer, but finding the weather somewhat gloomy, remained at that village for the night.

I had intended, on reaching Bash-Kalaa, to journey to Mossul by way of Gawar; but finding the weather becoming rapidly cold and wintry, I deemed it advisable to push on through Tearee before the roads were closed by the snow, which had begun to fall, and already covered the top of the mountains. In the greater part of the highest mountain range, both in Koordistan and Asia Minor, traveling becomes difficult, and in some parts impossible, from December to March, and it was therefore necessary to make haste and get down to the lowland as early as possible before the winter regularly set in.

The village of Hozee was in a flourishing condition some time back; but it had suffered a good deal at the time of my visit from the inroads of the Koords, especially those of the Shikak tribe, who were subject to Persia. A few months before, a large number of the villages in Albac had been plundered and destroyed by the Shikak Koords. Most of the people had decamped on hearing of the approach of these ferocious marauders, and on their return they found that even the walls of their hovels had been pulled down by the enemy for revenge. To make matters worse, they had not been even a year in their former habitations, trying to recruit themselves by borrowing and hard work, before they were called upon to pay the usual taxes, and supply transport for provisioning the garrison at Bayazeed. When they pleaded poverty and want of beasts of burden, they were told that the money must be found somehow, and if they could not supply the requisite number of animals, they must carry the necessary provisions on their backs, which they did. Some of the peasants were so destitute that they were obliged to till the ground by manual labor, and, of course, the poor women had to do their share of the hard work. This is not all; more disgraceful tyrannies followed. A large number of the Shikak refugees, who had crossed the Persian frontier and settled themselves in the Albac district, were billeted upon the wretched peasants. It appeared that Ahmee Agha, the son of the notorious Shikak chief, "Ahmed Khan," had a serious quarrel with his father, which obliged him to remove into Turkey with a large number of his followers, who, of course, were received gladly by the Ottoman authorities; but instead of the necessary

quarters being provided for them, they were allowed to billet themselves upon the Christian villages. It is true that, since the disaffected Shikak refugees settled down in Albac, the inhabitants have had no more fear of further raids from that tribe; nevertheless, the presence of a part of them, even as friends, has been a perpetual annoyance, besides the losses they sustained by extortion.

We left Hozee at 5.15 A. M. for Kochanis, the seat of Mar Shimoun, the patriarch of the Nestorian community, as it was most important that I should visit him to find out the cause of the rumored alienation between him and the Turkish authorities. It was also reported that an attack was intended upon him and his people by the Koords, who were only waiting for a good opportunity to march into Tearee.

The complaint against Mar Shimoun, and against the Nestorians generally, was, that they had not rendered any assistance to the State during the war, and had refused to pay their proper taxes for some years. The general belief among both Moslems and Armenians was, that Mar Shimoun had rebelled because he had neglected to visit Wan, as he and his predecessor were formerly in the habit of doing. Indeed, I understood that it had already been represented to the Porte that the Nestorians were giving trouble; and that if they were not brought into subjection at once, they would prove formidable adversaries. The Koords, who looked upon the Nestorians as their hereditary enemies, were ready to pounce upon them, not for the sake of the Turks, as there was no love lost between them, but from the mere thirst for revenge and plunder. Fortunately, my visit to Tearee allayed, in a great measure, the misunderstanding which existed between the different parties. It had been asserted that Mar Shimoun owed the Ottoman treasury about a million and a half of Turkish piasters for overdue taxes; but this the patriarch denied, alleging that those who imposed the taxes assumed, without any reason, that the Nestorians were very wealthy people; and without examining into the condition of the different tribes, they merely calculated upon a certain amount to be paid yearly, without considering who was to bear the burden. According to their imagination, they added year after year fanciful accumulations of taxes, which thus brought the sum total to that prodigious figure! He affirmed that his people had been paying the proper imposts regularly to the Joolamairk local authorities, in whose jurisdiction they

lived, but that, through their trickery, they had evaded giving the necessary vouchers. It appears that in the majority of cases, when the chiefs of the different Nestorian districts took their taxes to Joolamairk, the money was taken from them, without a proper acknowledgment; and when they thought they had obtained a receipt, they discovered afterwards that the document was a hoax,—either it was merely an ordinary memorandum of account, or a schedule of taxes due.

Soon after we left Hozee we began to descend into a deep valley, through which ran the Albac River; and after having crossed it, we ascended a high mountain. We then went through the valley of the great Zab, which took us nearly an hour to descend; and when we arrived below the Nestorian village of Razona at noon, my guides told me that the remainder of the road to Kochanis was most difficult and dangerous. They advised me, therefore, to obtain some men from Razona to assist the muleteers in carrying the luggage. I was glad afterwards that I followed their advice, because, without the extra men, we should probably have had serious accidents, if not the loss of some of our animals. When we began to ascend the mountain on which Kochanis is situated, we had to wind along a precipitous and sloping path not more than two feet wide; and, to make matters worse, the late rain had made it very slippery. The path grew worse and worse, and when we were half way up it became so steep that I could only manage to keep my seat by bending forward flat against the pommel of the saddle, and holding tight to the mane of the mule. Each animal was supported by two men, one in front at the halter, and the other behind at its tail, the former to drag it up, and the latter to keep it in the right path. We could see some of the natives of Kochanis, who had come out to welcome me, standing on the brink of the precipice above us, looking not bigger than so many babies. I was glad when the top of the mountain was safely reached at four P. M., where I found my old friend, Mshamshama Benyamain (which means in Chaldean, Deacon Benjamin), ready to receive me, with a host of his relatives and followers. I was sorry to hear from him that Mar Shimoun, his son, was away from home; he had gone to Tayaree for security, because he was afraid that the agitation against him by the Ottoman authorities and the Koords might cause him to be arrested and maltreated. My

venerable friend was good enough to assign me the patriarchal apartments to reside in during my stay there.

I had become acquainted with Mshamshama Benyamain about thirty-three years before, when he came with his brother, the late patriarch, to Mossul, to take shelter under my brother's protection from the ravages of the Koords, the followers of the ferocious Bedr-Khan Bey. They had to flee the country during its invasion by that bloodthirsty chief, who mercilessly played havoc with life and property. The poor patriarch's mother was one of the victims, who suffered death after much torture, because she refused to embrace Mohammedanism.

On my arrival at Kochanis, I sent a messenger to Mar Shimoun, to find out whether he was to meet me there, or in another place; and as he intimated that it would be more convenient for him to see me at the monastery of Mar Ssawa, which I could visit on my way down to Mossul, I left at 9.15 A. M. for that place, after having spent two days at the patriarchal seat. It rained the whole night while I was there, and on the mountains around there was a heavy fall of snow. After we left Kochanis, we ascended a high mountain, and then descended to the town of Joolamairk, a depth of about one thousand feet. It began to rain soon after we left our last stage, and continued to do so until night. We reached Joolamairk a little before one o'clock in the afternoon. It was raining so heavily when we reached our halting-place that the governor did not know of my arrival until I entered the palace.

This town was once the seat of that notorious Koordish tyrant, Noor-Allah Bey, who hated and maltreated all Christians with bitter hatred. He was supposed to have caused a large number of European travelers to be killed, by instigating brigands to attack them. He dared not execute his diabolical acts openly for fear of the Turkish Wan authorities, but managed to have his victims attacked in out-of-the-way places, and away from his jurisdiction. He was contemporary with the other cruel chief, Bedr Khan Bey; but thanks to the energy and influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Porte sent an expedition against them, destroyed their power and removed these two chiefs with their families to Constantinople. The former died on the way, and the latter lived to see, with his own eyes, the distinguished way the despised "infidel Franks" were treated by his suzerain lord.

The old remains show evident signs that Joolamairk must have been, in the days of yore, a fine and flourishing town; but now, beyond the official quarters, nothing remains but heaps of ruins. The town stands in a deep and picturesque hollow, overlooking the valley of the Zab. It is surrounded by dilapidated citadels, which must have made it quite impregnable in days gone by, when warfare was carried on with ruder arms.

The governor allotted me quarters in the Government House, as it was impossible to find decent lodgings while the rain was descending in such torrents. His good wife sent me, soon after my arrival, a dish of biklawa, or backlava, a favorite puff pastry stuffed with almonds, very much relished in Turkey, and she would not allow my cook to prepare any of my victuals, as she undertook to do everything herself. In the evening, the commandant of the troops, the doctor, the Kadhee, and Hasan Bey, the ex-governor of Joolamairk, a cousin to my Wan host, Yoseph Bey, called on me, and staid to dinner with the governor and myself. They were all very bitter against the Nestorians; and the commandant, in particular, was very wroth with Mar Shimoun and his people, whom he called rebels. He said that when he was coming up to Joolamairk from the lowlands, he wished to make a short cut by going through Asheetha, the chief town in Tearee, but was prevented by the Nestorians, who threatened to fire on him if he entered their country.

Just as dinner was over, two soldiers (one of whom was covered with bandages) came in a woeful state to complain that, while in the execution of their duty at Diz, they, with other comrades, had been attacked by a band of Nestorians, who released a certain number of animals they had pressed for the purpose of carrying military stores to the seat of war. Fortunately, Mshamshama Benyamain had sent with me his two cousins, Abishalom and Yohanna, with Mirza, Mar Shimoun's steward, to escort me as far as Mar Ssawa; and as I knew that this complaint against the Nestorians of Diz was invented to prejudice me against them, I proposed to send one of Mar Shimoun's people with one of the Joolamairk officials, to inquire into the matter. This was agreed to; but, of course, it necessitated the protraction of my stay there longer than I wished.

The next day it rained heavily again in the morning, but cleared up about ten A. M. In the evening, I dined with the command-

ant, who gave me a sad account of the mismanagement of the Ottoman commissariat, and the miserable condition of the poor soldiers, from want of proper food and medical comforts. He said neither the Christians nor the Moslems of the country would render any assistance, and he thought that the aim of all was to starve them out.

The messengers who were sent by the governor and myself to Diz, to inquire into the complaint of the soldiers, who alleged that they had been maltreated by the Nestorians, returned in the course of the day, and reported that the attacking party did not consist of Nestorians, but of Koords, whose mules the soldiers had seized; and while they were trying to make the animals cross the Zab, the owners overtook them, and released them by force. The Nestorians of Diz were too poor to possess even one mule; consequently they had none to lose; but as both Nestorians and Koords dress alike, the soldiers seemed to have mistaken the one for the other.

We left Joolamairk at nine A. M., on the 31st of October, under a bright sunshine and in mild weather. As soon as we left the town we entered the valley of the Zab, and descended about 1,500 feet until the river was reached, which we crossed on a very rickety bridge. It was not only broken in many parts, but bent on one side to almost one foot in five, dangerous to a traveler who is subject to giddiness. We had to unload the animals, which we sent across swimming, and the luggage was transported on the backs of men we engaged for the purpose. Both banks of the river were so thickly covered with large boulders, that I thought the animals would be dashed to pieces when they tried to set their feet aground. I was truly glad when I crossed, and found both man and beast, with all the luggage, safely landed on the other side of the Zab, in the district of Diz.

We had intended to push on to the Nestorian town of Derawa; but on reaching Zerawa, at 3.30 P. M., we were told that it was too late to go on, on account of the difficult path that lay in our way; so we were obliged to make shift for the night in that miserable hamlet, especially as it began to rain when we entered it. As there was no room in Zerawa for our luggage animals, nor for those of my guard, we had to send them across the Zab again, through a ford, to the Koordish village opposite us. I wished afterwards that I had crossed too, as I was tormented all night by fleas.

That part of the Zab valley is very picturesque and fertile;

and whenever the Nestorians find a foot of good soil to cultivate they turn it to good account. They are certainly miserably poor; and as they live in a country which is wholly mountainous, and a small portion of it fit for tillage, with no pasture to speak of, they can not aspire to much wealth. The only advantage they have is, that they can boast of a beautiful climate, and the common diseases of the plains are unknown to them.

The 1st of November dawned very gloomy, and about sunrise it began to rain, but cleared up at nine o'clock, which enabled us to start for Derawa soon afterwards. I was obliged to send part of the luggage across the Zab, as I was told by the natives that it would be most troublesome to take it with me on the left side of the river, the passes being too narrow and dangerous to go through. Six men from the village of Zorawa accompanied me, to carry for me some necessary articles which were not bulky. I found that my informants did not deceive me, but, on the contrary, the track through which we had to pass was even dangerous for foot passengers. My servants and I had to travel on foot until we reached another ford in the Zab, where my guard and baggage animals recrossed to rejoin me. We had then to ascend and descend other difficult paths, and one pass in particular was so narrow and slippery that our animals could only just go through it unladen. At last we reached the huts of Derawa, about eleven o'clock, and, after having located part of the Dhabtia in one hovel, and placed the remainder in another, leaving Ahmed Agha, the chief of the escort, to take possession of a third, I settled myself in a fourth with my domestics.

The village of Derawa is scattered along the left bank of the Zab for nearly two miles, and as it was quite impossible to find a roomy dwelling for us all, we were obliged to take separate quarters in different huts. As soon as the Tearees saw the faces of my Turkish guard they began to show signs of displeasure; but when they found who I was, they did everything in their power to satisfy our wants. In the afternoon I took a walk along the river, and was very much struck with the beauty of the scenery. It must be quite delightful there in the summer season, and even so late as the beginning of November the dale afforded a most pleasant retreat. Grapes were just in season, and the verdure was as fresh as if there had been no summer.

We left Derawa at 9.15 next morning, and as I was told that

our way to Tearee that day was even more difficult for foot passengers and unladen animals than the day before, I engaged men to carry the luggage through the intricate cuttings in the rocks. Besides the hired carriers, a large number of the leading Nestorians of the village insisted upon accompanying me, to conduct me safely out of the dangerous defiles. Indeed, it was a matter of great thankfulness when we got to the end of our journey safe and sound, without any mishap, though, in one place where the animals had to be conducted through a narrow ledge cut in a rock, one of the mules had a narrow escape from tumbling headlong into the deep valley beneath; but two of the muleteers had the presence of mind to seize it by the tail and ears, and keep it quiet until some Nestorians went and assisted in getting it over the slippery part. Of course, they had the advantage of me by wearing soft woolen shoes, which have better hold on the hard rock than English boots; but to a man unaccustomed to wearing the former, the risk of the change might prove of great danger. I tried a pair of those mountain shoes, and found them irksome to walk in. Even after we got clear out of the steep and narrow pathways, we had to travel through, up and down paths covered with loose and sharp stones, which had fallen from the heights above; and in two or three places the overhanging rocks looked so ready to fall on us, that I was glad when we had passed them.*

We were now traveling in Tearee proper, and when we came within two miles of the Nestorian village of Chamba, Melik Yacoob (that is, King Jacob, in Chaldean) came out to meet me with a number of his people. He invited me to his abode for the night; but as his village was situated on the right side of the Zab, and having another large rapid river running in front of his house, with tumbled-down bridges, which could not stand heavy weight, much less fit for large animals to walk over, I felt somewhat reluctant to cross. The rough state of the banks of the Zab

* It has always been my wonder how the Koords managed to invade Tearee, which had these natural defenses, and possessed brave and powerful inhabitants, when only one hundred resolute men could have defended the Passes against the rude warfare of the Koords. It has been said that, if it had not been for the treachery of some of the Nestorians, whose districts were spared by Bedr Khan Bey, together with the over-confidence of the Asheethites and Tearees in their strength, all the Moslem tribes of Koordistan, if united together, could not have succeeded in penetrating into their strongholds.

made it also unsafe for our animals to swim over. The chief, however, suggested that I should leave the animals in the huts on the left side of the Zab, and proceed to his hamlet on foot with my followers. To please him, I did as he wished, though I suffered severely from pain in the right knee, which came on suddenly that day, either from rheumatism or climbing up awkward precipices. My Nestorian friends assisted me in every way they could, and even volunteered to carry me on their back to save me from pain; but I declined their kind offer with thanks. After crossing the Zab, we had to walk about five hundred yards before we came to the river Chamba, and I was not a little glad when I entered the hospitable house of my royal host, and took my quarters in the open loft of the first story which is generally found in the dwellings of well-to-do Nestorians. My followers also occupied one part of it, and another part was reserved by the Melik for receiving his native visitors.

I was certainly well repaid by crossing; because, not only did I enjoy the pleasant society of my host and other intelligent Nestorians, but my eyes feasted on the romantic wild scenery in that valley of the Chamba, which possessed every variety of majestic landscape, of mountain, dale, and rivulets. To crown the uncommon wild spectacle, we had a very severe thunderstorm towards the evening, which lasted more than one hour. The lightning was so vivid and constant that one might have read a letter during the bright flashes; and as for the thunder, it made the mountains ring from its severity, and caused our dwelling to vibrate under us.

Thunder and lightning continued all night, and the rain did not cease till sunrise the next morning, after which time it cleared up, and we had a beautiful day. We started for Mar Ssawa at 9.15, and having been told by Melik Yacoob that it would be impossible to transport our luggage on mules or horses to the monastic village, I deemed it advisable to retain the porters, who came with me from Dairawa, to convey it on their backs, as they did the day before. The track was still so rough and difficult for beasts of burden that I had to walk part of the way to the monastery, a distance of about three miles, which I accomplished in an hour and a half. We met a large cavalcade of Nestorian refugees from Lewin, going south to escape the tyranny of both the Turks and the Koords.

On reaching Mar Ssawa, I found that Mar Shimoun had not yet arrived, nor was there any news of him. When the patriarch's people understood that I had intended to start for Mossul in case he did not come before Monday (that being Saturday), they sent a messenger post-haste to inform him of my arrival, as he was only a short distance thence, on the other side of the mountain. The night being very dark, and the path difficult to thread, a lantern was given to the man to enable him to find his way without loss of time.

There is no village near the monastery, but merely a house attached to it, the residence of Mar Shimoun. The houses of the peasants are scattered over the hills amongst the trees, and not visible until they are approached. There are a few miserable cells attached to the Church for poor wayfarers. I was located, with my Turkish escort and followers, at the Patriarchate, which, barring one room that was left for Mar Shimoun, we wholly occupied. The valley in which Mar Ssawa is situated is thickly wooded, and all the slopes of the hills are richly cultivated. The great Zab runs just below the monastery, and about a mile further down there is a bridge over the river, for the use of those who wish to cross from Tearee to Asheetha, or vice versa.

Sunday, 4th, was the most delightful day we had since the beginning of October,—a bright sunshine, and mild. Hundreds of Koordish families from the district of Ssalhbia, in Lewin, passed through Mar Ssawa, on their way to the south, fleeing the country from the oppression of the Ottoman authorities. They said that they had been denuded of everything, and even then were not allowed any peace to follow their avocation and industry. With the exception of three or four men, who carried arms and showed a respectable appearance, all the refugees, men, women, and children, were dressed in rags, and many a poor child had scarcely anything on. Mar Shimoun arrived in the afternoon, and we had a long talk in the evening about different matters, especially regarding the disagreement existing between him and the Ottoman authorities. He assured me that, as far as he was concerned, he never showed any hostile feeling towards any one, but that the Turks themselves were always trying to accuse him and his people of obstruction, for the sake of a constant drain upon their resources. He even volunteered to prove before the authorities at Joolamairk that thousands and thousands of piasters had been paid to the local

treasury by different heads of his community, without their receiving a proper acknowledgment. He complained that his people had been hemmed in on all sides by enemies, who would not allow them free passage to the lowlands to obtain the necessary supplies, or to dispose of their produce; the consequence was, they had been in great distress for lack of trade.

It is very extraordinary that the much-abused Nestorians have had to contend, for hundreds of years, against the antagonism and malignity, not only of their Moslem neighbors, but their Christian brethren of the Eastern and Western Churches. The hatred began with the time that scandalous lie was forged against them, that they did not believe in the Divinity of our Savior, because, forsooth, they had sympathized with Nestorius on account of his unjust treatment by Cyril, and refused to confound the Godhead with the manhood of our Lord, adhering to the belief that Christ is equal to the Father as touching the Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his Manhood. It is true that they object to designate the Virgin Mary as the "Mother of God" (that is to say, God the Father), or that Christ had suffered on the cross in his Godhead. I can not see how this confession can make their doctrine heretical, inasmuch as this belief is shared by the whole Catholic Church, whether Eastern or Western. This agrees with the Athanasian Creed, where we are bound to confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is God and man; "God of the substance of the Father, begotten before the world; and man of the substance of his mother, born in the world." Moreover, it is absurd to suppose that the so-called Nestorians differed from the rest of the Catholic Church in their doctrines regarding the Divinity of our Savior, when it is considered that the Nicene Creed is incorporated in their rituals, and proves above all things that their belief in Christ, as perfect God and perfect man, is most complete. As for the foreign designation given to them by their enemies, as "Nestorians," it is neither more nor less than an impudent perversion of facts, because those ancient Christians have never had any connection, either directly or indirectly, with that Greek prelate, unless it could be proved that the so-called Nestorians were converted to Christianity by Nestorius after he was unjustly condemned. This nickname has so effectually stuck to them, through the ignorance of certain priests, that even the script which they employ is now generally called by scholars the "Nestorian," as if

these people had no alphabet until Nestorius himself invented it for them! To their honor be it said that, of all the Eastern Churches, the so-called Nestorians are the only Christians who have preserved the apostolic worship, and kept clear from superstition and heathenish innovations, which have infected, in a great measure, other Eastern Churches. They are generally designated by those who have had some intercourse with them, as "Protestants of the East," and they well deserve this appellation.

It is to be regretted that the remaining few Nestorians are wretchedly poor, and do not make a respectable appearance in cities where their talents and industry can be brought prominently before the civilized world. The whole number of that community now occupy the Assyrian mountains and that part of Northwestern Persia adjacent thereto; and, with the exception of a few individuals holding ecclesiastical positions, there is no man now who can boast of any standing amongst the gentry of Turkey or the governing body.

As I intend, hereafter, to give a short résumé about the nationalities and doctrines of the different Christian sects inhabiting Mesopotamia and Koordistan, I must return to the narrative of my journey to Mossul. It is necessary, however, that I should say a few words with reference to the succor the Nestorian hierarchy have been anticipating from their brethren of the Anglican Church, in the matter of education and religious teaching more especially, as the present patriarch inquired from me most particularly about the help which they had long been expecting from the Anglican Church.

Ever since the late Mar Shimoun, uncle and predecessor of the present patriarch, was visited, in 1840, on the part of the Royal Geographical and Christian Knowledge Societies, by Mr. William F. Ainsworth and my late eldest brother, Mr. C. A. Rassam, the then British vice-consul at Mossul, the Nestorians have looked to England for sympathy and moral support. The late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, while ambassador at Constantinople, had always befriended them, and rendered them every protection in his power against the diabolical treatment of the Koords and Turkish misdeeds. Moreover, the late patriarch had had further proofs of British benevolence towards his oppressed people by another visit paid him, on the part of the Christian Knowledge and the Propagation of the Gospel Societies, by the Reverend George Percy

Badger, and the Reverend J. P. Fletcher, in 1843. He had learned also, through his intercourse with English divines and his residence with my brother at Mossul, after the massacre of the Tearee Christians by Bedr-Khan Bey, that there was very little difference between their belief and that of the Reformed English Church; so much so that they did not hesitate to administer to, and receive from, the members of the English Church, the Lord's Supper. They had petitioned the Archbishops of Canterbury, from time to time, ever since 1840, for Christian help and educational assistance; and although Archbishop Tait kindly interested himself in their welfare, and the Societies of the Christian Knowledge and Propagation of the Gospel had actually taken the matter in hand, and voted the necessary funds for sending two English clergymen, for a specified time, to work amongst them, the whole scheme came to an unhappy end. The two clergymen thus chosen were unable to proceed on account of illness, and a most unfit substitute was selected in their place in the person of an Austrian convert, who carried with him neither ability nor weight to impress any minister of Christ abroad, ignorant or otherwise, of the importance of the mission, and he had to return to Europe without having done any good. Thus the money which was granted has been sadly wasted, and the antagonists of the Church of England are left to mock at the utter failure of the scheme of the two foremost evangelizing English societies. It was most unfortunate that the Reverend W. T. Bullock, the worthy and able secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, died just at the time when his services and superior knowledge in such important matters would have been of much value in that emergency. He took very great interest, from first to last, in rendering a helping hand to those primitive Christian brethren, and he never ceased to labor in the cause of Christianity and humanity until the day of his death.

Since then the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, took up the cause of the Nestorians most warmly, and through his influence and sympathy a mission was organized a few years ago, under the name of "Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians;" but, unhappily, the clergymen who were chosen are reckoned amongst the extreme Ritualists, who disdain to be called "Protestants," and innovators of forms and ceremonies contrary to the Reformed Church of England. "Sisters" were added to the

mission, to give it a savor of Popish ceremonies; and last, but not least, it is reported that crucifixes and saints' pictures have been introduced, to the disgust of the Nestorians, who always abhorred the sight of such representations. The Vatican party in Assyria were so impressed with the idea that the archbishop's mission had so far paved the way for their getting a footing amongst the Nestorians, who have withstood the assaults of corrupt Churches for fourteen centuries, that they labored hard to pervert their simple and apostolical form of worship, and approached their patriarch, Mar Shimoun, with an offer of pecuniary and political advantages, if he and his people would join the "Catholic" Church. It is believed that the patriarch was not altogether averse to the arrangement; but as he feared that the Tearees would stoutly oppose his intention, he at last demurred, and refused to meet the Roman Catholic emissaries.

The mission of the archbishop has only schools in Persia, where there is a large community of Nestorians, as the Ottoman Government would not sanction such establishments, either in Tearee, or elsewhere.

There has been a mission established for more than fifty years at Ormi, the most important Nestorian homestead in Persia, by the American Board of Missions; and though their missionaries are considered generally most hard-working, industrious, and godly men, and have worked assiduously as faithful ministers of Christ, nevertheless, the Nestorians being strict believers in apostolic succession, Presbyterianism is not palatable to the majority of them.

CHAPTER VIII.

HAVING spent two days at Mar Ssawa, I bid Mar Shimoun good-bye, and left for Asheetha at eight A. M., on the 6th of November. As the bridge was not very far, I walked to it, and watched the animals crossing it, this being in better condition than those below Joolamairk and Chamba. Even with its superiority over the other bridges, we could not trust sending the luggage across on the backs of the animals, but had it conveyed by men engaged for the occasion as far as Sarspeedo, inasmuch as the ascent to that village was as bad for beasts of burden as any that we had passed before. We were detained some time at the bridge on account of one of the mules proving obstinate, and refusing to cross, though the muleteers tried different stratagems to induce her to follow her companions. At last we were obliged to send her across swimming, which she did splendidly.

The Tearee bridges are made of wicker-work, about three feet wide, suspended from side to side on pillars built roughly on high rocks, projecting out of high declivities. The ends of the wicker matting, which are stretched a good distance over the pillars, are covered with huge stones to keep them from shifting. For such a purpose I think a wicker-work bridge answers admirably, because its roughness prevents animals and foot-passengers from slipping; but still I do not think any man in his right senses would cross it riding.

After having lost about an hour at the bridge, we resumed our journey, and reached Sarspeedo in two hours. The winding path up and down was very bad, and some parts of it almost perpendicular. At Sarspeedo I was treated to some refreshments, consisting of fruit, fresh butter, honey, and cakes; and as it took a long time for the carriers to bring the luggage up, they having to take a rest every now and then on account of the difficult ascent, I was obliged to wait about two hours until they came up.

Mar Shimoun sent with me, as escort, Melik Daneel (King Daniel), the chief of Tearee, and Kasha Dinha, the Archdeacon of Asheetha,—two most estimable and honorable men, worthy of the high position they hold. The former deserves to be made the ruler of all the Nestorians, and the latter their ecclesiastical head.

I do not mean that Kasha Dinha ought to be made a patriarch, because, to possess that dignity, a man must not have touched animal food all his life, and have vowed celibacy, which my reverend friend could not do, as he was already polluted with the lusts of the flesh!

As soon as the luggage was received from the carriers and laden on the baggage animals, we resumed our journey, and reached Asheetha in about two hours' ride. When the Asheethites saw us on the heights above the town, all the leading men of the place came out to welcome us, and a large number of men, who had either served under Sir Henry Layard or myself in the Assyrian explorations, amongst whom were women who had been liberated from slavery by my late brother, received me with every mark of joy and gratitude. I could scarcely recognize any of them, because, when they were liberated thirty-four years before, they were girls between twelve and sixteen years of age, and now they had become mothers and grandmothers. They did not hesitate to return the compliment, by saying that I had also grown old and gray-headed. Kasha Dinha was kind enough to receive me in his roomy and clean house, especially as it was the best in the place. In the evening I had more than one hundred visitors, and most of them were interested to know how I fared during my captivity in Abyssinia.

Asheetha was, before the Koords invaded it and made it a heap of ruins, a most important town in the Nestorian mountains, and contained about one thousand dwellings, which were scattered over the unshapely valley, like all other Nestorian villages. When I visited it, in 1877, not even half of it had been brought to its former flourishing condition. Most of the houses are surrounded by their own cultivation, and, as they are situated on different heights and hills, the view from its approaches is most picturesque.

I had intended to start the next day, but Melik Daneel and the head men asked me to postpone my departure for a day, in order that they might consult me about different matters. The Asheethites complained to me of the same grievance as that represented by Mar Shimoun, that all the roads to the lowlands had been closed against them, and they were then quite isolated from the outer world, because, whenever they tried to go and buy what is necessary, they were plundered and slaughtered. I counseled them to send with me some respectable men to introduce them to

the influential Koordish chiefs, through whose territory I was on the point of passing, and I would try to use my influence with the Koords and the Ottoman authorities at the town of Immaddiah, to obtain them a safe passage. They all agreed that this was the only way to insure them security through their neighbor's country, and they chose five envoys, headed by a priest, called Kasha Georgees, to accompany me.

I left Asheetha at half-past seven o'clock on the morning of the 8th of November. It was a most delightful day, bright and serene, and everything looked pleasing, both to the eye and feeling. As soon as we crossed the heights above Asheetha, we entered the Koordish district called Upper Barwaree, whose chief was Tatar-Khan-Bey, one of the old nobility of Koordistan, and possessed of immense power in that part of the mountains between the Tearee and Immaddiah. We reached Dairshesh, the capital, and residence of Tatar-Khan-Bey, at 1.45 P. M., after having rested on the way about half an hour for refreshments. Tatar-Khan-Bey was not at home when I arrived, but his people received me very civilly, and when he arrived he did everything in his power to make me comfortable. I introduced to him the Nestorian envoys, and explained to him the object of their mission. He received them with every mark of respect, a condescension which I never expected from a haughty Koordish nobleman, and promised them the protection they needed when they wished to pass through his country. He said he regretted that he could not insure them a safe passage either to Immaddiah or Mossul, as there were too many unruly Koords, especially at the former place, who were not in his jurisdiction, but under the immediate control of the Ottoman authorities of Immaddiah.* Tatar-Khan-Bey was considered to be a peace-loving and honest Koordish chief, and just in all his transactions. Unlike his predecessors and his Moslem neighbors, he was exact in his dealings, and protected every one alike, whether Mohammedan or Christian, against tyranny and oppression. In his province every one enjoyed peace and quietness, and this praiseworthy trait in his character was vouched for by Christians who live under his rule. It is a pity that such a good man is not prop-

* I am glad to say that I succeeded in obtaining for the Nestorians a safe passage to Mossul, when they were able to pass and repass to the lowlands of Assyria without any molestation.

erly rewarded in Turkey, because it was believed that if he had been supported by the Porte, and appointed as the chief ruler of that part of Koordistan, he could have restored order and tranquillity in all the disturbed districts.

There was another important personage, named Hasan Effendi, of Circassian extraction, who was beloved in that part of Koordistan that lies between Upper Barwaree and Mossul, where he acted formerly as governor; but as he was honest and hated intrigue, it did not answer the interests of the authorities at Mossul to keep him long in his post. They had him dismissed for no reason whatever, and he was left for a long time without employ. Soon afterwards, however, Abd-ar-Rahman Pasha, whom I have already mentioned, was appointed by the Porte governor-general of the Baghdad Pashalic, and hearing of Hasan Effendi's good qualities and undeserved dismissal, he made him sub-governor over one of the districts in the Irak.

On the 29th we left Dairshesh at 6.45 A. M., and after an hour's ride we reached the village of Adden, where it was customary for all travelers to dismount and go on foot through the ravine, on account of the sacredness of the place, because it contained the remains of Moslem "martyrs," who fell there in fighting with the Gentiles for "the true faith." For the sake of not hurting the feelings of the pious Moslems, my followers and I dismounted, and walked until we passed the mosque. We traveled afterwards through most beautiful country, and reached Immaddiah at five P. M., having been nearly fourteen hours on the road. We had to descend about 1,500 feet by a rough and steep road, before we got below the town, which is built on a conical hill. Part of the road is paved, which shows that some civilized nation had formerly ruled there. Immaddiah is seen from the brow of the mountain when it is approached from the north; but before reaching it a valley has to be crossed and ascended. On entering the town, I was received by the chief officials, and conducted to the Government House, where a suite of apartments was apportioned to me, as there was no house in the place good enough for my reception. The acting Kayim-Makkam would not allow my cook to provide me with dinner, but he himself entertained me most hospitably all the time I was there.

Immaddiah must have been a very important place in olden times, and from the extent of the ruins, which are visible all over

the plateau, there could not have been less than one thousand dwellings during the days of its prosperity; but now it does not contain one-tenth of that number, and the inhabitants are wretchedly poor. There are a few Nestorian and Jewish families in the place, and the remainder are Koords. I have no doubt that some of the Jews are the descendants of the ten tribes who were carried captive by the king of Assyria in the time of Hoshee, king of Israel.

The place is considered very unhealthy during summer and autumn, when intermittent fever is very common. Some say that it comes from the malaria caused by the stagnant air, which ascends from the marshy ground and from the rice and cotton fields that surround it; others attribute the sickness to bad water. I have not been able to convince myself of either cause, as the promontory on which Immaddiah is built is at least eight hundred feet above any cultivated field or swamp, and there is no lack of good water in the place if the inhabitants choose to fetch it from the spring. In the valley which I crossed, there are delightful retreats, shaded by luxuriant groves, with a plentiful supply of good water, whereto the chief officials and opulent natives resort during the hot months.

I spent Sunday, the 11th of November, at Immaddiah, and left again the next morning at 8.30. My Wan escort returned from thence to their headquarters, as that was the end of the Wan Pashalic.

There were no mounted Dhabtia at Immaddiah, so the governor supplied me with the necessary escort of foot police. The weather looked very threatening; but being anxious to push on to Mossul, I risked the discomfort of a wet day. I had intended to go as far as Dawoodia, a distance of about twenty miles, but when we descended to the lowland it began to drizzle, and, by the time we reached the Chaldean village of Aradeen, at twelve, noon, the rain came down in torrents, and I was therefore compelled to halt there on my journey, especially as my escort and followers were drenched to the skin.

The houses at Aradeen are in better condition than the generality of Koordish dwellings in the neighborhood of Immaddiah; but the village itself was very dirty, so much so that the followers found it a hard task to unload the animals without soiling the luggage. I do not think there can be anything more annoying

and discomfoting than to arrive at a dirty village in wet weather. Everything seems to be smeared with mud and dirt, to say nothing about the noxious odors which emanate from the filth that surrounds every hut, especially if there are any buffaloes in the place.

The common topic in the village was the vehement quarrel which was then raging amongst the Chaldean community at Mossul on account of the Pope's memorable Bull, or Encyclical, which presumed upon the prerogative of sovereign powers, and interfered with the liberty of the subject. It was therein ordained that the choice of bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs was to be vested in the Roman Pontiff; and, as a matter of course, his arbitrary mandate created immense hubbub, both in Europe and Asia. Of the Eastern Churches, the Roman Catholic Armenians and Chaldeans split into two factions. One party submitted to the Papal fiat without a murmur, like the remainder of the Eastern Churches, which are in communion with Rome; but those who valued the old institutions, and disliked foreign interference in their ecclesiastical matters, kicked against the innovation—hence the Chaldean uproar. The two leagues had already been nicknamed "Yabis" and "Nud-dee," that is to say, dry and wet—the Anti-Bullites being the former, and those who submitted to the Vatican the latter. The meaning of these two Arabic words is, that one part is obdurate and the other docile. At first the Porte stood firm for its dignity, and supported those who refused to submit to the dictates of Rome; but after a while, through intrigue and pressure from the French and Austrian embassies at Constantinople, it had to give in, and suffered the Anti-Bullites to be persecuted and worried, which conduct compelled all those who were timid and unequal to further annoyances, to return to their former allegiance to the Holy See. The natives of Aradeen had also split regarding the acceptance of the Papal Bull, but as the Chaldeans in the provinces had not quite understood the real quarrel, the majority thought it most wicked and shocking to disobey the mandate of the successor of Saint Peter.

The rain continued all night, and did not cease until we left at 7.30 the next morning. We reached Dawoodia in two hours' ride. As I was expected at that village the day before, the governor of the district had prepared me a grand dinner, and waited for me till nearly midnight. Both he and the priest of the Chaldean

community was therefore disappointed on finding that I wished to push on, and to please them I alighted at the house of the former, and breakfasted with him. After having spent two hours with them, I resumed my journey, and reached our halting-place, Bugairee-Nuffar, in three hours and a quarter, after having strayed from the right path, and lost about half an hour in finding it.

We left Bugairee at 7.30 A. M., on the 14th, and reached the large Koordish village of Badee at 10.15. I was detained to breakfast there by Yehia Effendi Al-Omaree, one of the old nobility of Mossul, who had large possessions in that neighborhood; and, after having spent about an hour and a half with him, I resumed my journey, and reached the town of Dehouk at 1.45 P. M. There I was received by the Kayim-Makkam, Aslan Bey, a liberal Ottoman, who invited me to be his guest at the castle. He was very partial towards the Christians, but hated the Koords; and the latter, as a matter of course, held him in utter abhorrence. He always behaved rudely to them, especially in the matter of fasting and prayer; and on one occasion he insulted the Kadhee of the place so grossly, that if it had not been for the intervention of a powerful chieftain, there might have been a serious row. The governor was very fond of dogs, and one grayhound in particular he allowed to sit beside him on the divan. The Koords, on the contrary, not only hate dogs, but consider them the most unclean animals in existence next to swine, and everything they touch is reckoned defiled. One day, since my visit, while the members of the Council of State had assembled to deliberate upon some public matter, the judge, a venerable old Koord, who was one of the party, upbraided Aslan Bey for his impiety in allowing such an unclean animal to sit next to him; whereupon the chief official stroked the back of the dog with his hand, and with the same he rubbed the beard of the sedate old man, saying that the hound was cleaner than his chin. From that day forward, the Kadhee refused to attend any meeting of which the Kayim-Makkam was the president, until they had him dismissed.

Aslan Bey was considered a brave and most daring public servant. While I was staying with him, a report reached him that a band of Koordish brigands had plundered some sheep and cattle in the neighborhood. He immediately pursued them with a number of his followers, and rescued all the booty before they could

enter their fastness. He never cared about the red-tape system, but punished all evil-doers summarily, as he was certain that if he had to trust to the decision of the judicial authorities, murderers and robbers would escape scot-free.

I left Dehouk at eight o'clock, and reached the Yezedee village of Garaipan in about two hours and a-half. The treasurer, with mounted and foot Dhabtias, accompanied me thither, and, after having had our breakfast, and spent there about an hour and a half, they left to return to Dehouk, and I pursued my journey southward. I reached the Chaldean village of Tel-Iskiff at 3.40 P. M. As the residents had heard of my approach, all the ecclesiastics came out to meet me with music and chanting; and on entering the village, men, women, and children joined them to welcome me. A large number of relatives, friends, and former followers arrived from Mossul to greet me, and we were all entertained by the head ecclesiastic, who was opposed to Romish innovations. They all complained about the conduct of the patriarch, Mar Yoseph Odo, in having sided with the Latin priests to do away with their Church rights, and was persecuting them, with the help of the Ottoman authorities, in order that they might submit unconditionally to the tyranny of Rome.

The Prior of the monastery of Rabban Hormuzd and Mar Georgees, a Chaldean bishop, came to see me in the evening, with a large number of monks, for the purpose of relating their grievances in connection with the existing agitation. They said that the Vatican party left them no peace day and night; and, although the Chaldean adherents of the Papal injunction were a very small section of the community, yet, through bribery and the support of the French Government, the Turkish authorities not only rendered the national party no protection, but annoyed them by all manner of means.

We left Tel-Iskiff at seven o'clock the next morning, the 16th November, and in two hours' ride reached Tel-Kaif, the largest and most important Chaldean village in Assyria. There again I was received with music and chanting from the clerical body, headed by one of the bishops, who had taken the part of the community; and, on entering the village, most of the inhabitants turned out to welcome me,—the women showing their pleasure by ejaculating the common prolation of joy habitual among the women of Bib-

lical lands, called Tahleel.* I found, on arriving there, that the chief of the village and the bishop had prepared breakfast for me and retinue; I was therefore compelled to accept of their hospitality. After having spent about two hours with them, and learned of their grievances, I left for Mossul, which I reached in three hours' ride. Other relatives and friends met me on the way, and by the time I entered the town my party, including a guard of honor, which was sent out by the authorities to escort me, looked quite formidable. I took my quarters at my uncle's house, and, according to the usage of the country, as soon as I arrived, visitors began to flock in to welcome me back to Mossul, and continued to do so until nearly midnight.

I had the next day to pay my official visits to the governor of Mossul and other public functionaries, including the French consul, the rejected patriarch of the Chaldeans, the Latin priests, and the metropolitans of the Catholic and Jacobite Syrians. Wherever I went, I heard nothing but the subject of the religious dispute between the contending Chaldeans.

The other Christians of Mossul, called Syrian Jacobites and Syrian Catholics, had also been at loggerheads for some years, regarding the disputed proprietorship of certain churches. At one time the Porte allowed them to divide the places of worship by a partition-wall; another time they supported the Jacobites, and suffered them to take possession of the whole; and ultimately, through the interference of the French embassy at Constantinople, the Catholics were permitted to appropriate the principal church. This last arrangement, now in force, is a great annoyance to the Jacobites, especially to those who lived in the neighborhood of the church possessed by the Roman Catholics, and have to walk a great distance to seek another place of worship.

The Roman Catholics in Turkey have always had the protection of the French Government, and the Greeks that of Russia; but the Jacobites and the Reformed Chaldeans had no one to succor them against oppression and persecution. They resolved,

* It is supposed that this exclamation of joy is derived from the sacred Aramean word, hallelujah, which means "Praise ye God;" that is to say, when certain females wish to show their pleasure at seeing an individual, or to seal their approval of any ceremony, they give God the praise, by hallooing Halle-le-le-le-le! It is not becoming for men to make this vociferation, but only the females.

consequently, to petition the British ambassador at the Turkish capital to extend to them his moral aid, especially as it was rumored that the British Government was trying to establish reform in Turkey, since the Porte seemed to shrink from the duty of seeing justice done to Ottoman subjects. The Sultan's Government only cared how to satisfy the behest of foreign Powers. Her Majesty's ambassador did his best to bring the grievances of the Chaldeans and Syrian Jacobites to the notice of the Government; but the Vatican party was too powerful and active to be balked. The consequence was, the Latin priests had it their own way, and whatever they dictated, it turned to their advantage.

As soon as the Chaldeans found that their patriarch had played them false by giving in his submission to the Latin priests, they cast him off; and the few bishops and priests who adhered to him they turned out of their churches. With the exception of a few extreme Papists, all the Chaldeans in the rural districts followed their example, and declared that they would sooner break off all connection with the Church of Rome than submit to its tyrannical interference with their rights. This independence on the part of the Chaldeans did not naturally suit the Latin priests, who were the originators of the quarrel; and so, through their influence with the French consul at Mossul, and their embassy at Constantinople, coupled with the weakness of the authorities, they began to bully and persecute the whole Chaldean community, to compel them to obey the patriarch. According to common report, some of the Anti-Bullites were maltreated, beaten, and even wounded by the other small section of the community. One man who was roughly handled and wounded, complained to me that he had petitioned the governor of Mossul three times to have his case looked into, but no attention was paid to his representations, though the man was dangerously ill from the injuries received.

On my speaking to the Pasha about the unhappy state of affairs, and the plight the Chaldeans were in, he said that he was bound to support the patriarch's party, and dared not countenance any opposition from those who seceded from their legal religious head. He said, however, that if I could only manage to get the Porte to send him a few words, ordering him to act equally towards all, he would see that no injustice was committed against any one. Even the Mohammedans could not make out how a whole community could be coerced to follow the dictates of any man in his

religious views, when they do not choose to accept them. They said, supposing a patriarch became a Moslem, would his community be compelled to follow his example? The answer was, No, because according to Mohammedan law, when a man apostatizes he has to leave his party, instead of forcing his former followers to adopt his ideas.

It was extraordinary that the very patriarch who had the pluck to speak in strong terms at Saint Peter's at Rome, in 1871, against the proposed dogma of infallibility of the Pope during the sitting of the Ecumenical Council, and opposed for six years the Romish innovations, should ultimately submit. It was said at the time that, through the threat of excommunication, coupled with pecuniary advantages, he bowed the knee to the Holy See. But he died broken-hearted at the advanced age of, I believe, ninety-five, as he failed to induce the Chaldean community, by threat or persecution, to embrace his newly-acquired dogma. I was one of those who were present at his death-bed, and heard his last will and testament read. He forgave all the laymen who opposed him, and prayed for their conversion; but all the bishops, priests, and deacons, who still persisted in adhering to the old principles, he excommunicated as men who were out of the pale of the Holy Catholic Church. The most remarkable step he took was to appoint, a few days before his death, a vicar to carry on the temporal duties of the patriarchate after his demise,—an appointment which he had no legal or ecclesiastical power to make; but it suited the designs of the Vatican party admirably, and they, as a matter of course, supported it.

Every one thought that, after the death of the patriarch, the Chaldean community would be at liberty to choose a successor according to their liking; but it was soon proved that Romish influence was a great barrier to their success. Long before the venerable old man breathed his last, the patriarchate was taken possession of by the French consul; and as soon as he expired the newly-appointed vicar was placed in charge of the patriarchate until a successor was elected from among those prelates who accepted the infallibility dogma and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope in all ecclesiastical matters.

I tried all I could to reconcile Mar Yoseph Odo with the Chaldean community, but to no purpose. The former insisted upon the latter licking the dust by humbling themselves to him; and the

Chaldeans, on the other hand, adhered to their former resolve, and declared they would have nothing to do with any man who acted as a slave to the Vatican.

It appeared that, in virtue of an extraordinary order from the Porte to the governor of Mossul (which was said to have been obtained through the influence of the Latin priests at the Turkish capital), the patriarch was allowed to have the entire control of church property, in defiance of law and justice. The Chaldeans protested against the arbitrary proceeding, and, though they appealed to the Porte repeatedly for redress, their prayer was not listened to; but, on the contrary, the more they protested, the more the Turkish Government proved intractable. The agent of the Chaldeans at Constantinople went so far as to go to the Porte with the firman in his hand, in which the Sultan had decreed that no foreign potentate was to be allowed to interfere in the ecclesiastical matters of any Christian community, and that the choice of bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs, was to be under the sole management of the different communities, requiring only the approval of His Majesty the Sultan. The Grand Vizier was asked whether the liberty of conscience, which had been granted by three successive Sultans to the Christians, had been abrogated, and foreign priests were to be allowed thenceforward to force their innovations in Turkey at will. The agent was rebuked, and made to understand that the Porte was not going to quarrel with all the Catholic Powers on account of such trifling matters. The British ambassador, as I said before, had also brought the grievances of the Chaldean community to the notice of the Turkish Government; and, although the responsible ministers promised to see justice done, they did not lift a finger to stop the persecution, or allow the Chaldeans to choose even a temporary ecclesiastical head to administer the necessary Church ordinances.

To the surprise of every one, a secret telegram was received one day by the governor of Mossul from the Porte, apprising him of the Imperial favor to permit the Vatican party to elect another patriarch in the place of Monsignor Yoseph Odo. In the meantime the Latin priests, with the vicar apostolic, convened a meeting of the Chaldean prelates who were of their own way of thinking, and had one of them elected patriarch. The choice fell on Monsignor Petros Elijah, the metropolitan of Jazeerah, a native of Mossul. A few days after that, the French ambassador obtained

for him the necessary firman, and sent it to him through the French consulate at Mossul, accompanied by the second-class decoration as a mark of the Sultan's favor, both of which were presented to him publicly, to shame those who looked to the English for help. This move acted as a rebuff to those of the Chaldeans who were relying on British aid and building their hopes on the sympathy of Protestant brethren and Christian succor.

It had been represented to the Porte by the Romanists that those of the Chaldeans who disagreed with their patriarch were few in number, and belonged to the lowest class of the community; and in order to support their disgraceful misrepresentations, they forwarded a petition to the Porte showing their unanimity, and affixing thereto hundreds of feigned seals, which were got up for the occasion. The Anti-Bullites, who were certainly nineteen to one in comparison to the Vatican party, protested against the dishonesty of the minority, and begged that a court of inquiry might be appointed to investigate the matter; but no notice whatever was taken of the complaint.

The two bishops who took the part of the community, after much bullying and annoyance, together with the promise of pecuniary benefits, returned to their former allegiance, and left the Chaldeans in the lurch. Consequently, they had no prelate to carry on the higher duties of the Church until Monsignor Elijah Mallous came from Malabar, and bravely faced all antagonism and malignity of the Romish party, in assuming the directorship of the Chaldean hierarchy.

This prelate, who is the most enlightened and educated among the Chaldean Episcopacy, was sent to Malabar by the late patriarch, Monsignor Yoseph Odo, when he was in an open breach with the Vatican, to act as the metropolitan of that branch of the Chaldean Church in Cochin. During the time he was there, he was opposed by all manner of means in his ecclesiastical functions by the Roman Catholics, whether British or otherwise. As he was very much liked by the natives, he could not easily be got rid of, but his opponents had him excommunicated; and, whether by threats or undue influence with the native authorities, they managed to alienate a large portion of his community from his sacerdotal jurisdiction. He appealed, on several occasions, for Protestant succor; but those who would have assisted him were debarred from doing so, either on

account of their connection with the Indian Government or the missionary societies in England.*

At the time the Chaldean or Assyrian Church was at the zenith of its prosperity, and neither heresies nor schisms had afflicted the Eastern or Western orthodoxy, it had an important branch on the Malabar coast in Western India, commonly designated Christians of Saint Thomas, because those people claimed their conversion to Christianity through the preaching of that disciple of Christ. The Chaldean patriarch, who was called in the infancy of the Church, "Patriarch of the East," supplied the Malabar Christians with bishops and metropolitans, and kept up a regular pastoral communication with them until the Chaldeans were beset by disorders within, and bitter foes without. From that day forward they became unequal to the task of ministering to the spiritual wants of their co-religionists at Malabar, and left the field open to the craft and machinations of the Latin and Jacobite priests, who lost no time in invading the long-coveted region, and who managed, by deceit and undue influence, to have a footing amongst them.

The Jacobites, whose rituals and language are not unlike those of the Chaldeans, found no difficulty to proselytize the Christians of Malabar, inasmuch as they did not, at first, point out to them the difference that existed between their tenets and those of the so-called Nestorians. The Latins, on the other hand, brought the influence of the Portuguese Government to bear upon the consciences of those who did not unite themselves to the Monophysite system. Though the Malabarians were altogether neglected by the mother Church, they never ceased writing and sending emissaries to the Chaldean patriarch for bishops; but the fear of offending the Vatican authorities, who had repeatedly warned Monsignor Yoseph Odo against any interference in the spiritual concerns of the Malabar Roman Catholics, debarred him from attending to their request. Ultimately, however, the Malabarians threatened that if he did not comply with their wishes, they would join the Jacobite Church; whereupon, on the pressure of some of the leading Chaldeans at Mossul, the patriarch dispatched a bishop to Cochin to minister to the wants of the community; but there was

* See the next page.

so much opposition and threat of excommunication evinced by the Vatican party, that the said prelate was obliged to return to Mossul without having accomplished the object of his mission. Afterwards, when the patriarch went to Rome and disapproved of the pretensions of the Papal party, he was determined to send another bishop to Malabar; and, as soon as he arrived at Mossul, he chose Mar Elijah Mallous, who also had been at Rome in the time of the Ecumenical Council, and considered the infallibility question to be quite preposterous. Indeed, evangelical truths were so inherent in him that he held all Romish innovations in utter abhorrence, as he believed them to be opposed to the Christian doctrine.

As soon as this prelate set his foot in Malabar, every cunning and mischievous device was brought to play for the purpose of thwarting him and making his mission abortive; and when the patriarch was won over by Romish influence, Mar Elijah was ordered to return to Mossul; but he refused to do so, on account of the affection he had for his flock, with whom he had ingratiated himself. A section of the community, however, were alienated from him, as I said before, through the intrigues of the Latin priests; but others remained faithful to him to the last; and when he had to proceed to Mossul to assume the spiritual charge of the Chaldean community, they gave him handsome presents, and made him promise that he would return to them as soon as he found a proper man to take his place. On his arrival at Mossul, he took ecclesiastical charge of the discontented flock; but after a time, seeing that the Vatican party were too powerful for him, and there was no chance of the Porte granting him the necessary exequatur, on account of foreign political pressure, he had to submit to the Roman Pontiff. He has now been made the metropolitan of the Chaldeans at Diarbekir, whose prelate has been translated to the patriarchate of that community.

Mosheim makes the following mention of the ancient Christians of Malabar, in his Ecclesiastical History: "The Nestorians on the seacoast of India, who are commonly called Christians of Saint Thomas, were cruelly harassed by the Portuguese, to induce them to exchange the religion of their fathers, which was much more simple than the Roman, for the Romish worship. The consummation of this business was reserved for Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who, near the close of the century, with the

aid of the Jesuits, compelled this unhappy and reluctant people, by means of amazing severities, to come under the power of the Roman Pontiff. These violent proceedings of Menezes and his associates have met the disapprobation of persons distinguished for wisdom and equity in the Romish community." *

Gibbon also alludes to those Christians, as follows: "According to the legend of antiquity, the gospel was preached in India by Saint Thomas. At the end of the ninth century his shrine, perhaps in the neighborhood of Madras, was devoutly visited by the ambassadors of Alfred; and their return with a cargo of pearls and spices rewarded the zeal of the English monarch, who entertained the largest projects of trade and discovery. When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of Saint Thomas had been seated for ages on the coast of Malabar, and the difference of their character and color attested the mixture of a foreign race. In arms, in arts, and possibly in virtue, they excelled the natives of Hindostan. The husbandmen cultivated the palm-tree, the merchants were enriched by the pepper trade, the soldiers preceded the nairs, or nobles, of Malabar, and their hereditary privileges were respected by the gratitude, or the fear, of the king of Cochin and the Zamorin himself. They acknowledged a Gentoo sovereign; but they were governed, even in temporal concerns, by the Bishop of Angamala. He still asserted his ancient title of metropolitan of India; but his real jurisdiction was exercised in fourteen hundred churches, and he was intrusted with the care of two hundred thousand souls.

"Their religion would have rendered them the finest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese; but the inquisitors soon discerned in the Christians of Saint Thomas the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism. Instead of owning themselves the subjects of the Roman Pontiff, the spiritual and temporal monarch of the globe, they adhered, like their ancestors, to the communion of the Nestorian patriarch; and the bishops whom he ordained at Mossul traversed the dangers of the sea and land to reach their diocese on the coast of Malabar. In their Syriac liturgy, the names of Theodore and Nestorius were piously commemorated. They united their adoration of the two persons of Christ; the title of Mother of God was offensive to their ear; and they measured with scrupulous

* Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History," Cen. XVI, Book IV, Sec. iii, chap. 1, clause 7.

avarice the honors of the Virgin Mary, whom the superstition of the Latins had almost exalted to the rank of a goddess. When her image was first presented to the disciples of Saint Thomas, they indignantly exclaimed, 'We are Christians, not idolaters!' and their simple devotion was content with the veneration of the Cross. Their separation from the Western world had left them in ignorance of the improvements or corruptions of a thousand years; and their conformity with the faith and practice of the fifth century would equally disappoint the prejudices of a Papist or a Protestant.

"It was the first care of the ministers of Rome to intercept all correspondence with the Nestorian patriarch, and several of his bishops expired in the prisons of the holy office. The flock, without a shepherd, was assaulted by the power of the Portuguese, the arts of the Jesuits, and the zeal of Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in his personal visitation of the coast of Malabar. The Synod of Diamper, at which he presided, consummated the pious work of the reunion, and rigorously imposed the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Church, without forgetting auricular confession, the strongest engine of ecclesiastical torture. The memory of Theodore and Nestorius was condemned, and Malabar was reduced under the dominion of the Pope, of the primate, and of the Jesuits, who invaded the See of Angamala or Oranganor. Sixty years of servitude and hypocrisy were patiently endured; but as soon as the Portuguese Empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted with vigor and effect the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused; the arms of forty thousand Christians were pointed against their falling tyrants, and the Indian archdeacon assumed the character of bishop till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the patriarch of Babylon. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar. The trading companies of Holland and England are the friends of toleration; but if oppression be less mortifying than contempt, the Christians of Saint Thomas have reason to complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren of Europe." *

* Gibbon's "Roman Empire," chap. xlvi: "The Christians of St. Thomas." Since all the Chaldeans of Baghdad and Mossul embraced the Papal faith, all the Christians of St. Thomas, excepting those who turned Monophysites, have joined themselves to the Mother Church.

It may not be uninteresting to give a short account of the existing Christian nationalities of Mesopotamia and Assyria, as well as of their origin, especially as there has been a good deal of discussion and caviling for the last fifty years as to the pretensions of the Assyrian Christian community to the national name of Chaldean. This is the more so, as the doctrinal misnomer of Nestorians has been fastened on them, though they have never had any connection with that harshly-used prelate, either in his nationality or spiritual charge.

With the exception of a few Armenian families at Baghdad, Diarbekir, Orfa, and Mardeen, and some who are attached to the Greek Church at the former place, the whole of the Christian community now inhabiting the country above alluded to are divided into four different sects, having, in my opinion, the same Chaldean or Assyrian origin; but they are now styled Chaldean Nestorians, Chaldean Catholics, Syrian Jacobites, and Syrian Catholics. The Nestorian community occupy the southern part of Koordistan, and in the vicinity of Lake Ormi in Northwestern Persia, bordering on Assyria. The Syrian Jacobites and Syrian Catholics are almost always to be found together, at Baghdad, Mossul, and its immediate vicinity, at Mardeen, Diarbekir, and the Toor Mountains in the extreme southwestern limit of Koordistan. There are also some families of these communities in Syria and Palestine, but they do not possess much influence.

The patriarch of the Nestorian Chaldeans is styled "Patriarch of the East," and resides at Kochanis in Joolamairk in Koordistan. The patriarch of the Chaldean Catholics is styled "Patriarch of Babylon," and resides at Mossul. It is not the case, as some historians assert, that the patriarch of the Papal Chaldeans assumes the name of Joseph. Though the late patriarch's name was Joseph (this being his Christian name), yet the two patriarchs before him bore different names; namely, Yohanan and Nicolas Zaia; while the present patriarch is called Awd-Ishu, or "Servant of Jesus."

The patriarch of the Syrian Jacobites styles himself "Patriarch of the See of Antioch," and assumes the name of his predecessors, "Ignatius." He resides either at Dair (that is, monastery of) Zaafaran, near Mardeen, or at Diarbekir. The patriarch of the Papal Syrians also styles himself "Patriarch of the See of Antioch," and also assumes the name of his predecessors, "Ignatius." His resi-

dence is either at Mardeen, overlooking the extensive plains of Mesopotamia, or at Aleppo.*

The Jacobites belong to that part of the Christian Church, called Monophysite, that followed the doctrine of Eutychus, who flourished in the fifth century, and believed that in our Lord Jesus Christ there is but one nature. Assemani asserts, in order to avoid the appearance of following Eutychus, with whom they profess to have no connection, they cautiously define their doctrine, denying all confusion and interruption of the two natures, and represent the nature of Christ as being indeed one, yet at the same time compound and double.

The Monophysites are divided into four branches; namely, Jacobites, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians. But, as it is not my intention to touch upon the constitution of the last three mentioned sects, I will only remark that, of all the Monophysites, only these are remaining; namely, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians, who have retained the name of their nationalities; whereas, the Jacobites are nicknamed after Jacob Baradeus, the zealous defender of their faith, who died at Edessa, in A. D. 578, where he had been bishop.†

Mosheim gives a graphic and true account of the Jacobite doctrine and constitution, and I can not do better than quote some extracts from his valuable statement. He says: "Many, while careful to shun the fault of Nestorius, ran into the opposite extreme. The most noted of these was Eutychus, abbot of a certain convent of monks at Constantinople; from whom originated another sect, directly opposite to that of Nestorius, but equally troublesome and mischievous to the interests of Christianity; and which, like that, spread with great rapidity throughout the East, and acquired such strength in its progress, that it gave immense trouble, both to the Nestorians and to the Greeks, and became a great and powerful community. In the year 448, Eutychus, now far advanced in years, in order more effectually to put down Nestorius, to whom he was a violent foe, explained the doctrine concerning the person of Christ in the phraseology of the Egyptians, and maintained that there was

* The present patriarch, Monsignor Behnam Biennee, being a native of Mossul, resides for the present there.

† The Jacobites do not like to be called by this name, but they style themselves Syrians, which appellation, in my opinion, has neither a legitimate meaning, nor an appropriate sectarianism.

only one nature in Christ; namely, that of the Word, who became incarnate. Hence he was supposed to deny the humanity of Jesus Christ; and was accused by Eusebius of Doryleum, before a Council called by Flavianus, perhaps in this very year, at Constantinople. And as Eutychus refused to give up his opinions at the bidding of this Council, he was cast out of the Church, and deprived of his office; and he not acquiescing in this decree, appealed to a General Council of the whole Church." *

Mosheim further remarks that "when the Monophysites were nearly in despair, and very few of their bishops remained, some of them being dead, and others in captivity, an obscure man, Jacobus, surnamed Baradeus, or Zanzalus, to distinguish him from others of the name, restored their fallen state. This indigent monk, a most indefatigable and persevering man, being ordained bishop by a few bishops who were confined in prison, traveled over all the East on foot, constituted a vast number of bishops and presbyters, revived everywhere the depressed spirits of the Monophysites, and was so efficient by his eloquence and his astonishing diligence, that when he died, in the year 578, at Edessa, where he had been bishop, he left his sect in a very flourishing state in Syria, in Mesopotamia, in Armenia, in Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, and in other countries. He extinguished nearly all the dissensions among the Monophysites; and as their churches were so widely dispersed in the East that the Bishop of Antioch could not well govern them all, he associated with him a Maphrian, or primate, of the East, whose residence was at Tagritum, on the borders of Armenia. His efforts were not a little aided in Egypt and the neighboring regions by Theodosius of Alexandria. From this man, as the second father of the sect, all the Monophysites in the East are called Jacobites." †

The present Jacobites still maintain the old heretical formula of attributing to God Almighty the suffering on the cross by adding the words, "was crucified for us," to the celebrated hymn which the Greeks call Trisagion, "O Holy God, O Holy Almighty, O Holy Eternal." It was introduced in the fifth century by Peter, surnamed Fuller, Bishop of Antioch.

* Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History," Cent. VI, Book II, chap. v, chap. v, section 13.

† Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History," Cent. VI, Book II, chap. v, section 6.

It is worthy of remark that the so-called Syrian Jacobites and Syrian Catholics are not natives of what is known in Europe as Syria, and there are very few families of their sects in that country; whereas the majority of the Christians in Syria are called Maronites, Greeks, and Armenians. The word Syrian, or Syriantee, as it is called in Arabic, is known in the East simply to denote a religious sect, and not natives of any country in particular; for, although some modern geographers have tried to define the limits of Syria, yet it is a known fact that neither the Hebrews nor the Greeks knew exactly what constituted the boundary of Syria, or what is really meant by the Syriac language. In the English version of the Holy Bible, the words Aram and Aramaic are rendered Syria and Syriac,—words which have no similarity to them, either in sound or sense. It is conjectured by a number of authors that the word Syria is a corruption of Assyria, as it is mentioned by Herodotus that “this people, whom the Greeks call Syrians, are called Assyrians by the Barbarians.” *

* Herodotus, Book VII, chap. lxiii.

CHAPTER IX.

THE Chaldean community considers itself, and rightly so, the most ancient, and belongs to the oldest Christian Church. As regards their nationality, it is asserted that they are descended from those Chaldeans, or Assyrians, mentioned in Holy Writ, and the list of names, which composed the heads of the Church, shows that their forefathers professed Christianity as early as the first century.

It can not be denied that Christianity spread in Northern Mesopotamia in the first century of the Christian era, or soon after the ascension of our Lord; and whether Saint Peter, Saint Thomas, or one of the seventy apostles preached to the Chaldeans or Assyrians, there is no doubt that the bulk of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and Assyria were among the earliest Christians who believed in the Savior.

I need not say that the origin of the Chaldeans is disputed by those who profess to know a good deal about the history of the Old World, but who, nevertheless, can not show from what stock the present Chaldeans have sprung. They allege that when that part of the Nestorian community embraced the Roman Catholic faith, about two hundred years ago, the Pope of that time bestowed upon them the dignified title of Chaldeans. They can not help, however, extending to them the ancient name of Assyrians, because the land which they now inhabit has been called by that appellation. Yet they forget that at one time, especially at the latter end of the Assyrian monarchy, Chaldean and Assyrian were synonymous words, and the nation was sometimes known by one name and sometimes by the other, the same as the words English and British are used.

The late Dr. Grant, a member of the American Board of Missions, well-known for his philanthropy and Christian love to the Nestorians published a work entitled "The Nestorians; or, The Lost Tribes," wherein he tries to prove that the existing Nestorians are the descendants of "the dispersed of Israel." In this work he speaks of the word Chaldean in the following terms: "Chaldean is a name commonly used to distinguish the Papal, but it is seldom applied to the orthodox Nestorians, and when so applied it is used to express their relation to Abraham, who was from "Ur

of the Chaldees." * This remark, on the face of it, contradicts itself, because, if the Nestorians are related to Abraham, who was a Chaldean, surely they themselves must also be of that nationality.

Then Messrs Smith and Dwight, two American missionaries, in a work they published, entitled "Researches in Armenia," make the following comment upon the word Chaldean: "The present Chaldean Christians are of recent origin. It was in A. D. 1681, that the Nestorian metropolitan of Diarbekir, having quarreled with his patriarch, was first consecrated by the Pope, Patriarch of the Chaldeans. The sect was as new as the office, and created for it. Converts to Popery from the Nestorian and Jacobite Churches were united in one body, and dignified by the name of the Chaldean Church. It means no more than Papal Syrians, as we have in other parts Papal Armenians and Papal Greeks." Whether this story is a surmise on their part, or they obtained the information from a reliable source, they do not show. If the latter, it is curious they did not give their authority for such an extraordinary statement, because the Oriental records in the Vatican show that long before the era they quote, when they say the Chaldeans of Diarbekir assumed this name, letters are extant from the Nestorian patriarchs and bishops, who style themselves Chaldeans. It is absurd to suppose that the Roman Pontiffs could, or would, give a new national name of "Chaldean" to a people who were not living in either Chaldea or Assyria, as if the converted Nestorians, or Jacobites, never had a nationality at all, unless, indeed, Messrs Smith and Dwight supposed that the present Chaldeans of Diarbekir are descendants of Nestorius, or Jacob Baradeus! The following quotations from Assemani, a Syrian historian, show the absurdity of this assertion.

First, he remarks that Paul V, the seventh Pope before Innocent XI (to whom, doubtless, Messrs. Smith and Dwight refer, as having given the name of Chaldean to the Nestorians of Diarbekir), wrote to Elias, Patriarch of the Chaldeans, who was then a Nestorian, thus: "A great part of the East was infected by this heresy (of Nestorius); especially the Chaldeans, who, for this reason, have been called Nestorians." Secondly, in the first page of that volume the same author notices that the Chaldeans, or Assyr-

* "The Nestorians; or, The Lost Tribes," p. 170.

ians, from that part of the globe which they inhabit, are termed Oriental, and from the heresy they profess, Nestorians.*

The Reverend G. P. Badger, another writer upon the same subject, says: "When the Latin missionaries had succeeded in forming a schism among the Nestorians of Diarbekir, they wanted a name to distinguish the proselytes. In other instances, the national title of the parent body supplied a ready and unobjectionable appellative. Thus, by prefixing the term 'Catholic,' they adequately, and according to their views appropriately, distinguished the seceders from the Greek, Armenian, and Syrian communities. A difficulty now arose; the new converts styled themselves 'Soor-ayé' and 'Nestorayé.' The Romanists could not call them 'Catholic Syrians,' or 'Syrian Catholics,' for this appellation they had already given to their proselytes from the Jacobites, who also called themselves 'Syrians.' They could not term them 'Catholic Nestorians,' as Mr. Justin Perkins, the Independent American missionary does, for this would involve a contradiction. What more natural, then, than that they should have applied to them the title of 'Chaldeans,' to which they had some claims nationally, in virtue of their Assyrian descent." †

It is a pity that Mr. Badger does not also give his authority for such an assertion. As to the difficulty the Latin missionaries found in giving a name to the Nestorian proselytes, he allows the Armenians, the Greeks, and even the Syrians, to have a name for their nationalities, and yet the poor Nestorians have no nationality whatever, not even as much as the slaves who are imported from Circassia or Africa. But that important Chaldean com-

* "Assemani," Vol. IV, p. 75. It is amusing to relate that under the head of "Chaldean," in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, it is stated on the authority of "P. L. Cornnellan," of Rome, that the Chaldeans were termed thus by Pope Eugenius IV, in A. D. 1447. This is about two hundred and thirty years before the date given by Messrs. Smith and Dwight; whereas it is a known fact that the Papacy never had any footing in Assyria or Mesopotamia until the sixteenth century. On reading this absurd statement in the *Encyclopedia*, I wrote to one of my prelate friends at the Vatican to find out who this gentleman named "Cornnellan" was, and whether such a statement, as reported by him, to the editor of the *Encyclopedia*, existed amongst the records in the Vatican, but he was not able, either to find out who the gentleman was, or wherefrom this information was obtained.

† "The Nestorians and Their Rituals," Vol. I, p. 180.

munity at Diarbekir could only boast of the name "Sooraya" and "Nestoraya"—two Chaldean words, which in that country are applied to religious sects; namely, Christian and Nestorian! With regard to the word "Sooraya," if Mr. Badger had examined into the word properly, he would have found that it was used by peasants, who spoke nothing else but Chaldean; and as the natives of Diarbekir speak merely Arabic and Turkish, the word "Sooraya" would be foreign to them as much as "Nestoraya." All the Roman Catholic Chaldean peasantry speak nothing but corrupt Chaldaic, which is commonly known as "Fallaihee," or Peasant language; whereas, the respectable Chaldeans, who inhabit the towns, speak the language of the place, Arabic, Turkish, or Persian; and Chaldaic is only used in their rituals, as the Latin among the Roman Catholics. The peasantry do certainly call themselves "Sooraya" and "Msheehaya," but they use those words to distinguish themselves from their Mohammedan neighbors, whom they style "Koordaya" and "Tayaya"—that is to say, a Koord, and the name of an Arab tribe called Tai, who occupy the country at the junction of the great Zab with the Tigris.

The words "Msheehaya" and "Sooraya" are also applied by the Nestorians to all peoples who profess Christianity; but the peasantry of the Papal Chaldeans use the term "Sooraya" for all Christians, but they limit the word Msheehaya only to Roman Catholics.* If Sooraya means Syrian, how can the Nestorians be so named, unless they are made to be descendants of Aram, or emigrated from Syria?

In another place Mr. Badger tries to prove his argument by quoting certain writings of the so-called Nestorians, that the Chaldeans at that time were Gentiles, and the word, therefore, could not be applied to any Christian Church. He writes: "Whenever the term 'Chaldeans' occurs in the Nestorian rituals, which it does only in two instances, it is not used to designate a Christian community, but the ancient sect, who have been called also "Sabeans," or

* Msheehaya means Messianite, or Christian; and Sooraya is a corruption of "Syrian," used in a religious sense, inherited most probably from the Oriental fathers, who were known in the time of the Crusades as the people des Suriens, the Oriental Christians, Melchites, Jacobites, or Nestorians. "Historians of the Crusaders," Vol. IV, p. 593. Gibbon's "Roman Empire," chap lviii, under the head of Syrians. (Note.)

worshippers of the heavenly host, from the Semitic root, *tsaba* (צבא). Mar Abd-Yeshua uses it in the same sense. Thus he writes: "Gawriel, Bishop of Hormuzd-shir, wrote a work against Manes, and another against the Chaldeans;" and again: "Daniel of Reish Aina, wrote poems against the Marcionites, Manichees, heretics, and Chaldeans." *

If we take the above as a convincing test to Mr. Badger's theory, we might just as well consider that the Hebrews, to whom Saint Paul addressed his Epistles, were not Christians, because, forsooth, some Catholic divines had written in another place against the doctrine of the unbelieving Hebrews. Then, if we refer to the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, we shall find that there were in those days Christian as well as unbelieving Hebrews. Even Saint Paul called himself a Hebrew, though he was then a believer in Christ. Furthermore, the word Chaldean, though a national name, was applied at one time to a certain class of priesthood, and we ought, therefore, not to allow that such a nation as Chaldean ever existed.†

Mr. Badger further maintains that "if the modern Nestorians are descendants of the ancient Chaldeans, and may therefore justly lay claim to the title, no valid objection can be urged against the assertion; but in this national acceptance of the term, the Nestorian proselytes to Rome, the Jacobites, Sabeans, Yezedees, and many of the Koords of this district, may, with equal right, take to themselves the appellation, there being as much proof to establish their descent from the Chaldeans of old, or rather the Assyrians, as there is in the case of the Nestorians." ‡ This remark is correct in one sense, and wrong in another; correct as far as the aborigines are concerned, including even the Mohammedans and other semi-pagan nationalities who inhabit Mesopotamia and Assyria; but how can they be forced to call themselves Chaldeans, especially as they are now a mingled race? Since the conquest of that country by the Moslems, all nationalities who believed in Mohammed abandoned the names of their pagan nationalities, and adopted one nomenclature, which suited the taste of the conquerors. But Mr. Badger is mistaken with regard to the Koords, as they have been

* "The Nestorians and Their Rituals," Vol. I, p. 178.

† Job i, 17; Daniel i, 4; iii, 8; iv, 7; Habak. i, 6-10.

‡ "The Nestorians and Their Ritual," Vol. I, p. 178.

called by that name from time immemorial; nor could we call the Turcomans Chaldeans, as they might have been Tartar settlers after the conquest of the country by the Turks.

In Aramaic and Arabic, Assyria is called "Athoor," by which name it has always been known in that country; but by the Hebrews it was called Ashur (אַשּׁוּר). The th was changed into sh, and it may be that in this sense, and not in its meaning of Syrian, the word "Sooraya" has been corrupted by the Aramean-speaking people.*

Three ancient Arab historians, Yakoot, Abou Alfoda, and Ibn Saeed, use the word Athoor first for Mossul and Mesopotamia, the second for Nimroud, and the third for Nineveh proper. The last mentioned author says: "The city of Athoor, which is in ruins, is mentioned in the Old Testament. There dwelt the Assyrian kings who destroyed Jerusalem."

The followers of Nestorius did, and very often do, call themselves Nestorians; but that is merely for the sake of distinguishing themselves from the other sects, just as much as a Wesleyan, Calvinist, or a Lutheran, if writing upon a religious matter, may not think it improper to say, we Wesleyans, Calvinists, or Lutherans. Surely such words could not be misunderstood to mean nationalities! But why the sectarian name of Nestorian should be forced upon the Chaldeans, in the sense of a nationality, is a mystery!

Now let us see what ancient historians say with regard to the title of Chaldean, which has been alleged to have been given by a certain Pope to the unfortunate obscure people who are denominationally called "Nestorians."

Bar Hebraeus, who lived in the thirteenth century, in writing about the Aramean language of the Chaldeans, remarks: "The Orientals, who are the descendants of the Chaldeans, are a wonderful people. In their tongue there is no difference between the Pthaha and Zkapa. † Who can these Oriental Chaldeans be but the people of that name, and the only nation in the whole world who use these two vowels in their alphabet!

In another place the same author remarks, with regard to the

* A large section of the present Yezedees, who are considered to be descended from the ancient Assyrians, can not pronounce the "th" in through, but always articulate it as "s," so, instead of saying Athoor, they would call it Assoor.

† Two vowel-points in Chaldean.

Aramean language, under the head of the first "Syriac" letter, "Alep," as follows: "There are three dialects of the Syrian tongue; first, the Aramean, or Syriac, properly so-called, which is the most elegant of all, and used in Mesopotamia and by the inhabitants of Roha, or Edessa, of Haran and the outer Syria; second, the dialect of Palestine, spoken by the inhabitants of Damascus, Mount Libanus, and the inner Syria; third, the Chaldee, or Nabathean dialect, the most unpolished of the three, current in the mountainous parts of Assyria and in the villages of Irak and Babylonia." *

Here again, no less than five hundred years ago, a Syrian historian mentions the very dialect of the Aramean language, which is now used by the Chaldeans. The Chaldeans do not agree, however, with the Syrians, that their phraseology is "unpolished," but, on the contrary, they consider it the finest of all Aramean dialects.

Assemani, another Syrian historian, makes reference regarding the Chaldean Nestorians, as follows: "The Nestorians are not called by this name in the East (for they regard their doctrines as apostolic); and they never had any connection with the person of Nestorius, but are generally called Chaldaic Christians, because their principal, or head Church, is in the ancient Chaldea." †

It may not be uninteresting to quote what Xenophon, the eminent Greek historian, wrote regarding the nations who occupied the Assyrian and Koordistan mountains when he passed through that country with the ten thousand auxiliaries four hundred years before Christ. He says:

"At daybreak, however, they perceived on the other side of the river a body of cavalry, in complete armor, ready to prevent them from crossing, and on the high banks above the cavalry another of foot, prepared to hinder them from entering Armenia. There were Armenians, Mardians, and Chaldeans; mercenary troops of Orontes and Artuchas. The Chaldeans were said to be a free people, and warlike; for arms they had long shields and spears. The high banks on which these forces were drawn up were three or four hundred feet from the river; and the only road that was visible was one that led upward, apparently a work of art. Here

* Abulphargius, *Hls. Dynst.*, p. 11.

† Assemani *Bibloth. Orient*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 177.

the Greeks endeavored to cross; but as, on making trial, the water rose above their breasts, and the bed of the river was rough with large and slippery stones, and as it was impossible for them to carry their arms in the water, or, if they attempted to do so, the river swept them away (while, if any of them took their arms on their heads, they became exposed to the arrows and other missiles of the enemy), they, in consequence, retreated, and encamped at the side of the river.

"They now perceived the Carduchi assembled in great numbers under arms on the spot where they themselves had been on the previous night. Hence great despondency was felt by the Greeks, as they knew the difficulty of passing the river, and saw the Carduchi ready to attack them if they attempted to cross." *

Xenophon also gives the following account of the Chaldeans and Armenians in his *Cyropaedia*:

"The next day Cyrus, taking Tigranes with him, and the best of the Median horse, together with as many of his own friends as he thought proper, rode round and surveyed the country, examining where he should build a fortress. Going up to a certain eminence, he asked Tigranes what sort of mountains they were from which the Chaldeans came down to plunder the country. Tigranes pointed them out to him. He then inquired again. 'No, indeed,' said he; 'but there are always scouts of the Chaldeans there, who give notice to the rest of whatever they observe,' 'And how do they act,' said he, 'when they receive this notice?' 'They hasten with aid to the eminences, just as each can.' Cyrus gave attention to this account; and, looking round, observed a great part of the Armenian territory lying desert and uncultivated, in consequence of the war. They then retired to the camp; and, after taking supper, went to rest." †

He says furthermore: "The Chaldeans had each a shield and two javelins; they are said to be the most warlike of all people in that part of the world. They serve as mercenaries, if any one requires their services, being a warlike people, and poor; for their country is mountainous, and but little of it yields anything profitable. As Cyrus's men approached the heights, Tigranes, who was riding on with Cyrus, said: 'Cyrus, are you aware that we ourselves

* *Anabasis*, Book IV, chap. III, clauses 3 to 8.

† *Cyropaedia*, Book III, chap. II, clauses 1 and 2.

must very soon come to action, as the Armenians will not stand the attack of the enemy?" Cyrus, telling him that he knew it, immediately gave orders to the Persians to hold themselves in readiness, as they would have immediately to press forward, as soon as the flying Armenians drew the enemy down so as to be near them. The Armenians accordingly led on; and such of the Chaldeans as were on the spot when the Armenians approached, raised a shout, and ran upon them; and the Armenians, according to their custom, did not stand their charge. When the Chaldeans, pursuing, saw swordsmen fronting them, and pressing up the hill, some of them, coming up close to the enemy, were at once killed; some fled, and some were taken; and the heights were immediately gained. As soon as Cyrus's men were in occupation of the summit, they looked down on the habitations of the Chaldeans, and perceived them fleeing from the nearest houses." *

Both the Armenians and Koords (Carduchi) inhabit the same country now; and why not the Chaldeans? The Armenians speak Armenian, the Koords speak Koordish—that is to say, Median or corrupt Persian—and the Chaldeans, Chaldaic. The two former tribes are acknowledged, without any dispute, to be the descendants of the ancient Armenians and Carduchi, and why not the Chaldeans? Even in our present time the Nestorians are considered very warlike and poor, while the Armenians are just the opposite, as they were in the time of Xenophon; why, then, should the Armenians be called Armenians, but the Chaldeans merely Nestorians?

All the Armenians profess Christianity, like the Chaldeans; but the Koords are Mohammedans, like the Turks and Arabs. If the Nestorians are denied a national name, the Armenians might just as well be called Monophysites, and the Koords merely Haneefites, as the Nestorians call them.

Having given some of the testimonies of different historians with regard to certain people inhabiting Assyria and the mountainous region above it, who were called Chaldeans and Assyrians, but are now all regarded as belonging to the same nationality, I must add a few facts which, in my opinion, are convincing proofs that the present Chaldeans are the descendants of the ancient nation of that name.

* *Cyropaedia*, Book III, chap. II, clauses 7 to 10.

First, the Chaldeans speak the very same language that was common in the time of our Savior, and their rituals and Scriptures, which are called Peshito, are the same now as were used by their remote forefathers.

Secondly, the present Chaldeans, with a few exceptions, speak the same dialect used in the Targum and in some parts of Ezra and Daniel, which is called Chaldee. The Nestorians never had any other language but this, and it must therefore be taken for granted that it belongs to their original nationality, and was inherited by them from their forefathers, the Chaldeans, unless, indeed, the fanciful critics can show that the Popes of Rome made the Romanized Nestorians adopt the Chaldee language when they bestowed upon them the national name of "Chaldean!"

Thirdly, if we trace the history of the Aramean language as far back as the time of Abraham (about two thousand years before the Christian era), we shall find there is less difference between it and that used by the so-called Nestorians, or Chaldeans, of the present day, than there is between Latin and Italian.

Most of the names of the twelve patriarchs, which were given to them by their Chaldean mothers, are Aramean, and so are the majority of the other names in the Old Testament, whether they belong to the Hebrew or Gentile nations, even before the Deluge. The most striking testimony to the identity of the Aramean language as it was spoken by Abraham's family, is in the words Laban used when he entered into a covenant with his son-in-law, Jacob, on his return to Canaan. When Jacob fled and was overtaken by Laban, they entered into an agreement for their future conduct, which they sealed by an oath at a heap of stones erected for the occasion. It was called by Jacob "Galeed," a pure Hebrew word, which means "heap of witness," but Laban gave it the name of "Yagar-Shahadotha,"* two pure Chaldee words having the same meaning, as they are understood now by the Chaldeans.

It is well known that the Aramean language has never been lost. It was spoken in the time of the Assyrian,† Babylonian,‡ and Medo-Persian § monarchies. It must have been the common language of Syria and the Holy Land in the time of our Savior, as it is proved from the Aramaic words he used,—such as Talitha

* Genesis xxxi. 47.

† 2 Kings xviii, 28. ‡ Daniel ii, 4. § Ezra iv, 7.

Cumi (Damsel, arise), Eppathaha (open), Abba (Father), Simon bar (son of) Jonah, thou art Cephas (corruption of Caipa, stone or rock), and Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani (My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me). There are, besides these, other words in the New Testament which are purely Aramaic, the same as they are written and pronounced now by the Chaldeans, such as Acel-dama (field of blood), Maranatha (the Lord's coming), Emmanuel (God with us), and Hosanna, or Oshaana (He that saves us).

Lastly, all the Chaldeans, whether Nestorians or Papal, still keep strictly the three days' fast of what is called "Baootha dnain-wey" (supplication of Nineveh), which the Chaldeans assert to have been continued from the time the Ninevites repented at the preaching of Jonah. The Syrians, who, as I said before, must have belonged to the same stock as the Chaldeans, also keep this fast, but not with the same devotional observances.

What greater proof can there be of the origin of a people than their language? And certainly the Chaldeans are as much entitled to be called by that name as the Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Arabs, who now read and speak the languages of their forefathers. As the Assyrian or Aramaic language became the vernacular dialect of Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Holy Land after the Assyrian conquest, so also, when the Arabians took possession of those countries, they established their language, which has been in use up to the present day.

Though, as I said before, Arabic is the vernacular language of Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Holy Land, yet each ancient sect uses its national or mother tongue in its rituals and other ecclesiastical rites; but the Chaldeans in Upper Assyria and Koordistan, as well as the Koords, can only speak their own tongue, Chaldean or Koordish; whereas the official work all over the Ottoman dominions is carried on in Turkish.

The language which is used by the Chaldeans is known in Europe by the name of Syriac, but they themselves call it Chaldean. They apply the word Syriac to the character used by the Syrians or Jacobites. It is true there is very little dissimilarity between the Chaldean and Syriac; but there is a difference in the pronunciation of certain words, the vowel points, and in the formation of the letters, as much as there is between old English and the Roman characters.

Formerly, all the so-called Syrians employed the same script,

and pronounced every word as the Chaldeans do now; but in the thirteenth century Bar Hebraeus, a promoter of the Jacobites, wishing to make a thorough distinction between the writing of the Monophysites and that of the Nestorians, changed the characters and the vowel points.

The Chaldean P and A are changed by the Syrians into Ph and O. For instance, what the former pronounce our Lord's word, Eppathaha, the latter would call Ephothoho. Then such words as Maranatha (our Lord's coming), Abba (Father), Talitha (Damsel), Maria (Lord), Allaha (God), the Syrians pronounce "Moronotho," "Obbo," "Toletho," "Morio," and "Olloho."

The Chaldeans claim also the acquisition of the famous charter granted by Mohammed for the liberty of all the Christian sects, both in their spiritual as well as secular matters, when his power was felt all over the country, now styled Turkey. In the book entitled "Biography of the Patriarch of the Chaldeans," the story is told thus:

In the time of the patriarch, "Yesho-yao-Gdalaya," who was elected and consecrated patriarch at El-Madayin,* in the Alexandrian year 939 (A. D. 628), the Persian monarchy was terminated during the reign of Yezdijird (III), the last of the kings, after which time the kingdom remained in a state of interregnum nine hundred and thirty-five years. At the dissolution of the Persian Empire, the terror of the Arabians began to manifest itself, and when it became obvious to the patriarch that their power was in the ascendant, he deemed it expedient to enter into communication with their leader, Mohammed, before his authority was regularly established. With his embassy, Mar Yesho-yao dispatched handsome presents, and when Mohammed's supremacy was confirmed, the said prelate negotiated and obtained the desired charter from "the Prophet," covenanting therein to all the Christians subject to his sway, and that of his successors, all immunities and freedom in the exercise of their religious rights, and the keeping up of the establishments of their monasteries and places of wor-

* This word means "the cities;" that is to say, Ctesiphon and Seleucia, on the right and left banks of the Tigris, about twenty miles to the south of Baghdat. The former was situated on the east side of that river, and the latter on the west side; thus the ancients called both, the two, or twin, cities. In after years, the remaining quarter of the Greek colony of Seleucia was called "Cochi."

ship. This charter was attested by the companions of Mohammed, Ali, Abu-Bekr, Omar, Othman, and others; and it seems that legally-attested copies of it were given to different Christian communities existing at the time. It was in existence about the middle of this century, in the custody of my family at Mossul; but on being lent by my eldest brother to be copied, it was lost sight of, and nothing was seen of it afterwards.

CHAPTER X.

I HAD hoped, on my arrival at Mossul from Wan, to find the longed-for firman awaiting me, to enable me to commence my explorations in Assyria. As there was no sign of its immediate appearance, and I wished to consult the governor-general of Baghdad about some matters in connection with my political mission, I had a raft constructed to convey me down the Tigris to the capital of the Irak.

On former occasions I had a hut built on board the raft, to protect me from wet or heat; but this time I contented myself with the shelter of a Tukht-rewan, or litter (a kind of palanquin borne by mules), which was intrusted to me by Mr. Russell to take down to Baghdad, as it belonged to Colonel Nixon, the British consul-general at that place. It had been lent to Mrs. Russell, to bring her comfortably from Baghdad to Mossul, as it would have been very fatiguing to her to make long marches on horseback, especially during winter.

I started on the 10th of December, at a quarter to one o'clock in the afternoon; and as it was bright moonlight, and I had two rowers to propel the raft, we went on until we reached the Awayee,* or dam, about midnight. Here the raft was moored until daylight, as the raftmen did not consider it safe to attempt the descent at night, there being not sufficient water to enable us to pass with safety.

* Awayee means a roarer, from the great noise it makes. It is an old artificial barrier, which stretches across the river. During winter, when the Tigris is very low, the greater part of the rocks are above water, and only a small channel remains, just wide enough to enable a large raft to descend it. Of course, a raft can never go against the current, either at high or low water, and when a heavily-laden vessel has to pass through it, the burden has to be lightened. Even then the raft goes down the cataract with a tremendous crash, and very often one-fourth of the inflated sheepskins either get torn or burst. This dam is a great drawback to the navigation of the Tigris between Baghdad and Mossul, because, unless the steamer possesses very high power, she can not make her way up the cataract when the river is high, and when low it is utterly impossible for any vessel drawing more than three feet of water to pass through some shoals above the great Zab.

Sir Henry Layard notices this dam and another not far from the mound of Nimroud, in his "Nineveh and Its Remains;" and as his narrative is peculiarly interesting, I will quote it in full. After giving a description of the mound of Nimroud, and other sites in its vicinity, he says:

"The river flowed at some distance from them; its waters, swollen by the melting of the snows on the Armenian hills, were broken into a thousand foaming whirlpools by an artificial barrier, built across the stream. On the eastern bank the soil had been washed away by the current; but a solid mass of masonry still withstood its impetuosity. The Arab who guided my small raft gave himself up to religious ejaculations as we approached this formidable cataract, over which we were carried with some violence. Once safely through the danger, he explained to me that this unusual change in the quiet face of the river was caused by a great dam which had been built by Nimroud,* and that in the autumn, before the winter rains, the huge stones of which it was constructed, squared, and united by clamps of iron, were frequently visible above the surface of the stream.† It was, in fact, one of those monuments of a great people, to be found in all the rivers of Mesopotamia, which were undertaken to insure a constant supply of water to the innumerable canals, spreading like network over the surrounding country, and which, even in the days of Alexander, were looked upon as the works of an ancient nation.‡ No wonder

* This dam is called by the Arabs, either Sukr-el-Nimroud, from the tradition, or El-Awayee, from the noise caused by the breaking of the water over the stones. Large rafts are obliged to unload before crossing it, and accidents frequently happen to those who neglect this precaution.

† Diodorus Siculus, it will be remembered, states that the stones of the bridge built by Semiramis across the Euphrates were united by similar iron clamps, whilst the interstices were filled up with molten lead.

‡ These dams greatly impeded the fleets of the conqueror in their navigation of the rivers of Susiana and Mesopotamia, and he caused many of them to be removed. (Strabo, p. 1061, ed. Oc. 1807.) By Strabo they were believed to have been constructed to prevent the ascent of the rivers by hostile fleets; but their use is evident. Tavernier mentions, in his *Travels* (Vol. I, p. 226), this very dam. He says that his raft went over a cascade twenty-six feet high; but he must have greatly exaggerated.

that the traditions of the present inhabitants of the land should assign them to one of the founders of the human race." *

We resumed our voyage at six o'clock the next morning, and, after we got clear of the Awayee, we floated down smoothly and passed the mouth of the Great Zab at 7.30. Both banks of the Tigris were teeming with Arab encampments, belonging to the Jeboor and Alboo-Hammad tribes. I was invited to land by those who recognized me, but I could not spare the time to go and see them, especially as my visit would have compelled the ceremony of the slaughter of some sheep for feasting me.

We passed Kalaa-Shirgat at 7.30 P. M., and as it was too late in the evening, I could not land, though I had intended, if we arrived early enough, to examine the mound for future explorations. I was awakened during the night by a bump on a sand-shoal; but we soon got off without any damage through the energy of the raftmen, the Dhabtia, and the Turkish guard. We had a heavy shower of rain in the morning, and it continued drizzling all day. We reached Tikreet about midnight, and, after having changed one of our rowers to accompany us to Baghdad, we resumed our voyage, and had not proceeded more than two miles before the raft stranded again. This time it struck so firmly on a sand-bank that my servants had to get into the water, not only to lighten the raft, but to assist in getting it off. The poor fellows did not quite relish the task of leaving their warm bed and getting into the cold stream, which made them shiver for an hour or two afterwards. In the morning the weather was very dull; but towards noon it cleared up, and the remainder of the day was most enjoyable.

At 11.30 A. M., we reached the town of Sammirra, situated on the left bank of the Tigris, about sixty miles to the north of Baghdad. As its historical repute is well known, it is not my purpose to enter into it. There the Roman army, under Jovian, halted, after having tried in vain to oust the Persians from the Irak. It is now a place of pilgrimage to the Persians and other Moham-medans of the Sheeite persuasion, as it contains the remains of the last Imam of the race of Ali, and where, according to legend, the Mohdee is hid, awaiting the advent of the second coming of Christ. The dome and minarets of the mosque are embellished with enam-

* Layard's "Nineveh and Its Remains," Vol. I, pp. 7, 8.

eled tiles and gilded tops, which were put on at the expense of the late Shah of Persia. The town itself is in a dilapidated condition, and the majority of the houses are neither more nor less than tumbled-down huts, though the place is considered, by both Sheeas and Soonees, to be holy.

The next morning we began to pass groves of the date-palms and richly-cultivated fields. The noise of the water-wheels, with which the banks of the river are studded, broke the monotony of the splashes of our oars. It rained a little in the evening, and the night seemed rather chilly for those who were sleeping in the open air.

On the 15th of December, at five A. M., we reached the suburbs of the city of the Califs, and, as it was then scarcely daylight, we moored the raft for about an hour near the Tooroomba, or steam-pump, belonging to the Baghdad authorities, used for the purposes of irrigation. We then floated down about two miles further, and moored at the wharf, where the Mossul rafts are generally broken up. The wooden frame is then sold, and the skins packed up for sending back to Mossul, to be used for another trip.

My kawass, one of the Dhabtia, and I, then got into a Goofa, and proceeded, under the bridge of boats, as near as possible to the hospitable house of my cousin, Khoaja Yoseph Shammaas, where I was invited to remain a guest as long as I liked.* As soon as I

* The Goofa is a circular boat, made of wicker-work, and daubed over with bitumen, which is peculiar to Baghdad and Hillah. It is the most primitive vessel existing in the world, because, with the exception of the skins with which Herodotus says it used to be covered, he mentions the very object thus: "But the greatest wonder of all that I saw in the land, after the city itself, I will now proceed to mention. The boats which come down the river to Babylon are circular, and made of skins. The former, which are of willows, are cut in the country of the Armenians above Assyria, and on these, which serve for hulls, a covering of skins is stretched outside, and thus the boats are made, without either stern or stem, quite round like a shield. They are then entirely filled with straw, and their cargo is put on board, after which they are suffered to float down the stream. Their chief freight is wine,† stored in casks made of the wood of the palm-tree. They are managed by two men, who stand upright in them, each plying an oar, one pulling and the other pushing." (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," Book I, chap. 194.) Boats of this style are represented on the Assyrian bas-reliefs.

[†In a note on the wine mentioned by Herodotus, Canon George Rawlinson, and his brother, Sir Henry, remark in Rawlinson's "Herodotus,"

arrived, my good old friend, the Nawab Ikbāl-ad-Doula, came to see me. Afterwards, he and I called on Colonel Nixon, the British political agent and consul-general, and Dr. Colville, the surgeon of the Residency, and then returned to my cousin's to breakfast. Hosts of visitors, both Europeans and natives, called on me in the course of the day. In the evening, I received a telegram from Sir Henry Layard, Her Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, imparting to me the cheerful news that the Porte had sanctioned the carrying on of my explorations in Assyria. From that day forward, I longed to return to Mossul, to commence my researches in my old haunts. But as I had gone down to Baghdad for the sole object of consulting the governor-general about some important matters, and His Excellency was away on a pilgrimage in the neighborhood of Ctesiphon, I was obliged to await his return before I retraced my steps northward. It was unfortunate that I arrived at Baghdad just at the time when the Moslems' great feast of Dhahhīa (or sacrifice) was being commemorated, and there was nothing doing for five or six days, either in the official or other quarters.

While I was awaiting an interview with the governor-general, I whiled away my time very pleasantly in visiting friends, acquaintances, and high personages,—Ottoman, Indian, and Persian grandees. Among the former were the Nawab, Ikbāl-ad-Doula, of Oud, and Ahmed Agha, who always showed very friendly feeling towards British residents and travelers.

The dear old Nawab, in particular, was thoroughly English in sympathy and good-will, and one has only to make himself known to him, and he will receive a hearty welcome and every mark of hospitality. He is so sensitive as regards British honor and prestige that he almost cries when he finds anything like a failure or mismanagement on the part of an English official. He is so keen in his affection that he embraces his friends with tender fondness. As for the fair sex, he is always extremely polite and affable

(Book I, chap. 194), that the grape wine could not have been imported into Babylon. The latter says that "the grape wine is now brought to Baghdad from Kerkuk, but not from Armenia, where the vine does not grow." I am at a loss to understand on what ground Sir Henry Rawlinson builds his conclusions that the vine does not grow in Armenia; for it is well known that the vine flourishes, both in the so-called Armenia, in Upper Assyria, and all over Koordistan.]

to them, whether young or old, pretty or ugly, European or native. Though he had passed the age of threescore years and ten, he was as hale and active as a man of middle age, and his comprehension was above mediocrity. He was the most liberal Moslem of the Sheea sect I ever knew, though he adhered strictly to the faith of his forefathers, and never failed to repeat his prayers at the appointed time. He was not only very charitable to the poor, but possessed a feeling of philanthropy which is rare in a man of his persuasion. With regard to his acuteness, the following two stories told of him will illustrate his ready wit and hatred of fanaticism.

As he is considered a pious Mohammedan, he was visited one morning by two Moolas of Carballa, the holy city of the Sheeas, where their most adorable martyr, Hosain, is buried, to impart to him some revelation which they asserted had been communicated to them in a dream by Ali, the head of their sect. The fact is, they went to the Nawab on a begging errand, and thought they could beguile him by a plausible religious story of their own concocting. They told him that they both had a separate dream, and at the same hour of the night; that no less a personage than Ali himself appeared to them, and told them that if they were in want of funds they had only to apply to the pious Nawab, Ikbal-ad-Doula, who lived at Baghdad, and they would find in him a ready helper; that he was reputed, both in heaven and earth, for his good deeds and charity; and that no Moslem had ever appealed to his generosity in vain. The Nawab was too wide-awake to be duped; so, as soon as the two Moolas ended their story, he asked them most gravely if that heavenly vision had appeared to both of them, and at the same time. They, without hesitation, informed him that Ali himself had spoken to them, and it was his message which they had communicated to His Highness. He then asked them if they could inform him of the exact date and hour of the night when his lord, Ali, appeared to them; because, said he, there must be no mistake in such an important holy communication. The Moolas began to think, and, after appealing to each other's memory, they came to the conclusion that Ali had appeared to them on such a night in the ninth hour. For the purpose of being more clear upon the point, the Nawab asked them again if they were quite sure that their recollection was correct. After having looked at each other with wonderment as to the upshot of the

Nawab's cross-examination, they reiterated their first communication, and adhered to what they had before stated as to the ninth hour of the said night. Whereupon the Nawab said: "It was a very extraordinary fact that our lord, Ali (may the peace of God rest upon him), appeared to me the same night at the tenth hour, and told me that two scamps of Moolas would be coming to me from Carballa on a begging errand. 'Do not attend to their supplication,' he said, 'but turn them out of your house as vagabonds;'" and suiting the action to the word, he caught them by the beards and turned them out.

The second story was this: Two fanatical Sheeas on one occasion paid him a visit, and as it is considered unclean for them to taste anything which had been touched by a Christian, they declined drinking coffee from the same tray of which a guest of the Nawab had helped himself, and refused the proffer of a nargeela (water-pipe), of which the Christian had already had a few puffs. Whereupon, the Nawab called the waiter to hand him the rejected coffee and nargeela, and, after having tasted both, he handed them himself to the bigots. As a matter of course, they could not insult the Nawab by refusing to accept the coffee and nargeela after he had touched them with his lips, and thus they had to pocket their prejudices and swallow the bitter pill!

Though the Persians do not possess the caste system of India, yet when they come in contact with either Christians or Jews they show a great repugnance to both. Among the lower class especially, if a Christian or Jew comes in contact with any eatables, or drinkables out of a vessel, they would sooner starve than defile themselves with what they consider to have become polluted by the touch of the "unbelievers." Those of the strict officials who are expected to receive and entertain distinguished European guests keep certain marked cups, plates, and other utensils for the sole use of what they call unclean beings! This detestable prejudice is not alone confined to the Persians in particular, but to all Moslems who adhere to the faith of the Sheeas. Most of the Arabs who inhabit ancient Babylonia belong to that sect; and, if possible, they are more strict than the Persians themselves. They even object to eat from the same dish used by the Turks, because the latter mingle with the Christians and partake of their food. While I was going one day to examine a new mound, the supposed site of Cutha, I was accompanied by two Arabs. One belonged to

the Soonee sect of the Moslems, and the other to that of the Sheea; the former acted as escort, and the latter was the guide. According to usage, my Sheea companion carried his food with him, but I supplied the escort from the provisions I possessed. On arriving at our destination we sat down to breakfast, and, as the latter was full of fun, he would throw some of his eatables on the victuals of the guide, which made him quite in a frenzy. Most of the higher class, however, whether Persians or Arabs, by mixing with Europeans and Turks, do not hesitate to eat and drink with Christians. I can well understand why the Sheea Moslems consider the food of the Christians unclean, because of their eating swine's flesh; but why they place the Jews in the same category, when they are as particular as the Mohammedans in their food, is more than I can understand. It may be that their prejudice sprang from the same silly idea which influenced the mind of the ignorant Christians in olden times, when they looked upon a Jew as an unclean being. The common notion is amongst Arabs and inhabitants of Mesopotamia that a Jew can be distinguished by his smell, even if he has had twenty baths!

During that visit to Baghdad I made the acquaintance of the Prince Abbas Mirza Khan, and his mother. His Highness is half-brother, on the father's side, to the late Shah of Persia. The ex-queen having known my late brother, Christian Rassam, desired to make my acquaintance also; and so one day she sent and invited me to come and see her, which I was glad to do. She always treated me with delicious kalia (Persian, water-pipe) and Russian tea. As she was a strict Moslema, I was not allowed the privilege to see her face, because she was covered over with the out-door mantle. I understood that she had been in love with the Nawab, Ikbāl-ad-Doula, but being unable to get him to reciprocate her affection, she began to hate him; after which time she never lost an opportunity of abusing him. I believe this was the reason that she was attentive to me, as she wished to prejudice me against my friend, whom she called by every undeserved name under the sun. She was quite at a loss to make out how I could entertain any affection and regard for such a man as Ikbāl-ad-Doula; and when I told her that our friendship was of nearly thirty years' standing, she said it was a pity that I did not find out his true character by that time. Every time I went to see that lady, her old hatred of my friend was the topic of conversa-

tion, and if I had not known the good old Nawab most intimately, I might have been led to believe him to be anything but what he was—an upright and liberal-minded man.*

At last Aakif Paasha, the governor-general, returned to Baghdad; and the day after his arrival he invited me to go and see him, and I had a satisfactory interview with him. I was never so struck with any Ottoman official as I was with this Albanian nobleman. He is a thorough gentleman, and most courteous; and there are very few high officials under the Government of the Sultan who are so endowed with uprightness and straightforward dealings. Doubtless there is no lack of high-minded men with administrative talent in Turkey, who are competent to rule justly and uncorruptly, if they are only allowed to have their own way; but, unfortunately, the system is rotten to the core, and requires a thorough cleansing. There were in my time a Kadhee (Moslem judge) at Baghdad, and a Mooftee (exponent of Mohammedan law) at Mossul, who were overscrupulous in their legal transactions, and abhorred what was mean and underhanded. The latter, who is now dead, was so sensitive in giving unbiased legal opinion, that he invariably refused to accept any fee, though he was an unpaid official, and empowered by law to receive a fixed remuneration for his decisions. He had on several occasions to dissent from the arbitrary proceedings of the local authorities, of whom he was a member; consequently he was disliked by those whose aim it was to enrich themselves at the expense of helpless litigants.

On the 19th of December we had such a heavy southeasterly gale blowing, that the bridge of boats had to be disconnected from the opposite bank, and all communication between the eastern and western parts of the town was stopped for nearly two whole days, in consequence of the high waves that were caused by the tempest. No one who has not seen with his own eyes the swell, could believe it was possible that such high waves could be created in that narrow river. The most important part of Baghdad, with the Government establishments and principal mosques, is situated on the east side of the Tigris; and with the exception of a few respectable residences along the river, occupied by Indian princes

* The poor old Nawab, Ikbâl-ad-Doula, died from general debility a few years afterwards.

and other notables, the whole suburbs consist of minor houses and mud huts.

Christmas-day of 1877 dawned with a very heavy rain, which continued, off and on, to the 28th. As the streets of Baghdad consist of nothing but soft earth, the mud on these occasions is ankle-deep. No one can believe that the streets of such an important city as Baghdad, which is considered to rank next to none in the Ottoman dominions after Constantinople, are left in that state, instead of being properly paved. It would cost very little to render them proof against wet, by having them paved either with stone or asphalt, seeing that the majority of the streets are not more than eight or ten feet wide. Bitumen is abundant in the neighborhood of Baghdad, and there can be no difficulty in utilizing it and making it stand the hot weather in those regions.

Having had satisfactory interviews with the governor-general in connection with my mission, I hastened back to Mossul to commence my other duty in behalf of the trustees of the British Museum. I set out on my long journey at eleven o'clock, on the 29th of December, 1877. As I wished to proceed as fast as I could, I chose the quickest mode of traveling, though not the easiest, in having recourse to the Government postal service, by which means I was enabled to make long stages at a quick pace, partly galloping, and partly trotting. At each station we changed horses and escort. Though the distance from Baghdad to Mossul via Karkook and Arweel (the ancient Arbela) is only one hundred hours, or three hundred miles, I accomplished it in six days, allowing a good margin for detentions and necessary night rest. Some part of the road was rather muddy and difficult to ride through, in consequence of the frost and the heavy rains that fell during that winter.

Some of the post-horses were first-rate gallopers, and stood the fatigue admirably; but the majority proved unequal to the task and very seldom their riders escaped a few harmless tumbles. I myself was invariably provided with the best animals that could be had; but one horse which fell to my lot was so vicious that I could not get on it without two men holding him by the ears to keep him quiet. Another horse which I rode was too good for such rough riding. Its owner told me that he had purchased it for 4,000 piasters. This sum, equal to £35, is a high price to give for animals employed in the postal service; but the Govern-

ment contractor was driven to pay this large amount to enable him to fulfill his engagement at that time. Indeed, he was so handsome and easy to ride, that, had it been anywhere near Mossul, I would have purchased it for my own use.

The worst part of traveling between Baghdad and Mossul in winter, on the eastern side of the Tigris, via Karkook, is the number of rivulets one has to pass; and in some places wayfarers have been carried off their legs, by the sudden rush of water, and drowned. About four miles before we reached a rivulet called Tawook, my escort warned me that if we did not make haste we should be prevented from crossing it, as the heavy clouds which seemed to be emptying themselves higher up over the hills to our right, would swell the stream and impede our passage. My followers and I, therefore, hastened to the ford, and before we got half through it the torrent overtook us. To my great dismay, I found that we had no less than three rivulets to cross, and, fearing lest we should be hemmed in on all sides by the rapid, we made haste through the foaming channels. As soon as we landed safely on the opposite bank, a distance of about half a mile from side to side, we saw most of the dry land which we had just passed one mass of raging overflow. Unfortunately, my cook's horse was carried off his legs some distance down the river, and had not the rider the presence of mind to disengage himself from the animal and swim ashore, he might have been lost. The cook was riding on the saddle-bag containing my provisions, tied to the back of the animal, which could not be detached. The consequence was that while the horse was being rolled down the stream, he stranded on a shoal, which enabled my escort to get him off. Some donkeys which belonged to other wayfarers were carried down by the raging torrent, a few swam to the shore, and the remainder were borne by the stream helplessly. The storm overtook us just as we got over our difficulty, and by the time we reached our halting-place we were drenched to the skin. Fortunately, I was accommodated with comfortable quarters in the head postilion's house, and my host did his best to make my stay there, under the circumstances, as pleasant as possible. Both he and my followers were busily engaged all the evening in drying the cook's kit and my wet things, and I was not a little comforted on finding the damage very trifling.

On leaving Tawook I was warned that our route to Karkook

was infested by the Hammawand robbers, who have been for years the pest of the country around. This petty Koordish tribe, who occupy the country between Solaimania, Karkook, and Ta-wook, has proved a great hindrance to trade and industry for the last twenty-five years; and, though the Ottoman authorities have tried on several occasions to put them down, they failed to do so. Once they surrounded their camp, and, after having seized a number of the men, whom they punished in every manner of inhuman torture, they set the soldiery on the poor women to gratify their lust. This diabolical outrage the Hammawand never forgot; and whenever it fell in their power, they retaliated on innocent wayfarers. The Hammawand tribe is very small, but their ranks have been augmented from time to time by deserters from the Turkish army, outlaws, and men who preferred to live by plunder rather than by peaceful means. They were reputed to be good horsemen and expert sharpshooters; and as for their daring, none but a well-organized army could face them. My escort on that occasion did not wish me to travel post-haste, on the plea that their horses could not keep up with me. I told them, if that was the case, they might follow me to Karkook at their leisure; but they said they would not dare leave me to travel alone, for fear of my being attacked by a party of the Hammawand. Thus they were constrained to keep me company in a sulky mood. The fact was they knew very well that, with all their professed bravery, they could no more protect me against any attack than take me through the camp of the dreaded Hammawand. All the advantage gained by their presence is to show the peaceful inhabitants that the person they were accompanying was traveling under the auspices of the Ottoman Government. When we were in sight of Karkook, we found, to our astonishment, some Dhabtias of my companions' corps stripped of their clothes, and making all the haste they could to the nearest village. They told us that they had been sent to the neighboring villages on official errands, and were attacked by a band of Hammawand, who dispossessed them of their horses, clothes, and arms, and left them nothing but their trousers to hide their nakedness. My companions could not help laughing when I pointed out to them their fellow Dhabtias, and said, "What do you think now of your protection?"

Karkook is a town of some importance, and the largest between Baghdad and Mossul. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Turks,

Koords, and Chaldean Christians. The latter occupy the top of the hill within the citadel, which is the best part of the town. It is the seat of the Chaldean bishop, whose diocese extends from the great Zab to Rowandooz and Solaimania. As soon as I arrived there I was called upon by a number of Mossul merchants and others, who asked me to spend a day or two with them; but as I was in a hurry to push on to Mossul, I thanked them for their civility, and resumed my journey as soon as my rally of horses were changed for fresh ones.

I passed through Arweel on the 3d of January, and alighted there for an hour for the purpose of changing horses.

Arweel, or Arbela, is famous in history for having been the battle-scene of one of the greatest wars that had taken place in ancient time between the Eastern and Western Powers. It was the occasion when Alexander the Great defeated the army of the Persians under Darius. It is said that the army of the latter consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand horses clothed in complete armor of steel, seven hundred elephants with towers filled with archers on their backs, and eighteen hundred chariots armed with scythes. The "great king" fled after his defeat, and Alexander became master of the situation, and was able to possess subsequently immense booty, with the Government of the whole of Mesopotamia.

Arweel is partly built on an extensive artificial mound, which I have very often longed to examine; but I am afraid it will not be easy to induce the Ottoman authorities to allow us to excavate there. If it were left to me and to the natives of the place, I should not have to wait long for gratifying my curiosity. I feel quite sure that there must be some important antiquities to be found there, as the mound shows every sign of Assyrian origin. The natives have never found any ancient remains in their diggings for their own purposes. This shows that if there are any ancient buildings existing in the mound, they must be very deep down. They often find, however, small stone cylinders and seals of the Parthian type, but I have never seen any of the Assyrian or Babylonian period. There are several large mounds in that neighborhood between the two Zabs and the river Tigris, which ought, in my opinion, to be thoroughly examined. It is true that some mounds have been tried by both Sir Henry Layard and

myself in that direction, but there are some which have not yet been thoroughly examined.

At Arweel we obtained first-rate horses; and after we had started we went on in a good galloping pace as far as the great Zab, a distance of about twenty-five miles, which we accomplished in a little more than four hours. A great part of the road to the Zab is very rough, and it was difficult therefore to travel on it fast. It did not take my escort long to get a boat to take us across, especially as the boatmen made sure that they would receive a present besides the tariff demanded from wayfarers. As soon as we crossed and reloaded my luggage, we resumed our journey as it began to get dusk, intending to halt for the night at the village of Kalak, a distance of about two miles from the ferry; but owing to the intense darkness of the night and the thick shrub-wood we had to pass through, the postilion lost his way, and after a wild-goose chase we reached our destination in about two hours, which ought to have been accomplished in one-third of the time. I was invited on my arrival to take shelter in the chief's hut; but as I found it too crowded with other guests I moved to the establishment of the Government postal contractor, a native of Mossul, named Abodee Kashmoola, who entertained me till late at night with the political and domestic gossip of the neighborhood.

We started from Kalak at half-past five o'clock A. M., on the 4th of January, as I wished to push on to Mossul; and after a slow ride of two hours we reached the river Khazzir, which, fortunately, we found fordable. The swelling of this river is quite uncertain, because it sometimes happens that while travelers are within hailing distance a torrent comes down from the mountains, which renders the Khazzir unfordable for some time, and obliges them to seek shelter in a neighboring village until the overflow of the river abates. Having got safely across, we cantered to the Chaldean village of Karamlais, a distance of about seven miles, where I was invited by the chief to have some refreshment. After having spent about an hour with him, we resumed our journey, and reached Mossul a little after noon. My relatives and friends were taken by surprise, as they did not expect me to travel so fast.

The usual complimentary visits by friends and officials having been gone through on both sides, I took the earliest opportunity

to call on the governor of Mossul, to find out if he had heard anything about the firman which had been granted by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan for the renewal of the British Museum excavations. I was not a little relieved when he told me that he had received telegraphic orders from Constantinople to allow me to commence my explorations, because, though the firman had been granted, it would take some time before it reached Mossul. The British ambassador, Sir Henry Layard, for the purpose of saving time, had begged this boon from the Porte, and it had been accorded him, though it was contrary to rule to allow any one to carry on excavations without the possession of the royal mandate. On hearing this, I hastened to my abode, and made arrangements to begin work the next day.

No sooner was my intention to recommence my former researches in Assyria known, than my old workmen or their children flocked around me for employment. I felt sorry that I could only recognize a few of them, because a large number had died, and some who were still living had grown so old that I could not recollect their faces, as it was nearly twenty-five years since I had parted from them. Amongst the few that I recognized were three Arabs of the Jeboor tribe, who had served under Sir Henry Layard and myself on three different expeditions; one was Mahmood Alfaraj, whom I had raised to the post of an overseer, and whose fidelity and honesty I have already mentioned. He began his work under Sir Henry Layard in 1845, when he was quite a boy, and, in whatever capacity we employed him, he proved an exceptional barrier against dishonesty and double-dealing. He was a fine-looking man, over the average height, muscular, and yet possessed a philanthropic nature. He had settled himself with his family at a village some distance from Mossul, where he had been carrying on farming; but rather than see me served by strangers, he gave up his farm and re-entered my service. He did not look much older than when I left Mossul in 1854, though he had gone through many trials amongst his people, and had also met with ill-treatment at the hands of the local authorities, who tried to fleece him by their exorbitant demands. Two others who had served Sir Henry Layard and myself faithfully on former occasions had grown rather feeble to be of any use to me in manual labor; but as they possessed great influence with their tribes I

employed them as sub-overseers on a small pay. I had so many offers for employment that many had to return home disappointed. Most of these came to serve me for the sake of gratifying their wives or their parents, who had either served Sir Henry Layard or myself, or who remembered us when they were children. They did not covet much gain, but they wished to be in my employ for the sake of old associations. Most fortunately, with a little kindness and attention, for which the Arabs in general are very grateful, I could always save about a fourth, and sometimes as much as one-third, of the regular wages a laborer receives in that country; and when it is considered that I had sometimes to employ about four or five hundred men daily, the saving was most important.

When I was excavating at Mossul from October, 1852, to May, 1854, and the French Government were at the same time carrying on explorations through their agents in that country, they had always to pay twenty-five per cent more to their workmen than I did, as the Arabs preferred working with me for less, rather than lose my employment. When the late Mr. George Smith was excavating on behalf of the proprietors of the Daily Telegraph and the British Museum, he had to pay four piasters (about 8d.) a day as wages, whereas I only allowed 6d. to the first, and 4d. to the second-class laborers. With this economy I was able to employ a larger number of workmen than I could have done had I been obliged to pay high wages. Every now and then I pleased them by presenting them with one or two oxen to feast upon; and as their women shared in the enjoyment of the viands, which they very seldom did, they always looked upon me as their benefactor.

Generally speaking, my workmen excavated by gangs of seven,—a digger, a basket-filler, and five basket-carriers,—that is to say, those men who carried away the débris from the trenches. But on certain occasions, when the rubbish had to be carried far away, the basket-carriers used to be augmented from those gangs who had a shorter distance to dispose of their load. In each separate mound I generally placed Christian overseers, because they knew how to read and write; and if the work became extensive I placed under them one or two Arab sub-overseers.

Monday, the 7th of January, 1878, saw me busily engaged in the work for which I had been longing some years previously. It was nearly twenty-four years since I had closed my work at

Koyunjik after I discovered Assur-bani-pal's palace, and this morning I was once more placing several gangs of workmen in different parts of the mound for further research.

My instructions from the Trustees of the British Museum were to try to find as many fragments as possible from the libraries of Assur-bani-pal and Sennacherib, for the completion of the records which were already amongst the national collection in London. Although that was the first object of my mission, I was, nevertheless, more eager to discover some new ancient sites than to confine my whole energy on such a tame undertaking, seeing that in this operation I had only to point out to my overseers where and how to dig, and they must come upon the relics we were in search of. My aim was to discover unknown edifices, and to bring to light some important Assyrian monument for the gratification of the British public, especially those who valued such discoveries either for their Biblical or literary studies.

As was usually the case on my arrival at Mossul, a number of newsmongers came to inform me of certain sites where ancient remains had been found by the peasantry while digging either for a grave or a foundation of an edifice. Although there was scarcely any mound worth digging within fifty miles of Mossul, either on the left or right bank of the Tigris, which I had not examined, I never lost an opportunity of revisiting those localities which were said to contain antiquities. After having placed a few gangs of workmen in certain spots at Koyunjik and Nimroud, where I fancied our explorations would prove pregnant with good results, I went in quest of new sites for the furtherance of my object.

A year before I was commissioned by the trustees of the British Museum to renew their explorations in Assyria, a friend at Mossul sent to me to England a present of two pieces of bronze plates, on which there were some figures embossed representing a part of a procession, showing tribute-bearers, with epitaphs in cuneiform characters indicating their purpose. So, on arriving at Mossul, my first object was to find out where those relics were discovered, and I need not say that I was not long in securing all the information I needed; but there were so many obstacles in the way of my attaining the desired end, on account of the number of graves which were on the mound, that I began to fear I should never be allowed to search for the remainder of the monument. However, I felt that it was well worth the risk of getting into hot



PART OF A BRONZE STRIP FROM THE GREAT GATES AT BALAWAT, ERECTED BY SHALMANESER II
(860-825 B. C.)

water with the authorities, and even with the villagers, if I could only get a sight of the rare monument.

I found out that the pieces of bronze which were sent to me to England were a part of a long plate which had been discovered by an Arab while digging a grave in the mound of Balawat, about fifteen miles to the east of Mossul. For fear of being detected he had broken it into five or six pieces, and sold them for a small trifle to the dragoman of the French consul, who presented part of them to his superior and myself, and the remainder he had intrusted to a French traveler to sell for him at Paris.*

The first step I took was to go and see the mound, and find out how far I could dig without touching any of the existing graves. I found, to my great relief, that the spot where I wished to excavate was free of any new sepulchral signs; but still I knew if once I began my operations, the villagers, whose graves are scattered over the mound, would think that if I were to be allowed to dig there, I should disturb the bones of their ancestors and relatives.

In the firman which is granted to foreign explorers it is particularly ordained that they are not to excavate in a burial-ground; but it does not specify the real meaning of the term. No limit being assigned to the number of tombs to constitute a burial-ground, it is left to the option of the local authorities to put any construction they like upon the ambiguous prohibition. One or two tombs might be construed, therefore, to mean a cemetery when they want to stop the work altogether; because there is no Assyrian or Babylonian mound wherein, some time or other, human remains have not been interred. Amongst the Mohammedans they bury anywhere they like; but generally they choose an artificial mound, or any eminence in a convenient situation. They do not hesitate to desecrate an old burial-ground for their purposes, and very often they have to remove the bones out of old graves to enable them to bury their dead. When the Ottoman Government wishes to dig in a place which has been used by Moslems as a

* I was informed by the dragoman afterwards, that the pieces of plates which he sent to Paris were misappropriated by the Frenchman who undertook to sell them for him. The dragoman could not get an answer from him, though he had written to him several times to remonstrate. They are now, I believe, in the possession of Mons. Schlumberger.

burying-ground, they can do so with impunity; but when any one else wants to dig, they become very scrupulous.

Some years back, when the Ottoman authorities at Constantinople wanted a convenient place to erect a building for the municipality at Pera, they fixed upon a cemetery on the slope of a hill overlooking the Golden Horn, which they demolished, and then they laid out the grounds for their own purposes. When some of the proprietors of the graves complained, they were told that the bones of the dead were left intact!

The Arabs of the surrounding villages are called Shabbak, and in their appearance and habit they seem to be Mohammedans, but in reality they abhor Islamism. They adhere more to the Christian faith than that of the followers of Mohammed. They are so afraid of being found out that they exhibit outwardly as much as possible their attachment to the tenets of their faith. In fact, these people are so close as to the reality of their belief, that they keep the formulas of their faith quite secret from their children until they arrive at the mature age of twelve, when everything is explained to them. From all that I could glean from their elders, it seems that they believe in the Divine origin of our Savior, and go so far as to confess that Christ was so perfect God, when he was born, that they style the Virgin Mary the "Mother of God,"—a term which was caviled at in the fifth century by the followers of Cyril and Nestorius.

As it has been seen from the foregoing remarks, I did not feel quite sanguine as to the success of my adventure amongst a people who would look upon me in a suspicious manner. I had three parties to satisfy besides the biased objections of the local authorities; first, the landlords, then the copy-holders, and last, but not least, the proprietors of the graves. However, I put a bold face upon my enterprise, and went into the matter in right good earnest. I first obtained the promise of the owner of the land to raise no objection to my excavating, and I prevailed upon the leasees of the property, who had cultivations in that locality, to allow me to dig a few trenches at the mound. When that was done, I felt that the greatest of all obstacles was to overcome the prejudices of the owners of the graves that lay around the spot where I wished to carry on my explorations. The claimants were so numerous that it was quite impossible for me to satisfy them either for love or money. I therefore deemed it indispensable to go

straight to the mound and have a tentative examination of the spot, leaving it to future consideration if the villagers wished to raise an objection to my undertaking.

I engaged, in the first instance, the services of a gentleman who belonged to a respectable family at Mossul, possessing a great influence at Balawat and its neighborhood, and who himself had obtained, by digging at night-time, some pieces of the copper monument which had been presented to me. I then ordered my faithful overseer, Mahmood Alfaraj, to choose about twenty trustworthy Jeboors to accompany him and to provide them with the necessary implements for our intended digging. I sent them to a Syrian Catholic village called Karakosh, situated about three miles to the west of Balawat, where I had obtained quarters in a church through the kindness of my friend, the Syrian Catholic prelate, the Monsignor Behnam Bennie, whom I have already mentioned. Though the mound of Balawat was only about ten minutes' walk from the village bearing the same name, I preferred making Karakosh my headquarters for the time being, because the mound was really in the leasehold of its inhabitants, and, legally speaking, they had the first right to prevent me from digging if they did not wish me to do so. When everything was arranged, I repaired to the mound with my guide, Abd-Allah Bey, and the Jeboor workmen, and forthwith I commenced the longed-for operation. We had not been half an hour at work before we were surrounded by a host of Shabbak Arabs, both from Balawat and other neighboring villages, who came to stop our progress. The chief of Karakosh, and some elders who accompanied me to the mound, were the first to bear the brunt of the abuse; the Shabbak peasants telling them that, instead of bringing the Franks to disturb the graves of the Moslems, they had better take them to dig up the bones of their forefathers. Had I not intervened, they would have come to blows; because the Christians retorted by saying that the land belonged to them, and the sooner they removed the remains of those whom they claimed, and interred them in their domains, the better. My guide and the Jeboor workmen were also ripe for a row; but I calmed them down by telling them it was not their business to interfere in the matter, and that I should be very sorry to do what was displeasing to any one.

I explained to the Balawat villagers that the Christians of Karakosh had nothing to do with that undertaking, which solely

rested with me; and if they had anything to say against my work, I should be happy to attend to their representations. I declared to them that it was far from my intention to do anything to hurt their feelings, or put my hand to any work that might seem obnoxious to their consciences. On the contrary, I would do nothing without their approval and entire satisfaction. I was glad to find that my contention had calmed them down, and made them listen to reason. I found that their spokesman was their chief, who proved afterwards my staunch supporter; and on my telling him that I would accompany them to their village, where we might discuss the matter amicably, he and his followers became quite satisfied. It was bitterly cold on that day, with rain and sleet pouring down; so my first duty was to see the poor, half-clad Jeboor workmen properly housed and fed; and as soon as that was done, I commenced my negotiations.

It happened, most fortunately, that one of the brothers of my guide was residing at Balawat, as he had a farm there, and, of course, it was natural that he should befriend me for the sake of his brother. I therefore chose his house as a rendezvous and my future Balawat headquarters.

My Shabbak acquaintances were extremely docile in arguing the matter of my research, and we had not been an hour together before we came to terms as to my future proceedings. I first agreed to appoint the two chiefs of the village overseers; and secondly, that I would employ a certain number of the inhabitants of Balawat in the diggings, in order that they might see that none of their graves were disturbed. I gave them permission to stop work as soon as they came near a grave, and also to prevent others from digging. Furthermore, I arranged to have tunnels dug about a fathom below the bottom of the graves; and, should there be any risk of the graves tumbling in, I would erect an arch of masonry to support them. When I thought that I had arranged everything satisfactorily to all parties, I found that other men were trying to create a hubbub in the village. It appeared that the Balawat Shabbaks had been foolish enough to stir up their comrades in the neighborhood when they first heard of my intended excavations; and therefore when they came to terms with me, the others who were not consulted began to be troublesome. The Balawatees had also sent to excite the inhabitants of Kabarlee, another village of the Shabbaks close by, in order that they might

join them in stopping me from digging. Those people likewise possessed graves in the same mound, a number of which were very near the place where I wished to excavate. So when the Kabarlees learned that I had arranged matters with the natives of Balawat, they took offense, and swore that they would sooner die on the graves of their relatives than allow me to strike one spade into the mound. The people of Balawat declared, on the other hand, that rather than disappoint me, they would turn up the bones of their forefathers themselves, happen what may.

It was arranged ultimately between my Balawat supporters and myself that I should return to Karakosh, and leave the Jeboor workmen to go on with the excavations the next morning under the superintendence of my confidential overseer, Mahmood Alfaraaj, Abd-Allah Bey, and the chiefs of Balawat. The Kabarlees, however, went on agitating, and during the night a report reached me that they were bent upon carrying their threats into action the next morning, should they find that I commenced work at the mound. As I feared that my Jeboor workmen might get into trouble in case the Balawat and Kabarlee Shabbaks came to blows, I sent and ordered them to proceed to another mound near the village of Karamlais, about five miles to the north of Balawat, where I had had an intention to dig. My workmen had scarcely left Balawat before a large cavalcade from Kabarlee made their appearance, armed to the teeth, and began to abuse the natives of Balawat and upbraid their chiefs and elders for having, for the sake of filthy lucre, consented to allow the Christians to exhume the graves of the Moslems. They swore that they would never consent to such a sacrilegious act, and would defy any one to touch the ground. As a matter of course, when the Balawat people saw the defiant attitude of the Kabarlees they began to arm, and both women and children began to hoot at them for their temerity. As luck would have it, a detachment of irregular cavalry, who were going on special duty towards the Zab, appeared on the scene just at the time. Their commanding officer was a personal friend of mine; and as soon as he found out the cause of the tumult, he dispersed the Kabarlee rioters to the right about. Had not this friendly succor arrived in an opportune moment, a serious conflict might have taken place between the two contending parties, and I should have been balked in gaining the prize. When the report of this disturbance reached me, I lost all hope of attaining my

object, as I was afraid that the authorities would hear of the objection raised against my digging at Balawat, and use it as a good excuse to prevent me from carrying on the work. Notwithstanding all these disturbances, I did not shirk further trouble, but trusted to the common saying, "Nothing venture, nothing win." I allowed a few days to pass by, and then carried on my negotiations through other channels.

After having waited a short time to let the anger of the Shabaks cool down, I tried what I could do through my Moslem friends at Mossul, who possessed some power amongst the Kabarlees. They cheerfully undertook the disagreeable task, and forthwith sent for the elders and chiefs of Balawat and Kabarlee, with whom they had a long consultation. They all came afterwards to inform me of what had passed between them, and I was not a little pleased to find that everything had been arranged to my entire satisfaction. It was settled among us that I should go on with the excavations, taking care at the same time to see that my workmen did not disturb the graves should the relic of which I was in search extend thitherward. I told them that, according to my previous promise, I would take into my employ natives of Balawat and also of Kabarlee who possessed graves on the mound, so that if they came near any tomb, they could at once stop the digging. This I knew would answer my purpose, because I felt confident that when the natives of those villages began to benefit by my work, they themselves would be adverse to stop the excavations, seeing that they must have often disturbed old graves for the purpose of interring fresh corpses. Moreover, by having them in my service, there would be no jealousy created, as would have been the case had I merely employed strangers. I was glad to find that the leaders of the former disturbance were amongst those who came to Mossul, and, my friends having secured their good-will, I was insured against further obstinate resistance. I allowed no time to be lost, and having asked them as a favor to return to their respective villages without delay, I followed them the next morning and took my quarters at the house of Hosain Bey, where I had already held my preliminary consultation with the Balawat chiefs.

In the course of the day I arranged the different gangs, taking care to place amongst them a sufficient number of Jeboor workmen to insure fidelity, and to guard against the risk of damage. Early

the next morning I repaired to the mound, foreboding that something would occur to prevent me from attaining the object of my research, as I knew that the graves near the spot where I wished to dig belonged to the natives of Kabarlee, and they were the only people I feared would disappoint me at the last moment. The owners of the graves, however, did not make an appearance as early as I expected, as their village was a good distance from the mound, and by the time they came I had penetrated into the ground far enough to satisfy me that there was no need to approach the proscribed ground, as every indication showed me that what I was searching for would be found away from the graves. This was a great relief to me, because, had the valuable trophy extended towards the tombs of the Shabbak Arabs, amongst which there were some fresh interments, I should have been obliged to abandon the prize, or risk a serious tumult for the benefit of those who were waiting to profit by my failure.

On that day we came upon some scrolls or paneling of copper-plating, like the pieces which had been presented to me. I had them removed forthwith to my quarters at the village of Balawat; and, to avoid the danger of damage, I sent to Mossul for proper cases for them, which were made to take in the whole length of the plates. The monument was very much corroded and injured from the length of time it had been lying in damp soil. As soon as the relic was exposed to the air it began to crack, and I had very great difficulty to remove it entire. It was lying on its face and spread like a gigantic hat-rack with the top part rising to within four feet of the surface of the ground, and the lower portion gradually descending to about fifteen feet deep. The plates seemed to have belonged to the covering of a monument, which proved to be a huge gate with double leaves. Its thickness must have been about four inches, as was shown by the bend of the nails that fastened the plates to the wooden frame, a number of which were still attached to the monument. Each leaf had seven panels eight feet long; and, according to the way they were lying, it appeared as if they were used to cover the wooden frame in the shape of belts. All the wood that comprised the monument had rotted away, but from what I saw of the position of several plates I guessed there must have been ornamental cedar or some other wood between them. Each leaf had a thick bronze pivot, which is shown by the bend at the end of the panels in the shape of a

scroll. These revolved in hard stone sockets, that were found still standing in their former position. The tops of the posts seemed to have been ornamented with copper globules, as I found some in the *débris* just where the top of the monument was lying. The plates, which are embossed with a variety of subjects, such as battle-scenes, triumphal processions, and religious performances, are divided into two panels surrounded by a border of rosettes.

After three days' hard work, we managed to uncover about half of the monument, as I was particularly careful in extricating the broken pieces from the clayey *débris* without much damage. As Sunday intervened, and it was necessary for me to go up to Mossul to see about my other works at Koyunjik, I left the excavations in charge of Mahmood Alfaraj, and rode up to town on Saturday afternoon. I had about five hundred men working in the old trenches at Koyunjik and Nimroud, and I was obliged, therefore, to give fresh directions to the overseers at short intervals to prevent waste of time and labor.

As a matter of course, as soon as I began to uncover the copper monument, it was necessary that I should leave trustworthy watchmen to see that no one went to the mound at night for the purpose of extracting any piece of the relic, or injuring the remaining portion. I arranged that part of the men should consist of Jeboora, and the rest from the Shabbak Arabs; and to protect them from rain and cold, I provided them with a tent and fuel, which they considered a great boon. While I was myself at Balawat everything went on all right; but it seemed that on the evening after I went to Mossul, the native watchmen absented themselves, and left the Jeboor workmen alone, on the plea that they could not stand the cold. The weather was really very severe at the time, with snow nearly four inches deep on the ground. The fact was, the Shabbaks did not mind the cold half as much as they feared the nocturnal robbers, of whom there were scores going about, seeking victims. As soon as Mahmood Alfaraj heard of the shameful behavior of the Balawat watchmen, he repaired to the mound with the remainder of the Jeboor workmen, and kept his men company until my return.

While I was spending Sunday quietly at Mossul, the Shabbak workmen were arguing amongst themselves whether it was right to allow their graves to be desecrated for the sake of paltry gain, especially as there was no lack of mischievous men ready to up-

braid them for their stupidity in allowing me to excavate amongst their dead. They were told that for every piaster they received I was carrying away antiquities worth more than their weight in gold.

On the following Monday a few of the well-disposed workmen of Balawat went as usual to work, but were obliged to return to their village, as the other party threatened them with violence if they did not stop digging. The Jeboor workmen refused to leave, and, headed by Mahmood Alfaraj, declared that they would sooner perish on the mound than prove false to their trust. They protested that they would not quit their post as long as I was away, and, more than that, they intended to work on until my return; and they kept their word. In the meantime there was a row in the village between the disaffected and my supporters; but the latter being the stronger, the disturbers of the peace had to give way and keep quiet. Ultimately they came to the conclusion that they would try to dissuade me from continuing the excavations, or else to allow the other part of the monument to be recovered, and then to stop the work altogether.

In the meantime I had placed a number of gangs in different parts of the mound, to see if there were any signs of other ancient remains to be found, and directed them to keep clear of the graves to avoid further trouble. During my absence I never allowed any one to come near the spot where the monument was found, as I was afraid that some harm might happen to it, but I placed the workmen to dig in other localities. For fear of any mischief being caused to the object of my search while I was away, I had the remainder of the relic covered over with plenty of earth so as to prevent interlopers from getting at it.

When the news of the last tumult reached me at Mossul, I was very much concerned, because, not only was I afraid of losing this unique Assyrian trophy if a riot took place, but I was also anxious to avoid any ill-feeling that might be caused in connection with my explorations. I hastened, therefore, the next morning to Balawat in a heavy snowstorm, though I was far from well and was suffering a good deal of agony from sciatica when I left Mossul. I thought the ride would either kill or cure me, and I was not a little relieved to find, on reaching the Christian village of Karakosh, where I dismounted for a little rest, that all pain had left me, and I felt quite well. I had then been riding three

hours under a heavy fall of snow, with a strong northeasterly wind blowing in my face, which prevented me from holding an umbrella over my head to shelter me. My poor horse tried to turn round several times from facing the inclement weather, and though he often shook the snow off his head, it always resembled a large mop of cotton wool. After having spent about an hour with the chief of Karakosh I hastened to Balawat, and found my faithful Jeboor workmen busily engaged digging in the eastern corner of the mound, nearly perishing from cold. They had discovered a scientifically-built Assyrian well, which created a great sensation in the place. The night before, they had suffered from severe cold, and could not get any fuel to keep them warm, or even wherewith to cook their dinner. So I took my overseer to the village, and instead of showing that I was angry at what had taken place, I ordered, in a most natural way, some of the Balawat workmen to furnish fuel to those at the mound, and requested others to have lentil soup cooked for my Jeboor laborers; and, as soon as it was ready, I had it sent to the mound, with bread. I was not a little surprised to find there was no murmur raised when I gave this order; but, on the contrary, two of the Shabbak laborers came and told me that they meant to resume work the next morning, whatever might happen, and assured me they knew many others who would do the same if I remained at Balawat. The next morning I ordered my Jeboor overseer to sound the usual call to the Balawat workmen for marching to the digging, and, to prevent any disturbance taking place, I preceded them, taking with me two of the most respected elders of the place, as a sign of reconciliation. Every workman came running as if nothing had taken place, and they all commenced work in a most cheerful spirit. After I had placed the gangs to dig in different spots, I returned to the village to breakfast, and then went back to the mound to superintend the excavations in person. Just as I set my foot on the mound a tobacco-hawker came to sell his merchandise to the Arab workmen, who are proverbially fond of smoking, and to please them I bought the whole lot and distributed it amongst them. This act of generosity raised me more than ever in their estimation, and the fact of my having kept silence about the threatened riot of the day before, coupled with their resolve not to work any more for me, made the gift doubly acceptable.

After two more days' hard work we managed to get out the

remainder of the copper monument. I did not feel quite easy until every part of it was deposited safely at Mossul. The work continued at Balawat after that without any interruption for some time, because I made it a rule to go down there as often as my other duties at Koyunjik and Nimroud would allow, and superintend the excavations myself. It was most necessary that I should do so, especially as when we began to penetrate deep into the mound, an enormous quantity of human bones came to view, and I had to explain to the Shabbak Arabs that those could not have belonged to their believing forefathers from the very way the corpses were laid.* I said, moreover, that we were not doing more than thousands of Moslems did who were in the habit of digging in old burial-grounds for the purpose of making fresh interments; and added that it was incumbent upon us to have the bones reburied in a decent spot. My Jeboor workmen insisted that the bones they were finding in the diggings belonged to some old heathen nation, and to show them how absurd they were, they pointed out to them the way the corpses had been laid with their heads placed in different directions; whereas, if they had belonged to true believers they would have been directed towards Mecca. The majority of the Shabbak laborers, who did not care a whit whether the old graves belonged to their believing or unbelieving ancestors, joined the Jeboors in ridiculing the qualms of their more capricious fellow-countrymen. They told them that the graves which were found low underground, belonged to the Gentiles who occupied the country in the Dark Ages, and deserved exhuming. The most devout of the workmen, however, to satisfy their consciences, carefully removed and buried the bones, feeling sure that they were doing an act of charity, whether the bones belonged to true believers or not. I noticed one of the graves to have been dug in the middle of the two leaves of the monument, and before I could remove the relic, we had to extricate the bones from between the bronze plates. I felt very anxious all the time I was superintending this momentous undertaking, especially as there was a large number of idle spectators from different villages in the neighborhood, who came expressly to see the wonderful trophy being unearthed.

* All true Moslems bury their dead with the head of the corpse facing towards Mecca.

This monument has been found to belong to the time of Shalmaneser II, the same monarch as that of the black obelisk found by Sir Henry Layard at Nimroud, who reigned from the year 860 to 825 B. C.* He was the son of Assur-nazir-pal, the builder of the northwest palace at Nimroud. He ruled over Assyria in the time of the divine mission to Nineveh of the prophet Jonah.†

It seems, from the different representations on the bronzes, that the Assyrian kings in those days acted, on some occasions, as high priests. Their sacrifices were chosen from the kine and sheep, and the mode of slaughter was by stabbing the animal with a dagger through the heart. As most of the scenes had inscriptions, and the posts of the trophy contained an account of the conquest of Shalmaneser, Mr. Theophilus Pinches, of the British Museum, has been able to give us a full description of the monument for the Society of Biblical Archaeology. As I shall give a resume of the contents of the same in the Appendix, I will only mention a few interesting subjects in connection with the repousse illustrations.

The different campaigns of Shalmaneser II seem to have taken place in Southern Babylonia, or Chaldea, Syria, and Armenia; and in all his battles he makes himself the conqueror. Some of the bronze bands represent the Assyrian army leaving home on one panel, and returning in a triumphal march; and if the king should be with them, they conclude with devotional rites. One of the plates represents the king, in company with two priests, in the act of performing his thank-offering on a tripod. One of the priests seems to be bearing a dish full of fruit, and the king is holding in his hand a cup tilted, from which he is about to pour something in the caldron on the altar. Then behind him another priest, followed by musicians, holds two buckets, which evidently contain some liquid (it may be the blood of the sacrifice) ready to hand over to His Majesty. Behind the musicians a third priest is driving two bullocks towards the altar, and two are bringing four rams for the same purpose. In front of the king stands the pillar of incense, another altar, two royal standards, and a stela of a deified king set upon a rockery. In the foreground there are two soldiers

* This Shalmaneser reigned ninety-five years before Shalmaneser IV, who besieged Samaria, and his troops carried away the ten tribes of Israel captive under Sargon. (2 Kings xvii, 3.)

† Jonah iii, 6.

throwing pieces of meat into the water as a propitiation to the elements, which are being swallowed up by a crocodile and a hippopotamus. This scene is supposed to be, by Assyrian scholars, on the shore of Lake Wan in Armenia; but the existence of these two animals in a very cold country, and in water which is nearly as salt as the Dead Sea, is against this theory, seeing that these animals can not live in such water and climate.*

The next interesting scene is where Shalmaneser is represented in the lower panel on horseback, having just crossed a river, and proceeding to offer his thank-offering before a stela of a deified king set upon a rock near an arbor erected on the water's edge. In front of him a lamb and a bullock are driven for a sacrifice, with three men evidently in the act of adoration, the foremost of whom holds in his hands some instrument not unlike the one handled by the same kind of figure represented on the upper panel.†

On the tier above, there is the representation of a sacrifice, where a bullock is being slaughtered by stabbing with a dagger, and the spot where this rite is taking place is quite incomprehensible, as there is no inscription on it to explain its meaning. It is an oblong inclosure in a rocky place, with pillars and what seem to be the basements of columns, with two men within it, one of whom is handling the same symbol represented on the lower panel just beneath it. Outside the pillars a boy, or may be a eunuch, with a soldier, are walking towards the inclosure in front of the slaughtered bullock, the former crossing on an archway. On the top of the glen there is a building, which may be a temple, with a man standing in a ravine as if haranguing the approaching visitors.

On another band a pontoon bridge is represented, supported on circular boats, like the present Gooffas of Baghdad, on which a chariot carrying the royal standard is crossing, while the king himself is following in another chariot. The horses of both vehicles are being led, to avoid accident.

Another interesting scene is shown by the representation on

* There is an inscription over this scene, which is read by Mr. Pinches thus: "An image over against the sea of the land of Nairi I set up; victims to my gods I sacrificed."

† Above this representation, the following is inscribed: "I went down by the springs of the river; I sacrificed victims to the gods; captured and burnt with fire Kulsi the royal city of Mutzuati; set up an image of my Majesty."

the upper band of two boats resembling Venetian gondolas laden with tribute, towed by two men under the brow of a hill on which a palace is situated, supposed to belong to the king of Tyre or Sidon. In each boat there are two men, one steering and the other rowing. These are preceded by a number of men carrying tribute, consisting of gold ingots, silver bullion, large circular and square vessels, and some other small objects, all of them marching towards the king.* On the lower panel the king is represented receiving prisoners, some naked, whose hands are bound behind them; and others with hands free, but bound together by their necks, with the Sidonian city "Khazazi" in flames.†

The next most notable pictures, in my opinion, are those wherein are shown the mode of grinding corn,‡ roasting, and cooling their water in those days. The former is done in the same style now by the Abyssinians and Gallas, and the latter can be seen in almost every respectable house at Mossul and Baghdad. Only the roasting differs from the present practice in Mesopotamia, in having it performed on a table; but as the king is represented on a war expedition, and the table seems to be a folding one, it may be that that was the only way royal dinners were cooked on a march; but the fanning of the charcoal fire is practiced now in Biblical lands as it was formerly.

The reign of Shalmaneser II was very important, because he was the first king whom we know to have had warlike engagements with the Israelites. He was the one also who destroyed the Syrian league, and on the occasion of that victory the king of Israel, whom the Assyrians call Jaua-apil-Humri (Jehu, son of Omri), submitted and paid tribute. In a severe battle which was fought between the Syrian league and Shalmaneser, Ahab of Israel was said to have sent two thousand chariots and ten thousand footmen against the common enemy, but only to share the discomfiture of the allied forces.

In the meantime we had discovered, within sixty feet to the

* The inscription over this panel reads thus: "I received the tribute of the ships of the Tyrians and Sidonians."

† The epigraph reads thus: "The battle of Khazazi."

‡ The way the Abyssinians grind their corn is by placing the grain on a large basaltic stone, and crushing it with another, as it is shown on the bronze plate.

northwest, another copper monument half the size of the first; but instead of the plates being ornamented like those of the former with double rows of figures, they had only one set on each, and the representations were larger. This was found very much injured, and as soon as it was exposed to the air, it crumbled to pieces. In front of each of these monuments there was a marble platform, with a brick border constructed so coarsely that it looked more like the work of the Sassanians than that of the Assyrians. There was another fact connected with these platforms which convinced me that they were not of Assyrian origin, and that is, the non-existence of any inscription on the marble pavement of the platforms to indicate their history. It may be that they were originally covered with copper or other metal plating, but why the platforms were partly made of marble and partly of brick * is more than I can explain. The monument stood in front of the narrowest part, and on a level with it; the sockets being fixed at each corner, so that when the two leaves were opened they rested against the sides of the narrow ledge, as far as the widest part.

Some Assyrian scholars have supposed that these relics were gates of a temple, but I am of a contrary opinion, and consider them to have been mere monuments set up on the mound of Balawat in commemoration of certain events. In the place where they were discovered no trace of any wall or building was found; and, considering that the trophy itself must have stood at least twenty-four feet high, the huge building could not have vanished without leaving a trace even of its foundation. Moreover, when we consider that the other monument which was fixed parallel with it, about sixty feet apart, was not half its size, it would have looked unsightly whether in the same building, or separately. Within the same distance, and forming almost a square with these two platforms, I found two others which must have had other monuments in front of them, but no trace of them was seen. About twenty-five feet to the southwest of the large monument, and near the fourth, or western platform, we found a small room paved and walled with small marble slabs, also very unlike the Assyrian mode of building, and having no trace of any inscription on them. The walls were not more than four feet high, and contained no doorway. It looked as if it had been built as a store-room, and the entrance

* In this shape: T

into it was from the top. In one of the corners of the chamber we found a beautifully-carved ivory figure.

Other excavations were carried on in different parts of the mound by means of tunnels, but I soon discovered from the nature of the ground and other indications, that we were digging too deep, and I tried therefore to induce my Shabbak workmen and their chiefs to allow three of the tunnels to be thrown open. As soon as I succeeded in my endeavor to gain the desired end, I gave the necessary directions to the Jeboor and Shabbak workmen and their overseers, and went up to Mossul to attend to my other explorations.

It happened that before that day was over, while one of the Balawat gangs were breaking through a tunnel on the north side of the mound, they came upon the ruins of a temple, at the entrance of which a marble coffer was found, containing two beautifully-inscribed tablets hewn of the same material.* This discovery created immense excitement amongst the workmen and the neighboring villages. Early the next morning Mahmood Alfaraj sent to inform me of it, and begged me to hurry down to Balawat again, as a report had spread that a treasure-chest had been discovered, containing a fabulous amount of gold. Other credulous people had been impressed with the idea that the records were the very stone tablets of Moses, on which were inscribed the Ten Commandments. These reports made me hurry down to Balawat, as I did not know what the Shabbak workmen might be tempted to do, in case they believed the silly stories. I found, on arriving there, that my faithful Jeboor overseer, fearing lest some injury might be caused to the coffer or the tablets, if the Shabbak workmen proved troublesome, had covered them with a large quantity of earth, and he and his fellow Jeboors had kept watch over them all night. I found the excitement amongst all the workmen unbounded, and to please them I presented them with a day's wages all round, adding a few more piasters to the Balawat gang of workmen who had discovered the coffer. The distribution of this small present gave great satisfaction, and for a time it made the Shabbak workmen quite contented. My object was now to remove the coffer to Mossul as

* These tablets have been found to contain the name, titles, and conquests of Assur-Nasir-abli (or Assur-Nazir-pal), the father of Shalmaneser II, and it is found, from this inscription, that the mound of Balawat was called then Imgur-Bel.

soon as possible, as I did not know what an hour might bring forth, should the ignorant workmen believe the exaggerated reports of those who were jealous of our success. The difficulty to remove this huge block of marble to a distance of about fifteen miles without a cart, was more than my wits and engineering skill could accomplish. The wise saying of the preacher, "Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days," never came truer than in this, my perplexity; because, a few days before the discovery of the coffer, I had presented some of the marble slabs which were found in the mound to the Shabbak and Karakosh villagers. The former had chosen and removed the smallest of the slabs to their villages, and left the large ones for the Karakoshites, who wanted them for their church. As the latter could not remove them without a cart, they had sent and hired the only one in the country for that purpose. It arrived at the mound just in the nick of time, as I was puzzling my head how to accomplish the immediate removal of the marble coffer to Mossul. I had only to mention the fact of my difficulty to the Karakoshites, and they came most cheerfully to my help. Without much ado, they placed the coffer, then and there, into the cart, and pulled it to Mossul themselves, I acting as their guide.

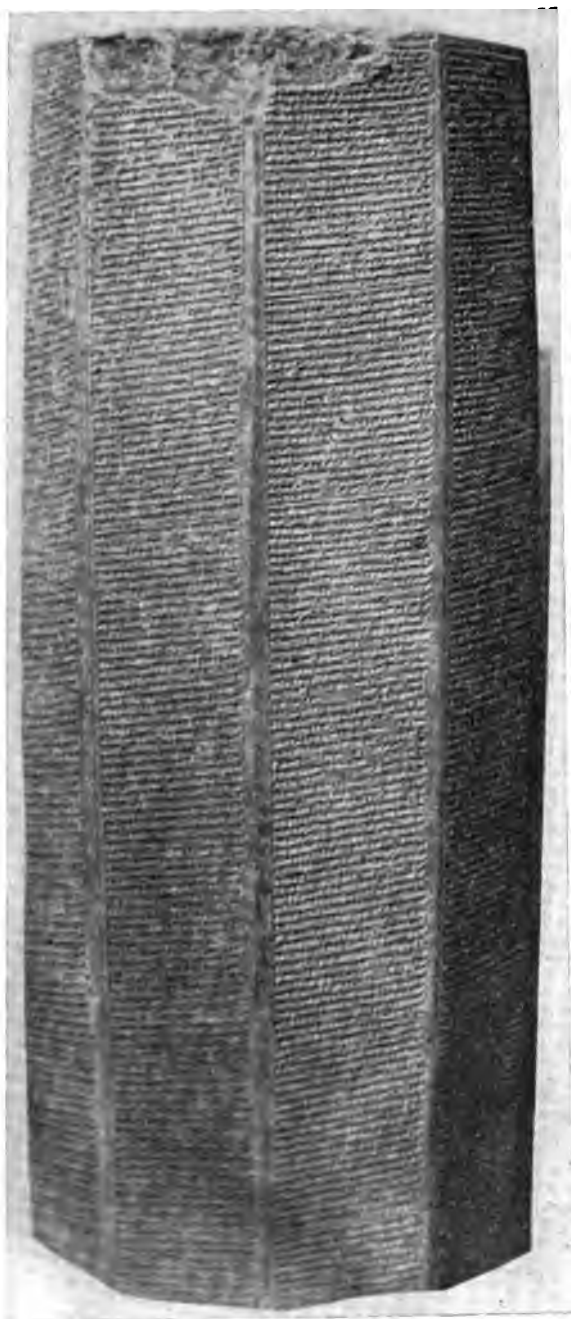
I found, on digging out the coffer, that it was placed at the entrance of a room which had been burned down, and proved afterwards to be a temple. At the northwest of this chamber there was an altar ascended by five steps, on which we found an inscribed marble tablet of the same size and shape as the other two which were found in the coffer. The cavity which contained them was large enough to admit a third, and this fact led me to believe that the tablet found on the altar belonged to the same set, and that before the priests had time to return it to its place the temple was burned down, either by accident or by an enemy. We found pieces of other tablets of different sizes mixed up with the débris; but they were so much burned and dilapidated that very few of them were worth bringing to England.

It happened that in this chamber a large quantity of human bones were found, which made the Shabbak workmen quarrel among themselves. One party wanted to stop digging, and others said that the bones belonged to the ancient Gentiles or some other unbelieving people, and they would therefore not give up working when the bones could be easily removed and buried in another spot.

Those of the Shabbak idlers who were not benefiting by our excavations sided with those who wanted to stop working, and abused the others who opposed them and wished to go on. This brought the strife to a crisis, because the chiefs who were in my pay took offense at the insolent demeanor of the mischief-makers, and declared that if all the workmen went away they would themselves dig on until I came. Their relatives and those who were favorably inclined to my continuing the excavations, drew their swords, and had not Mahmood Alfaraj advised them to leave the settlement of the dispute to me, there would have been a serious bloodshed. The most curious thing was that the man, a native of Kabarlee, who was foremost in the commencement of the work to prevent me from digging, turned now as my champion, and threatened the malcontents with vengeance if they dared to make any more fuss. He was engaged to be married to the daughter of the chief elder of Balawat, who had become my staunch supporter. I had lately been always welcomed to his house, and it was, therefore, only natural that the gallant young man should take my part and that of his future father-in-law, on this occasion.

A messenger was dispatched to me as usual, to inform me of the disturbance, and I was begged to hasten down to Balawat to prevent a serious outbreak. There were amongst the disaffected, desperate fellows, who were either deserters from the ranks, or those who had been outlawed. They defied the local authorities to get hold of them, and they were consequently independent in their actions. To say the truth, I began to be quite tired of these continual quarrels, and I was determined when I last went down to Balawat not to leave the place until I had closed the excavations altogether. My only reason for continuing the work there after the discovery of the coffer and its contents, was because I knew that if the works were closed, I should never have the chance of digging there again, and thus I was constrained to continue my researches a little longer. Moreover, I was told by a number of Balawat workmen that there were in the mound other ancient remains, and I was in hope that, by continuing my labors there, I might meet with some interesting object.

On this last occasion I took down my tents, which I caused to be pitched between the village and the mound. I found everything quiet, and the next morning all the workmen followed me to the



CLAY PRISM OF ASSUR-BANI-PAL, CONTAINING THE ANNALS OF
HIS REIGN (668-626 B. C.) THE ORIGINAL HAS TEN
SIDES; IS $19\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES HIGH, AND CONTAINS
1,303 LINES OF WRITING.

mound, and commenced work without a murmur; but when I returned to my camp to breakfast I heard a loud noise. On looking out of the tent I saw that there was a good deal of running about, and all the workmen were collecting with swords drawn around the site of the temple which I wished to have cleared out. I hastened forthwith to the spot, and on the way thither I was met by messengers who were dispatched by the overseer to ask me to go and stop the disturbance, which had been brought about by the workmen, who wanted to discontinue the excavations in the chamber on account of some graves which had been demolished by their fellow-laborers. I found on arriving there that all the workmen, excepting the Jeboors, were on the point of coming to blows, and two of the Balawat workmen busily engaged in doing away with a grave in the temple by the help of their daggers. They swore that the first person who interfered with them would be dispatched then and there with those very weapons, and their corpses left to rot with the bones of the infidels about whom they were quarreling. I told the conspirators that they ought to be ashamed of themselves for creating a disturbance about such a trivial matter, and added that if those who were adverse to digging out the remainder of the chamber would swear that the bones belonged to their forefathers, I would stop digging at once. For all I knew the bones might belong to murderers or enemies of their forefathers, which had been rotting there for hundreds of years. This made them laugh, and forthwith they all resumed work. One man, however, refused to do so, and kept abusing the rest for their wickedness and avarice; but on my handing him his day's pay and telling him he had better go home and avoid participating in our sins, he returned to work quite contented; and from that day forward there were no more disputes and quarrels. I must confess I was very glad when we cleared out the temple and withdrew from Balawat, which was, as its name means, "an affliction" to me! Before I closed my work there for good, I had the Assyrian well cleared out, hoping to find some ancient remains buried in it, but I was doomed to disappointment. We found an aqueduct running round the mound on the same level as the platforms, but could find no trace of it either at the temple or near the spot where the gates were discovered.

The Assyrians and Babylonians seem to have been very par-

ticular about their purifying and sanitary arrangements; because we find that, in every building or mound, ancient wells and aqueducts were erected as part and parcel of their domestic plans. In the royal palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal, or Sardanapalus at Nineveh, Assur-Nazir-pal (the father of Shalmaneser II) at Nimroud, and Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon, the aqueducts were built under the pavements, and were connected with the main water-courses outside the royal edifices.



BARREL CYLINDER OF SENNACHERIB, KING OF ASSYRIA (705-681 B. C.)

CHAPTER XI.

DURING the progress of my excavations at Balawat, my other explorations at Koyunjik and Nimroud were conducted under trustworthy overseers, whose primary duty was to search for inscriptions. At Koyunjik, where I had my headquarters and employed the largest number of hands, my operations were more successful, especially in the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal, and the records we found there proved a welcome addition to the libraries obtained by Sir Henry Layard and myself from Nineveh in 1850 and 1854. In the palace of the last mentioned king we discovered, buried in a wall, an almost perfect decagon terra-cotta cylinder, covered with nearly 1,300 lines of fine cuneiform characters, detailing the conquests and the extension of the sway of Assur-bani-pal. It was by a mere chance that this unique object was discovered; because, generally speaking, we did not waste our time and money in digging out solid brick walls to no purpose. As I was most anxious on this occasion that there should be no chance of losing the smallest piece of any inscribed object, especially as in some broken walls there were found remnants of Assyrian relics, I had given orders that when the workmen came to a broken wall they were to search it thoroughly. One day when I went to Koyunjik to examine the works, and was on the point of starting for Nimroud to see about my other excavations there, I was asked by the overseer superintending the excavations in the palace of Assur-bani-pal, if he was to demolish a small remnant of a brick wall which was left in digging out two chambers, or leave it to be covered over with the débris that came out of the excavations. On seeing that its removal would entail very little expense, I ordered it to be pulled down, and it appears that I had not gone two hours on my way to Nimroud before the digger came upon this valuable object buried in the center of the solid wall. It is most remarkable that I found a duplicate copy of this cylinder about twenty-five years previously not far from this spot; but the first was rather dilapidated and imperfect, the pieces having been found broken and mixed up with the earth.

I believe that these cylinders were placed formerly by the king's command in the solid walls to preserve them from fire or any other

injury. In the palace of Sennacherib, during the removal of the walls of one of the rooms, no less than four cylinders, facsimiles of each other, were found buried in them.

Formerly, when the reading of the cuneiform characters had not attained the present perfection, Assyrian explorers did not consider it worth the expense to clear out all the accumulated débris from the buried chambers; and so Sir Henry Layard and I tried, with the little money we had at our disposal, to procure for the British Museum only stone and marble monuments. Not that we ever threw away inscribed objects, and only valued sculptured antiquities; but as we were limited in our expenditure, and had only so many months in which to accomplish our missions, we could spare neither money nor time in clearing out all the rubbish from the different chambers we discovered. We could therefore only dig about five or six feet in front of the sculptured-faced walls, so as to allow space for the workmen to pass each other without hindrance. Since that time, however, there has been so much interest taken in the decipherment of the arrow-headed characters, especially since the Creation and Deluge tablets were read, that the trustees of the British Museum have been most anxious to obtain an additional supply to the already existing collection, and in completing the tablets which are considered most interesting to Biblical scholars. Since then I aimed not only to clear out all the chambers of the débris, but actually to break down every wall that seemed likely to contain relics of the past.

The uncovering of those chambers in the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal entailed a good deal of labor and expense on account of the accumulation of débris which was heaped over them from time to time by different explorers. I had in the first place to see that the earth was removed and thrown in the ravines and other localities where it would not be in the way of future excavations. We had to work hard before we could penetrate the interior of the ruin, but whenever we reached to the bottom of the chambers I was rewarded by the discovery of valuable inscriptions.

While digging in chamber F in Assur-bani-pal's palace at Koyunjik, we came upon a large sewer below the floor, built partly of molded bricks, representing Assyrian mystic figures, which evidently belonged formerly to an ancient building. Unfortunately, I was unable to find a complete set to make a whole bas-relief,



SITE OF THE TEMPLE OF ASSUR-NAZIR-PAL FOUND AT NIMROUD IN 1878 A. D.

because in one place we discovered a portion of the head, in another the feet, and in another, part of the wings, and so on.

In the palace we found one day a large number of Sassanian silver coins; and although the whole were not more than one hundred and forty-five, a report spread all over Mossul that a large treasure-trove had been discovered in the ruins, which created a great excitement amongst the Ottoman authorities. The imperial delegate hurried, without loss of time, to the spot with a large force of armed police with fixed bayonets, to guard the fabulous treasure. The disappointment of all can well be imagined when they found that the whole collection of coins was not more than a handful. According to the stipulation of my first firman, I was only allowed to appropriate on the part of the British Museum one-third of the relics, the owner of the mound one-third, and the rest were to be the share of the Ottoman authorities for the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. The local authorities, in this instance, wished to appropriate the portion belonging to the landlord, but as the latter had begged me to retain it for him, from fear of losing it altogether, I refused to give it up. The firman did not impose upon me the obligation of making over to the Turkish Government what is apportioned to the owners of the land where I was carrying on my explorations. The proprietor of Koyunjik was sent for by the authorities, who tried all they could, whether by threats or coaxing, to get him to make over to them his share of the coins; but he doggedly refused to do so, on the plea that he had already agreed with me that I should keep his share.

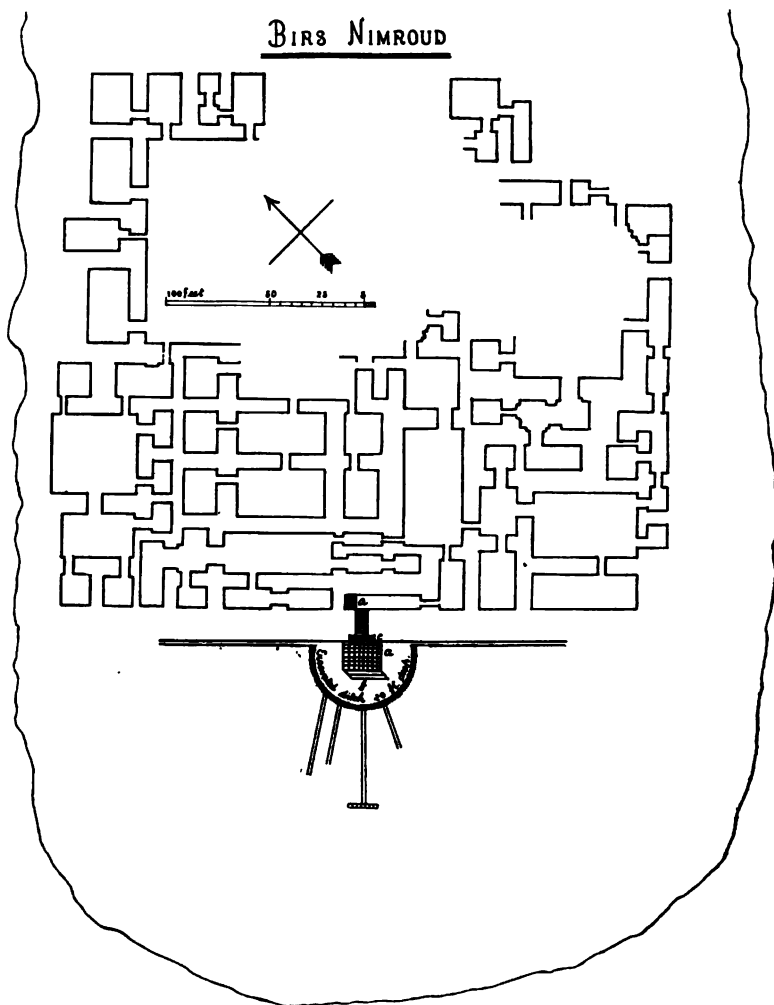
Most of the mounds in which ancient remains are found in Assyria and Babylonia belong to private families, and to enable explorers to excavate in them, it is necessary, independently of the firman, to indemnify the landlords before the work can be commenced. But it had always been the rule with Sir Henry Layard and myself not to enter into a regular agreement with the owners of the land, but merely to reward them with a small present, which we deemed sufficient for the purpose. It is gratifying to say that, during our several expeditions, we never experienced the least trouble, whether we were successful in our discoveries or not, and none of the landlords ever interfered in our arrangements, even if we chose to destroy or dig up all their ground, and render it unfit for cultivation. Indeed, a great

number never troubled themselves to ask for indemnification for any damage done, as they knew that we were sure to compensate them, and punish our employees if they wantonly did any damage to the property or trespassed on any domain without our sanction.

It was always considered and established as a precedent that we could dig anywhere we liked, as every one understood that we were always ready to give the necessary reward. I have been very often accosted on my travels by men and women who had an artificial mound in their patrimony or neighborhood, to go and examine the old ruins, which they assured me contained antiquities and treasure! Had I consented to follow the red-tape system, I might not only have been imposed upon, and made to pay exorbitantly for the privilege of digging, but I should, most probably, have been prevented altogether from attaining the object of my mission. It was particularly set forth in my firman that, to enable me to excavate in private ground, it would be necessary for me to obtain the sanction of the landlord,—as if I could possibly intrude on any private domain against the wishes of the owners. I was also prohibited from digging in a mound which contained a graveyard, or where the ground was considered sacred,—that is to say, all places that contain the remains of holy men, or of any shrine of a saint which is resorted to for devotional purposes. Had this clause been strictly adhered to, most of the valuable antiquities would have been now and forever lost to the National Museum.

Two incidents in connection with the landlords which occurred, one in Sir Henry Layard's time, and the other during my superintendence (with reference to the Sassanian coins already alluded to), raised us in the estimation of every one, especially those owners of land who possessed in their property ancient remains. When I rejoined Sir Henry Layard at Constantinople in 1849, one of the landlords of Koyunjik happened to be there soliciting some pecuniary assistance from two *grandees* of Mossul, who held high positions at the Turkish capital; but it appeared he did not meet with success. On finding him in distress, I represented his case to Sir Henry Layard, who immediately gave him a suitable present, which the poor old man never forgot to the day of his death, in the beginning of 1880. On returning to Mossul, he reported in high praise everywhere the kindness and liberality of the English;

BIR3 NIMROUD



and as he took care not to say what we gave him, it was thought that we had enriched him for life.

The Arabs are proverbially very grateful for any civility and attention they receive, and consider it a sacred duty to trust a friend. As for acts of liberality, they are considered to be as good as prayer and fasting; and to show how highly they appreciate generosity, they have a common saying that "a liberal man is beloved of God, though he be a reprobate." It is very difficult for a stranger, unaccustomed to Arab habits and customs, to deal with them in a way that would command implicit trust to either party; because, if a person is too lavish with his money he would either be thought a simpleton, or looked upon with suspicion, and be imposed upon accordingly; but should he, on the other hand, act stingily, he would be held in utter contempt. It is therefore not an easy matter to deal with an Arab when an important matter is to be settled.

Generally speaking, when I found that the ground which I wished to examine belonged to a private individual, I appointed two farmers to value the rent of the land with the loss of profit on its cultivation while I was making use of it, and paid the landlord a fair remuneration. I always left the option to the owners of the soil to let me refill the trenches and smooth down the furrows caused by my diggings, or allow them a sufficient sum to do the work themselves. Invariably the landlords chose the latter offer, as they could pocket the money and trust to time to do what is necessary.

In my explorations at Nimroud I discovered not far from the northwest palace a temple built by the same king, Assur-Nazir-pal; but the destructive enemy had so managed to make a thorough wreck of the whole structure, that there was no trace left of the walls.* Even the beautiful enameled tiles, which must have adorned the ceiling, were so thoroughly broken and scattered about in different parts of the ruin, that I could not complete one entire piece to bring to the British Museum, though more than half a dozen baskets were filled of the fragments found amongst the débris. From all I could make out, each tile was shaped like a Maltese cross, with a knob in the center bored through for the

* Plan 4.

purpose of hanging a lamp to it. Doubtless these tiles were placed in the ceiling between the beams, which gave a grand effect when the numerous lamps were lighted. The only objects that I found whole and standing in their original positions were a marble altar; and what seemed to me a vessel fixed in the floor of the room to receive the blood of the sacrifice. I also found, on the left of the altar, blocks of marble and stone, grooved on the top, which appeared to have been used as seats for the officiating priests. The marble seats were inscribed with an epitaph, which shows that they were dedicated by the builder of the northwest palace at Nimroud.*

I brought one of these seats to the British Museum as a specimen. Besides these, there were pieces of a very handsome tripod, round and square marble pillars, and about a dozen marble platforms of all shapes and sizes. Some of these were inscribed; but most of the characters were so much damaged and defaced that no one has, as yet, been able to decipher them. I believe that these platforms were dedicated to different deities for sacrificial purposes, and it is to be hoped that we shall find out from the dilapidated inscription the real history of that edifice.

From the position of this structure and other indications, it seemed to have been either part of the temple discovered by Sir Henry Layard near the Pyramid, or an annex to it. I was not able to trace the connection between the two, on account of the utter destruction of the northern limit of the ruin; I could, nevertheless, judge from the line it followed towards the Pyramid, that it must have had some sort of connection with it, both having been founded by the same king of the northwest palace.

At the southeast corner of the mound of Nimroud I discovered an ascending passage, inclosed by square stone walls, leading to an archway neatly built of kiln-burnt bricks. The whole aspect of the building made it look as if it had been the grand entrance to the royal mansions. Besides this and the ruin of the temple, together with a few fragments of inscribed clay and marble tablets, there was nothing discovered, as the mound had been well cut about by Sir Henry Layard and myself in years gone by. The only remaining sculptures of Sir Henry Layard's and my discoveries were about half a dozen bas-reliefs, representing the eagle-headed

* Assur-Nazir-pal.



ASSYRIAN ARCH, SHOWING THE GRAND ASCENDING ENTRANCE INTO THE
ROYAL PRECINCTS AT NIMROUD.

figure and horned priests, a few fragments of defaced sculptures, and the Colossus of Nebo standing in its original position. The latter was very much dilapidated, as the Arabs had been hacking it about with spears and stones, because they looked upon it as the idol of the old Gentile nations. When I discovered this statue, in 1854, I had it covered over with earth, as we were short of funds to have it sent to Baghdad for transport to England. It seemed that other explorers after me had it dug out, and left it exposed to the mercy of the Arab passers-by.

The term of my engagement having come to a close in March, the end of the official year, I began to prepare to start homewards, but as the dispute about the division of the antiquities which I had discovered was still going on between the local authorities at Mossul, the Ministry of Public Instruction at Constantinople, and myself, my departure had to be delayed for some time afterwards. I was also actuated by another reason to prolong my stay at Mossul for a few weeks, and that was my desire to work on at Balawat and Koyunjik when the days were longer and the weather more favorable.

The best time of the year for explorations in Mesopotamia is from September to November inclusive, and from the beginning of March to the end of May; because, during December, January, and February the days are short, and the weather generally wet; and from June to the end of August the heat of the sun is so powerful that even the Arabs become exhausted from its effects. I always found it, therefore, advantageous, both for economy and rapidity of operations, to lessen the number of workmen in the depth of winter and summer, and increase them in autumn and spring.

The terms of my firman were so stringent that if it had not been for Sir Henry Layard's influence at Constantinople, and the assistance of my friends at Mossul, it would have been quite impossible for me to conduct the explorations properly. The Porte promised Sir Henry Layard to send me a Vizierial letter, for the purpose of relieving me from the unnecessary interference of the local authorities; but when it came I found that, if I showed it to the authorities, I should gain no benefit, but, on the contrary, it might cause me serious trouble; because it not only repeated the objectionable clauses in the firman, but added a most injurious obligation upon us; namely, that we were to divide the antiquities

between the landlords and the Ottoman authorities, a necessity which was not defined in the royal mandate. As the majority of the mounds in Assyria and Babylonia are crown property, it meant that only one-third would fall to our lot, and the remainder would be claimed by the Ottoman Government. Moreover, the landlords were quite content, as I generally satisfied them with small presents; but if they would be instigated, through the interference of the local authorities, to claim the third of what we discovered, we should never be able to come to terms.

We were to divide all duplicates with the owners of the land and the Ottoman Museum; but should there be single objects found, they were to be valued, and whatever the price might be fixed at, we should be forced to pay it, deducting only one-third for our share. The firman did not specify who was to be the appraiser; and so if the local authorities were allowed any option in the matter, they would undoubtedly appoint their own man, and if he chose to set an exorbitant price upon any antique, we should be called upon to pay two-thirds of the amount, or forego the object altogether. It was also stipulated that an imperial delegate should be appointed to watch the explorations on the part of the Ministry of Public Instruction, and I was to pay, on the part of the British Museum, his salary and expenses. This obnoxious impost was, however, dispensed with afterwards on the representation of Sir Henry Layard. When this officer was first appointed he began to domineer over both the workmen and overseers, telling them that they must show to the guard (whom he placed to watch the excavations) everything they found; but finding that no one would listen to him, he began to give trouble through the authorities. When the Arabs were told that they must take everything to the delegate to be noted down, they said that, as they were the servants of the English, they could only take their orders from those who employed them. I was called upon by the governor of Mossul one day to lodge all the antiquities discovered under the lock and key of the delegate until such time as the antiquities could be divided; but I knew that if I consented to this arbitrary arrangement, I should not only be injuring our influence in the country, but risk the loss of valuable relics. Moreover, I should have had nothing to do but to be at the beck and call of the delegate; and when I wished to examine any of the discovered objects, he would create no end of difficulties. On telegraphing to Sir

Henry Layard regarding this fresh obstacle, he managed to rid me of it. The only controversy that remained when the time of my departure westward approached, was the taking away of the antiquities. In communicating with Sir Henry Layard on the matter, it was decided that I should take all the collection with me to Constantinople, and leave it to him to settle with the Porte about the division.

Besides these antiquities, I had to take with me some fine specimens of the old Nimroud colossal bas-reliefs, as a present to the Sultan from the trustees of the British Museum. Sir Henry Layard, in the first instance, asked me to obtain them for him to present to His Imperial Majesty; and on referring the matter to the British Museum, the authorities there sanctioned the outlay. As these sculptures were rather bulky, and I preferred taking them whole rather than having them cut in small pieces for the sake of easy transport, I had them thinned and carried on litters.

After all the cases of the antiquities were packed, both for the Sultan and the British Museum, for the long land journey, I started with a large cavalcade on the 17th of May, 1878. I chose this time the unfrequented path between Mossul and Nissibeen, via Homaidat and Chilligha, through Northern Mesopotamia. I preferred this route, though unsafe and lacking a supply of water, for two causes: first, there are no rivers to cross; and, secondly, it is shorter by at least fifty miles than the regular caravan highway on the left side of the Tigris via Jazeerah. This route is not taken advantage of by travelers and the natives of the country, because it is considered to be the haunt of Bedouin robbers and devoid of the necessary supplies, especially water; so if any one be plundered and left far away from inhabited parts, he might die in the desert from hunger and thirst. The authorities never encourage travelers to proceed westward by that route, and they generally show a great objection to supplying an escort to accompany a distinguished traveler by any road excepting that through which the imperial post passes. On this occasion, however, the authorities stretched a point, and allowed me ten mounted orderlies of the Alboo-Hammad as far as Nissibeen. The Alboo-Hammad Arabs are a small tribe inhabiting the right bank of the Tigris between Mossul and Kalaa-Shirgat. They all act as police for keeping order amongst the nomad Arabs; but a great number of them are desperate robbers themselves.

As soon as it was known that I was going to travel westward on the left side of the Tigris, all those who wanted to go to Aleppo, Diarbekir, or Orfa, came and begged me to allow them to accompany me for the sake of protection. As I never refused any party to travel with me, provided they agreed to the conditions I imposed upon them,—namely, to start and halt according to my convenience,—I consented to their joining my party. To my surprise, I found the next morning that my caravan was increased by at least one hundred men with as many animals, as it happened that a large number of traders, who were going to Aleppo via Jazeerah, had heard of my intention to proceed through the short route, and wished to profit by the opportunity.

According to rule, I traveled the first day only two hours and a half, as far as Homaidat, where I found the inhabitants encamping outside the village in a delightful green spot. I had my tents pitched on the slope of the hill, where there was a good deal of pasture. A large number of friends and relatives accompanied me as far as that place, and the next morning they all returned to Mossul.

We started from Homaidat at 5.15 on the morning of the 18th, and had not gone two miles before we saw an Arab grandee making post-haste towards us on a swift dromedary. There is no mistaking a Bedouin of position for a common Arab, because, while the former generally ride on a well-caparisoned dromedary, whose locomotion is recognized in a moment, the latter either travels on foot or rides an awkward camel. There was a tremendous commotion amongst the Mossul merchants and muleteers consequent upon the appearance of the young Shaikh, who they feared would levy a heavy blackmail upon their goods. I found afterwards he was Ghatheeth, son of Somair, a well-known brave Shammer chief of the Zaidan clan. Indeed, he had already begun to mulct the traders of some clothes and utensils; and on my sending for him and remonstrating with him on this unbecoming conduct, he disavowed all malicious intention with regard to the communication that had passed between him and the party in question. He admitted that he had received some little things from them, but declared they were merely presents and not impost. He promised faithfully that he would keep away from them and attach himself to me until he saw me safely out of that lawless district; and he kept his word right loyally. He accompanied me as far as Chilligha,

the first village on the border of the Nissibeen Province, and then left to return to his encampment, which was not far thence.

At 10.30 A. M. we arrived at Kasik, and after my escort and I halted there about an hour to give our horses some green food, we resumed our journey and reached Higua at 2.30 P. M. We found the natives of the village encamping some distance off, and so we halted on the bank of the brackish rivulet bearing the same name, where there was good pasture. The next day we started at 3.30 A. M., and made a short stage as far as Owainat at eight o'clock, where we halted for the day, as I had intended to make a long journey during the night, there being no water the whole way. At Owainat there was a remnant of a brackish stream, with here and there a pool of stagnant water, only fit for washing purposes; but we were obliged to cook our breakfast and dinner of it, and my followers were not over-fastidious about drinking it.

Though when we left Mossul the cornfields and pasturage were quite parched up, the country from Homaidat northward was rich with verdure, and many spots were thick with clover, which our horses enjoyed. I deemed it advisable, for the sake of those followers who had no vessels for carrying water with them, to start at 6.30 P. M., and went on until we reached Irmaila about six o'clock on Monday, the 20th of May, when we halted for the day on the swampy little rivulet below the mound, where there was plenty of green food for our animals. This water was better than any of the streams and pools which we passed since we left Mossul, though it had a stagnant taste. We resumed our journey at four P. M., and reached Chilligha in two and a half hours' ride. Near the village we passed a copious stream running towards Sinjar, the water of which was very good. I encamped near the chief, Miraan Agha, who invited me on my arrival to his tent, where I had some refreshment and coffee. Firhan Pasha, the Shaikh of all the Shammer Arabs, had married off his renowned handsome daughter, at whom all the Arabs laughed because she wore drawers, as she was on her father's side of Koordish descent. I had some labban, or clotted milk, at Calligha, which might be mistaken for cream, and I learned afterwards that Chilligha was famous for this concoction. As I had an early dinner at Irmaila, and I felt rather tired, I took a cup of tea and went to bed soon after my arrival.

We left Chilligha at 3.15 A. M., and went on until we reached, about five o'clock, a patch of green pasture thick with clover,

where I halted about half an hour with my escort to give our animals some food. As soon as the caravan passed, we resumed our journey, and reached the village called by the Arabs "Kooboor Albaidha," and by the Koords "Tirba-spee" (or white tombs), at 8.15 A. M. Here I halted with my escort at the chief's tent, where I was very hospitably received. My host tried all he could to induce me to stay long enough to give him time to slaughter a sheep and cook it for me. I thanked him for his civility, and told him that I was in a hurry to push on. Just as I was starting we saw signs of unusual commotion around the villages lying at the foot of the hills,* which made my host take up his arms and hasten towards the scene of conflict, and immediately hundreds of other Koords began to run towards the same direction. I learned afterwards that a party of Koords, to avenge themselves of some old grievances, had come down from the mountains to plunder and burn every village whose inhabitants were unable to oppose them. While I was going on I could see the deadly strife rampant all along the foot of the mountain, and the sound of firing was heard incessantly. I have no doubt that, by the end of the day, many a man was either killed or wounded, and a number of poor women and children left destitute. It is very melancholy to see that, within a few miles of two important Pashalics, people are allowed to take the law into their hands, just because the authorities do not render the aggrieved party the proper protection, either from their inability to do so, or for the sake of pecuniary advantage. The whole country has gone to rack and ruin through misgovernment and apathy, and it is laughable to notice how grandly Ottoman officials talk on European politics, and yet they can not manage the affairs of their country properly.

After an hour's ride we reached the village of Daggir, where we halted for the rest of the day. I had intended to push on to Tel-Ash-shaaeer, about three miles further, in order that we might be within a short distance of Nissibeen; but my muleteer did not like to pass that delightful spot, where there was a copious river flowing, and its banks thick with pasture. He excused himself by saying that at Tel-Ash-shaaeer there was only indifferent well-water, and no food for the animals. He promised that if I halted at Daggir he would take me into Nissibeen the next day at the

* Southernmost limit of the Koordistan Mountains.

same time as if I had not tarried there. Having approved of that arrangement, especially as I found that my followers were longing to halt there, I ordered all the baggage to be unloaded. I had my tent pitched on the left bank of the clear stream, and allotted the opposite side to the traders.

There is a very large mound near the river on which the village is built, and had I time I would have tried a trench or two in it. From its summit another much larger mound could be seen standing about five or six miles southward, called "Lailan," which I was told had a wall round it like most of the Assyrian sites of importance. I had a great desire to go and examine it, but could not afford the time. I hoped, however, when I should be in that neighborhood again, to be able to visit it and try it for a short time.

We had a long and pleasant halt at Daggir, and left that place at 1.30 the next morning. As soon as the day dawned, part of my escort and I pushed on to Nissibeen, which we reached in about five hours' ride, and the luggage arrived about half an hour after us. To avoid living in the town I had my tents pitched outside, near the high road to Aleppo; but it was difficult to find a plot of ground free from the common brier of the country, which grows most luxuriantly around the place as high as four feet. Wherever thorns and briars are found in abundance, it is always a sure sign of poverty and neglect. The governor was away, but the commissioner of police called on me as soon as I arrived, and tendered me his services.

Nissibeen has been the scene of many a conflict between the Romans and Persians; and ultimately, in A. D. 363, the Emperor Jovian was compelled to patch up an ignominious and humiliating treaty, in which he relinquished to the victorious Sapor the five provinces which comprised the limit of ancient Assyria proper on the left side of the Tigris, and all the Roman possessions in Mesopotamia. This did not quite satisfy the ambitious "great king," for he further glutted his vengeance on the brave but helpless citizens by giving them the alternative of exile or servitude.

Nissibeen, which was formerly one of the most famous cities in Northern Mesopotamia, and the seat of the Nestorian Christian missions and learning, is now a heap of ruins. It can scarcely boast of a single respectable habitation; and since I visited it with Sir Henry Layard, in 1847, it has gone from bad to worse. When

Assyria was the ruling power in those realms, Nissibeen must have been a place of some consequence, both for the richness of its produce and the command it must have had over the highland and lowland tribes. From its high position, the number of its rivers, and the fertility of its soil, the whole province can be cultivated from the Khaboor to the Tigris. Even now, with a little capital and under a good government, one might earn his twenty-five per cent without any difficulty, if the land is put under a proper tillage. In one part of its northeastern limit bordering on Jazeerah, water-melons grow so luxuriantly that their sweetness is proverbial all over the country. The Arabs make a quantity of syrup from that fruit, and I believe, from the taste I have had of some, that sugar could be easily extracted from it to the extent of forty per cent, which would cost about a farthing a pound; whereas, the present price of sugar in that country, whether loaf or moist, is about fourpence.

We left Nissibeen at a quarter past three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, there being nothing particular to induce me to spend the night there. We then halted, after three hours' ride, at the village of Alkisoor, or Kassir-Sarchakhan (the former being its Arabic, and the latter its Koordish name). I had my tent pitched outside the village, and as soon as we arrived we were swarmed with almost all the female inhabitants of the place, bringing for sale milk, labban, bread, and grass for our animals. One pretty Koordish girl insisted upon receiving an extra present (I suppose for the pleasure of looking at her!), and finding we were in want of water, she went and fetched us as much as we needed.

We left Alkisoor at three A. M., and after my escort and myself losing on the road about one hour and a half, by halting no less than three times to allow the luggage to overtake us, we reached Tel-Armun at twelve, noon. I had my tents pitched in front of Kooch-hissar, a Koordish village, which is situated a distance of about a thousand yards. Tel-Armun is inhabited by Armenians, and I preferred the Moslems' village because its inhabitants were camping outside, where there was good pasture. I had my tent pitched near that of the chief, a venerable old man, who was extremely courteous, and rendered me every assistance I required. Just as I was giving directions to the servants where to pitch my tent, the chief of Tel-Armun came to inform me that the Reverend Mr. Andrus, the head of the American mission at

Mardeen, had come down to meet me, and was awaiting my arrival at his house. He had asked me to pay him a visit on my way to Aleppo, and as I found I could not spare the time to go up to Mardeen, I wrote and informed him of my inability to do so; but as he knew when I should be passing through that neighborhood he came down himself to see me. He was ready to have his breakfast, and I was glad to join him, as I had had no regular meal that morning, and a cup of good tea was most refreshing. Mrs. Andrus was kind enough to send me a hamper for my own use, containing some of her home-made bread and cakes, which proved most acceptable on the journey. After breakfast we repaired to my tent and spent the afternoon together. Soon after dinner, my friend left me, as he knew that I had to go to bed betimes, to enable me to resume my journey early next morning.

We all overslept ourselves, and so could not start before four o'clock. Our poor animals suffered intensely to-day from the attack of ravenous large flies, which swarm in those regions in spring. The most malignant are found in the lake valley of Antioch, and at the time of the year when they are plentiful, those who do not like to see their dumb animals tortured, and they themselves shaken about like a palm in a hurricane, contrive to travel early in the morning and late in the afternoon, when the heat of the sun is not so great. When the weather gets very hot, the flies increase in fierceness; but when it is cloudy those parasites are dormant, and very seldom rise from the ground. I have seen some animals literally covered with blood from the bites of those flies. Some are large and some small; but the former, which are about four times larger than the ordinary flies, are the most troublesome, especially that species of them which have green heads. I generally carried a green twig when I met with that plague, and beat them off right and left. We passed to-day through most fertile country, but very little of it was inhabited or cultivated. Some of the hay grew as high as a good-sized pony, and, as a matter of course, our animals had plenty to eat. We reached our halting-place, called Tel-hillallee, at 12.30 P. M., and encamped below the mound on the right bank of the river bearing the same name. There was no village there, but merely an encampment of Yezedees of the Dinna tribe, whose chief came to visit me soon after my arrival, and complained of the oppression and extortion of the Ottoman authorities. Here also the women brought us a quantity of rich milk and

labban, which rejoiced my followers. My escort did not relish the idea of sleeping near the encampment of the "Devil-worshippers," as they looked upon them as a very treacherous people; and being the "followers of Satan," all true believers considered them to be the natural enemies of "God's worshipers." It was reported that, a few days before, some Bashi-bazooks were "swallowed up" by them, and no trace could be seen of them anywhere. The vegetation here was most luxuriant, and I have no doubt all the muleteers longed to spend two or three days in that delightful spot, especially as time was no object to them, and they had nothing to pay for the feed of their animals.

We resumed our journey at 1.45 A. M., and went on until we reached Wairan-Shahr at 10.15, and encamped on the right bank of the stream outside the village. This is a seat of a Kayim-Makkam, whose Sarai, or palace, is situated within the ruins of an ancient city, wholly built of huge, smoothly-hewn black basalt. It is supposed to be the same as Sinna, mentioned by Ptolemy and Assemanni, which was in olden days a Chaldean city. The crosses engraved on the portals of the sepulchers and the architecture of the churches prove beyond doubt that its founders were Christians. The town itself must have been at least three miles in circumference, but the principal part of the city, which is built in the shape of a square, lies within a compass of about 2,500 yards. The latter consists of square and round towers, churches and domains of the principal inhabitants, and, being wholly built of black basalt, gives a dismal appearance to the place. The houses were constructed of the same material, and have semicircular arches; but the most remarkable are the tombs, which are numerous and called by the natives "baths." They are most curious, both as regards their construction and style, and boast more of the physical power of the age than of art. The doors of these sepulchers are hewn of one solid piece of basalt, which revolve upon hinges cut of the same block. These huge doors are so heavy that it requires two strong men to move one, though they are not more than four feet in height. In the center of the town there is a clear and wholesome spring, with others flowing in different parts of the suburbs. The whole aspect of the ruins shows as if the place was destroyed by an earthquake or some other natural convulsion.

There were a large number of Christians there with a priest, who came from different parts of the neighborhood for the pur-

poses of trade; not that there was much business done in the place, but their industry depended, in a great measure, upon goods bartered for amongst the nomad Koords of the Kara-gaitchee and Millee tribes, who live near Wairan-Shahr.

The next day, being Sunday, we rested all day, which was a great boon to my followers and myself, as we had not had one clear night's rest ever since we left Mossul. Even the animals seemed to enjoy the long halt, especially as they had there plenty to feed upon, and no lack of good water.

The Kayim-Makkam of Wairan-Shahr was away at the shrine of Nebbi-Allah-Aioob (that is, the Prophet of God, Job), settling a serious quarrel amongst the neighboring Koords; but his deputy came and paid me a visit in the morning, and apologized that he was not able to supply me with any escort, as every available Dhabtia had been sent on special service. He advised me, however, to apply for the requisite number of men to the Kayim-Makkam, whom I should find on my way not more than two hours' ride thence, and he himself would provide me with a guide to take me thither.

The muleteers were most dilatory that afternoon in loading their animals, as they wished to spend another night there, on account of the rich pasture; but as I had to visit the Kayim-Makkam of Wairan-Shahr, and could not afford to prolong my stay there, we started at five P. M. My guide and I pushed on to the "holy shrine," which we reached after two and a half hours' rough riding through a rugged path and ugly furrows. The luggage did not reach us until ten o'clock, which delay made me very anxious, as I was afraid that some serious mishap had befallen our animals and the antiquities. I was told that it took the muleteers nearly two hours to thread their way with the large cases through the worst part of the road, not more than a couple of miles in length, as they had to support the animals and litters every foot of ground they passed over.

I found the Kayim-Makkam of Wairan-Shahr with the governor of Swairak closeted together with a special Turkish commissioner in the Takia,* consulting about the affairs of the Millee and Kara-

* A Takia, means a Mohammedan monastery, where there is generally a shrine of a prophet or a saint; and though the Moslems have no monks or any order sworn to cellbacy, yet those who are ap-

Gaitchee tribes, amongst whom a bloody contest was being carried on. They had already imprisoned the Millee chief and were engaged in sifting through the quarrel of the contending parties. The general belief was that neither one faction nor the other would gain any benefit from the deliberation of the two Ottomans, but each would be fleeced two or three hundred pounds.

The Kayim-Makkam protested that he had not one spare Dhabtia to escort me, because a large number had been discharged for want of funds, and the few that remained had been sent on different duties. The Kayim-Makkam of Swairak, however, came to my assistance, and supplied the necessary escort to take me to Orfa. I had a very great difficulty to find a proper camping-ground round the Takia, the whole vicinity being stony and dirty; and in the darkness of the night it was beyond one's power to hit upon a convenient spot. At last we managed to make shift, and both man and beast had to pass the night as uncomfortably as one could imagine.

We did not start the next morning before five o'clock, as it was found that it would be unsafe to load the baggage animals in that rugged ground before dawn.

We had a delightful journey this morning, though a part of the road was very stony and trying to the beasts of burden. As the tribe of the Kara-gaitchee was encamping near the highway, and the tent of the chief, Aiwoob Bey, was within a stone's-throw of my path, I thought it good policy to pay him a visit for a few minutes while the baggage animals were threading their way through the rugged path. I found the chief was away; but his family received me very civilly, and tried very hard to induce me to stay and have something to eat. I thanked them for their hospitality, and said that I had already breakfasted; but I refreshed myself by a drink of delicious sour milk. The chief possessed an unmarried daughter, whose beauty was the theme of the neighborhood and the dream of the roving beaus. She was certainly one of the most elegant and lovely girls I ever set my eyes upon, either in the East or West. At 3.30 P. M. we reached our halting-place, Ooch-Koyu (the three wells in Turkish), and encamped in a rich meadow below the mound to the west of the village, near some

pointed to guard places of sanctity lead the life of a Darweesh, or a recluse. All Takias are supported by religious offerings, or by endowments bequeathed by pious Moslems.

springs, and the natives of the place brought us everything we wanted, and rendered us every assistance possible. There was a good deal of thunder and lightning around us in the afternoon, but very little rain fell where we were. I met a man there who told me that he had been employed for several years at the English post-office at Alexandria, and, as a matter of course, he was amongst the foremost who rendered me active service.

We departed from Ooch-Koyu at four A. M., and passed a fine, clear spring about 9.30, where there were a large number of mulberry-trees, and after another hour's ride we halted at Adana, under some apricot-trees to the south of the village. Here also there is a very large spring, called Joolab, which is formed into an extensive and deep pool. The owner of the garden, who was averse at first to allowing me to take my quarters there, became extremely civil after he got acquainted with me. He brought his three children to see me, and I gave them some sweetmeats, which seemed to please him not a little. We resumed our journey at four P. M., and reached Gog-Teppa (Heavenly Hill, in Turkish) at seven o'clock. We halted there for the night on the right bank of the stream, north of the village. Opposite my tent, and on the other side of the rivulet, there was a beautifully clear spring, dug out of the gravelly soil.

It had blown a regular hurricane during the night of May 28th, and the wonder was that my tent did not come down. We left Gog-Teppa at three A. M., on the 29th, and reached Orfa, the ancient Edessa, at five o'clock, just as the sun was rising. I did not enter the town, but went straight to the Jacobite Church of Mar Gaiwargees (St. George, in Aramaic), outside the wall, where I had lodged on a former occasion. I preferred staying outside on account of the bulky antiquities I had with me; because, in the first place, we should have found it difficult to get the litters through the narrow streets; and, besides, I knew no one in the place with whom I might sojourn pleasantly. Kas Bolous, the incumbent of the Church, was extremely civil, and left the whole of the establishment at my disposal. As he was a member of the local Council of State, I asked him to communicate my arrival to the governor, who in return sent the commissioner of police to welcome me. Soon afterwards a large number of the Christian inhabitants of the place came out to visit me, amongst whom was Alias Effendi, the head of the Protestant community. Urfa, or Orfa, commonly styled by the

ancients Edessa, played a conspicuous part in its primitive existence, both in the political and religious concerns of the Eastern Church; and at one time it was the capital of a small but important kingdom called Osrhoene.

Under the very walls of Edessa the Roman and Persian armies met in the third century of the Christian era, to contest the sovereignty of the East, which event proved most disastrous to the former and a great triumph to the latter. The Emperor Valerian was taken prisoner by Sapor, and his whole army had to lay down their arms in despair and disgrace. Orfa is also famous in ecclesiastical history. In the fifth century of the Christian era the so-called Nestorians' heresy was defended and promulgated throughout Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Persia. The great champion of that ill-omened dispute and warm supporter of Nestorius was Barsoma, who for forty-five years labored with unremitting zeal to strengthen the Nestorian doctrine in the Persian Dominions. He was educated in what was called in those days the "Syrian School" at Edessa, and in consequence of the extreme views he held against the accepted dogma of the Catholic Church, he was expelled with all his adherents, and in 435 he became Bishop of Nisibis.

Orfa has also been traditionally reputed to be the Ur of the Chaldees, and the birthplace of Abraham.

As regards the position of Orfa, it is one of the most picturesque towns in Mesopotamia; and had it been under any other Government but that of the benighted Turk, it would have vied in beauty and wealth with the most flourishing cities in the world. Being situated on an eminence, with copious rivulets running in all directions, and commanding fertile plains stretching far and wide, its produce might prove a source of incalculable riches. Its annual export of cereals to Europe, until lately, when scarcely one-fiftieth part of the land is under tillage, is very great. Nearly ten miles of the land in front of the town is studded with private and public gardens, and in the town of Orfa itself a large number of the houses of the well-to-do inhabitants contain pleasure-gardens.

I had intended to start from Orfa about ten o'clock in the evening of May 29th; but, having overslept myself, the muleteers did not take the trouble to load till nearly eleven, and so we could not make a move before 12.30 the next morning. In going to Orfa from the southeast and east, the road is flat and tolerably smooth; but in proceeding north to Beerajeeck it becomes rough and steep;

and as we had with us heavy boxes and clumsy litters to move, the muleteers had a difficult job to take them through the ups and downs of the rugged defiles. Fortunately all the cases of antiquities passed through the intricate passes without any damage or mishap. In consequence of some rain that fell the night before, we found the day cool and delightful. We reached our halting-place, Charmarik, at 9.30 A. M., and to avoid the dirty village I encamped on a high hill overlooking the plain. There is a khan there for the use of travelers, but I was told that it was not fit for any human being to rest at. We met on our way to Charmarik hundreds of camels carrying grain to Alexandretta, and others returning with European goods to Orfa to exchange for corn.

I had the same difficulty in the evening of May 30th to get the muleteers to move, as they preferred enjoying their sleep rather than to get up and load before midnight; but as I disliked traveling in the heat of the day, I invariably accomplished the greater part of my journey at night, as I could then have a long rest in comfortable quarters. Whenever I wished to travel at night I had my dinner before sunset, and as soon as it got dark I lay down to sleep for three or four hours, and instructed the watchman, who used to be generally my landlord, to awake the muleteers at a certain time to give their animals a feed about half an hour before they began to load; and, in the meantime, they would be preparing the luggage for that purpose. Very often when I awoke, I found the watchman fast asleep, or else protesting that he was quite hoarse from calling upon the muleteers to get up, but that no one would give heed to him. The first thing the muleteers begin to do on being called to get up, is to curse their lot and abuse their subordinates. If a traveler wants to have peace he must not mind the grumbling of the muleteers, nor their sulks. It is very rarely that one falls in with a man who does not create difficulties and make mountains of molehills!

After no lack of scolding and coaxing, we managed to start at 12.45 A. M., May 31st; and as soon as the sun rose, my cook, chief escort, and myself, pushed on to Beerajeeek, which place we reached at 8.30 A. M.; but the luggage did not arrive till an hour after us. I found, on arriving there, that the place was thronged with hundreds of camels, horses, and mules, conveying corn westward; and all the market-places and lanes were strewn with bales of merchandise, which were going to Europe or coming from Mesopotamia.

There was scarcely a vacant space to walk through, much less to pass heavily-laden animals. I had therefore to send to the governor for his assistance, who cordially supplied me with a body of police to clear the way, and enable me to have the antiquities sent across the Euphrates without the risk of damage. Threading one's way through the town was bad enough; but when we came to get into the boats the press was overwhelming. The stubborn camels and mules literally would not go backward or forward; and when the police tried to clear the way, some of the former went down on their foreknees and began to roar, and neither cudgeling nor coaxing would make them move. About half a dozen of the latter fell to kicking right and left, and their pranks completed the confusion. It was a great relief to me when I saw all my belongings safely across without the least mishap. As we had a long journey that morning, and it was anything but smooth sailing to take across huge cases of antiquities with nearly two dozen animals in rickety boats half filled with bilge-water, I made up my mind to halt for the day at the village of Koofla, situated on a hill about a mile from the river. Although I reached Beerajeeb at half-past eight o'clock in the morning, we did not quite settle ourselves down before 12.30 P. M. As I wished to start again about midnight, I had my dinner early, and lay down to sleep for a few hours, after having given the usual direction to the muleteers to prepare to start at a certain hour.

On June 1st, as usual, I was the first to awake and call every one to get up and do his work; and after no end of scolding and threatening, we managed to make a start at two o'clock A. M. Having been told that by going direct from Koofla to Alexandretta without passing through Aleppo, the muleteers would save a day of the journey, I allowed them to do so, especially as by taking that route they would avoid the craggy ups and downs between Aleppo and the valley of the Orontes. I myself was obliged to proceed to Aleppo to obtain from the authorities there the necessary documents to enable me to embark the antiquities on board the steamer without any interference on the part of the Alexandretta custom-house people. Though there is no custom-house at Aleppo, being situated in the interior, the commissioner of customs resides there, as it is the seat of the governor-general and headquarters of the Province. This inconvenient practice is a great drawback to men

of business, because sometimes a week, and even a month, is lost in writing backwards and forwards about a little dispute; but time is no object to our friends, the Turks, and thus they do not consider it a great hardship to make people wait for an indefinite time about a trifling matter!

As soon as it was daylight my guide and I hurried on to Zamboor, where I had intended to halt; but finding that my companion could not keep up with me, I left him and cantered alone to the village, which I reached at 7.30. It may be remembered that I passed through Zamboor on my way out a few months before, and as I was very hospitably entertained by the chief of the village, Shareef Dadda, and his family, I thought I could not do better than go to them again; but on reaching their house I found the inmates were Armenians instead of Turcomans. I was told that the village had been farmed by a man of the former nationality, and those were his family who had taken possession of the whole house. I also learned that my Turcoman friends had removed to Mookboola, about three miles to the northeast, and as I knew that my luggage would be passing very near there, I proceeded thither to see whether it would be worth my while to spend Sunday at that place, or go on to the river Sajoor, about three miles to the west of Zamboor, where there was abundant pasture for our animals.

I found, on arriving at Mookboola, that a branch of that river passed near the village, where there was abundance of pasture, and as I was heartily welcomed by my old friend, Fatima, who pressed me to spend my leisure hours with them, I consented to do so. Indeed, before I had made up my mind what to do, she ordered the reception-room to be swept and watered, and sent a horseman to fetch my followers, who had just made their appearance in the far horizon, saying at the same time that they had plenty of pasture and water there as could be found in other places. Neither her husband, Shareef Dada, nor her daughters were at home, as it was harvest-time, and they were all engaged in reaping. They arrived, however, soon afterwards, and offered me their congratulations on my safe return. The married daughter was still living in the unhappy state of uncertainty, and her admirers were still hankering after her future release from the shackles of her ill-omened marriage.

Sunday, June 2d, I spent quietly at Mookboola, and the animals

had a good rest and plenty to eat. I dined rather early, and went to bed soon after sunset, as I wished to travel at night. Moostaffa Effendi, the lessee of the village, who was staying in the house, undertook to awake the muleteers, and he certainly kept his word. To be more sure of the time he asked me to lend him my watch, as he was able then to call them at the appointed time. We started at 11.30 P. M., and went on until we reached Wakoof, at 7.30 A. M. I went directly to the chief of the village, Mohammed Agha, who was famed for his hospitality and civility. He gave me a large airy room to rest in during my sojourn there; but I sent the muleteers to encamp outside the village, as I wished to resume my journey in the afternoon. The Kadhee of Huzzo in Koordistan, whom I met there ten months before, arrived at Wakoof in the afternoon on his way back to Constantinople. He took his quarters outside the village with my followers, and at sunset (seven o'clock) we all started together for Aleppo. The poor Kadhee was in great distress on account of a mule which was stolen from him the night before. He was put to great inconvenience in consequence, as he had to divide its luggage amongst the other beasts of burden, which were already overladen.

As soon as it was daylight one of my escort, attendant, and I, pushed on to Aleppo, which place we reached at six A. M., but the luggage did not arrive till an hour after us. I was so sleepy at night that I nearly fell off my horse half a dozen times; and on reaching Aleppo I felt extremely fatigued, after a dreary ride of eleven hours. I went to the British consulate at Azezeyea outside the town, as I had been kindly invited by Mr. Patrick Henderson to stay with him while I remained at Aleppo. He had succeeded Mr. Skene, who had retired from the service, but had not left the place, and was still living in the old consulate. Mr. Henderson had hired the house of the Syrian patriarch, within a stone's-throw of it, as he did not care to disturb his predecessor as long as he remained at Aleppo.

Her Majesty's Government could not have chosen a more able and competent consul to fill that important post than Mr. Henderson. His fame and the reports of his good management of consular affairs had spread far and wide not many days after he assumed his official work. Even in dealing with one of the most obstinate and crooked-going Pashas amongst the Ottomans, who

happened to be the governor-general of Aleppo at that time, he always got the better of him in all his trickery.*

This Kamil Pasha, who was converted from Judaism to Islamism, had acted formerly as governor of a port in Tripoli, in North Africa, from whence he was turned out on the representation of the British ambassador at Constantinople for some irregular proceeding. The consequence was, he had no love for the English, and always tried in every way to create difficulties whenever an English matter required settlement. He was also removed from Aleppo afterwards, through the instrumentality of the British authorities at the Turkish capital, for his mismanagement of affairs amongst the Zaitoon Christians. This was very unfortunate for me, because his second disgrace made him more bitter than ever against us, and having been afterwards appointed by the Porte Minister of Public Instruction, under whose jurisdiction all archaeological researches in Turkey were placed, he tried every way he could to thwart the British authorities in reference to our explorations; and ultimately he succeeded in stopping altogether the excavations carried on for the British Museum, as I shall show hereafter.

After having spent three days at Aleppo in trying to obtain the necessary papers to enable me to embark the antiquities at Alexandretta without much bother, I started for that port, thinking that everything was properly arranged; but I was doomed to disappointment, for, on arriving at Alexandretta, after three days' march, I found that one of the documents addressed to the assistant commissioner of customs at that port contained an ambiguous order with regard to allowing the antiquities to leave the port without hindrance. The whole of the billet was couched in favorable terms regarding my personal comfort, as I had the honor of possessing a most courteous firman, but at the end the director of customs was told that he was to do everything "according to rules and regulations." On referring to the customs regulations, the responsible officer found it strictly laid down therein, that before any antiquities could be allowed to leave the port of embarkation they must be examined, and the proper duty be charged on their stipu-

* This unfortunate gentleman ended his life by shooting himself in the Foreign Office in London some years afterwards through disappointment.

lated value. I tried to explain, through Mr. Catoni, the British vice-consul, that it would damage some of the antiquities to have them opened; and, even if I allowed them to be examined, there was no one at Alexandretta who could value them. Nor could I pay any duty on them before I referred the matter to Constantinople, and it would take at least three or four days before I could receive an answer. By that time the French steamer, which was expected the next day, would have left, and I should be obliged to remain at Alexandretta for a fortnight, as there was no other company then plying their packets between Syria and Constantinople. I furthermore pointed out that a number of the cases belonged to the Sultan, and, according to the imperial mandate which I possessed, it was plainly specified that, after the antiquities were examined by the imperial delegate "and the necessary permission for this purpose" was granted by him, "the customs and local authorities shall in no way interfere or raise difficulties in the way of the transport of the antiquities." This permit, which had been indorsed by the governor of Mossul, with the firman itself, and which was seen by the Aleppo local authorities, I sent to the director of customs to inspect; but he said that he was sorry that he could not take any cognizance of it, as he was only responsible to his immediate superior, the commissioner of customs at Aleppo. As that officer had plainly instructed him to act "according to rule," he could not do otherwise than observe the regular routine. We agreed ultimately that we should both refer the matter by telegram to the government of Aleppo, the director of customs to address his superior, and I to communicate with the governor-general through Her Majesty's consul, Mr. Henderson. It happened that as soon as the telegram was sent, the communication between Aleppo and Alexandretta was interrupted on account of some accident to the wires, which turned out fortunate for me; because it appeared afterwards that Kamil Pasha, the governor-general of Aleppo, was determined that I should not go away with the antiquities without much delay and consequent worry.

When the French steamer came in the next day from Egypt, and was starting for Constantinople in the evening, and no answer had been received from Aleppo, I began to be uneasy, especially as the director persistently refused to listen to reason. At last I sent to warn him of my resolve to start without the antiquities, and leave the responsibility on him for any damage happening to

them in consequence of the illegal detention. When he received this message he became rather frightened, and so he asked Mr. Catoni to consult with me as to the best way of settling the matter, without getting him into trouble with his superiors. I said as I was going to Constantinople, the only way to arrange the affair satisfactorily to all parties would be for me to give a bond binding myself to take the antiquities straight to the Turkish capital, and before I attempted to land any of them, to obtain a release from the customs authorities at that place, and send it to the director of customs at Alexandretta for his satisfaction. To make my engagement more binding, Mr. Catoni was good enough to stand security for me, which made it doubly sure to the head of customs at Alexandretta. This arrangement having been concluded, I went on board the steamer with my antiquities, quite rejoicing that I escaped further annoyance, and by nine o'clock on the evening of the 15th of June, 1878, we steamed out of the harbor with fine weather to cheer me up. On arriving at Mersine the next morning, I received a telegram from Mr. Henderson, informing me that the authorities there refused to allow the antiquities to leave Alexandretta without being examined. Fortunately for me, they were then safe on board the Messageries Maritimes steamer, "Labourdonnais," and neither the customs authorities nor all the governors-general of Turkey, nor indeed the Sublime Porte itself, could meddle with them. It appears that the steamer had scarcely left her moorings at Alexandretta before telegraphic communication was restored between that port and Aleppo, and the very first message the director of customs received contained a prohibition to my antiquities being allowed to leave the port without a thorough examination. It must have annoyed Kamil Pasha not a little when he heard of the frustration of his wicked design!

As those who go from the Egyptian and Syrian ports to Constantinople in the steamers of the Messageries Maritimes Company have to change vessels at Smyrna, both the antiquities and myself had to be transferred on board the "Provence," one of the steamers of the same company which ply between Marseilles and Constantinople fortnightly. They arrive in time at Smyrna to take the Syrian and Egyptian passengers. In both the "Labourdonnais" and the "Provence" the officers were extremely obliging. As soon as I spoke to the officers in charge of the cargo about the antiquities, and told them how important it was to have them lowered and

stored carefully, they cheerfully superintended the embarkation and disembarkation in person. They cautioned the sailors also to move them about carefully.

We had a large number of Ottoman officials on board, amongst whom was Mohammed Ali Pasha, one of the nobility of Aleppo, who was going to Constantinople to seek employment. He was one of the most enlightened civil servants of the Porte, and hated dishonesty and intrigue. His only fault in the eyes of his brother officials was his partiality to the British nation. Through Sir Henry Layard's influence at the court he got him to be appointed governor of Dair, where he distinguished himself; but no sooner did a change of ambassadors take place than his enemies got him dismissed for no cause whatever, excepting that he was on too friendly terms with the English. He was left without employ for a long time, and when, ultimately, the Porte appointed him ruler of another Pashalic in the province of Baghdad, he died on the way thither from sunstroke.

We reached Constantinople at eleven o'clock, on the night of the 21st June, 1878, and as it was too late to enter the harbor of the Bosphorus we anchored off Saint Sophia, not far from the old Seraglio, and at six o'clock the next morning we steamed into the harbor and anchored off Galata.

It did not take Sir Henry Layard long to obtain a release from the customs authorities, and through the proverbial courtesy of his Imperial Majesty, Sultan Abd-al-Hameed, the antiquities of the British Museum were not allowed to be touched, but forwarded to England intact. Had the Porte insisted upon the division, I do not know how we could have managed it or set a value upon the part which would have fallen to the share of the Ottoman Government. There is no doubt that the Ottomans, upon the whole, are naturally most courteous, and they only require men who know their ways and habits to manage them properly.

After having spent twelve days most pleasantly as guest of Sir Henry and Lady Layard, who were then at Therapia, I embarked on board the same Messageries steamer, the "Provence," in which I had gone to Constantinople from Smyrna. She left for Marseilles on the 3d of July, and having touched at Naples for a few hours we arrived at our destination on the 9th of July, 1878. As soon as I landed I started by rail for Paris and Calais, and reached London on the 12th.

CHAPTER XII.

THE Trustees of the British Museum having obtained another grant for continuing the researches in Assyria and Southern Mesopotamia, I was again deputed to superintend their explorations in those countries. I willingly undertook the task, inasmuch as I had still very important work to carry on, both in Babylonia and Armenia. I was also sanguine about the success of my mission, as Sir Henry Layard had promised to obtain another firman for us on more favorable terms, to enable me to excavate simultaneously in different parts of Turkey,—a concession which was not allowed by the mining regulations. I knew also that as long as Sir Henry Layard was acting as ambassador at Constantinople all difficulties in the way of our researches would be smoothed down, and there would be no fear of annoyances and useless dispatches, from either the Ministry of Public Instruction or the different local authorities.

I left London once more on Tuesday, the 8th of October, 1878, and took the same direct route to Alexandretta, through Calais and Marseilles, touching at Palermo, Messina, Syra, Smyrna, Rhodes, and Mersine. The agents of the Messageries Maritimes Company were courteous enough to allot me a cabin to myself, which is a great comfort in a long voyage, as it took about twelve days on the way, including stoppages. On my way out, however, I paid a short visit to my old friends, Madame and M. Fleury, who were living in a delightful locality near Toulon, and not far from Marseilles, called *La Sayne*, and the name of their residence, "*Villa de bon Repose*," well typifies the charming spot. M. Fleury, who had the rank of Pasha, was for a long time in the service of the Ottoman Government as the head of the medical college at Constantinople. He had then retired on a pension, and intended to spend the remainder of his days in his native place.

I had a very agreeable fellow-passenger, an American Episcopalian minister, between Marseilles and Alexandretta, the Reverend Charles Chrystal. He was going out to Aintab on his own account, to visit the Eastern Churches in that part of Asia Minor. He was a great advocate for baptism by immersion according to the rites of the Oriental Churches, and his aim was to convert the Western Churches to his way of thinking. As I found that he had

not traveled in the East before, and was a mere novice in riding, I invited him to accompany me to Aleppo, especially as he did not intend to engage any servant at Alexandretta. In the first stage of our journey he had a tumble off his horse; and as he was obliged to ride over a mountain about two thousand feet high, on a pack-saddle not less than fifteen inches wide, flat, and as hard as a board, he was quite stiff when he reached our halting-place, Khan Ad-diarbekirlee. The next day he was not so bad, and by the time we reached Aleppo, on the fourth day, he had mastered the caravan mode of traveling.

I need not enter into a repetition of the story of my journey through Aleppo, Beerajee, Orfa, and Nissibeen; but as I had to proceed to Mossul from the latter place by a different route from that of which I have already given an account, I must briefly describe my tour through it.

The country between Nissibeen and the Tigris being then in a very disturbed state, on account of the depredations of the Koords, it was the duty of the local authorities to supply me with an escort; but the governor of the place was away, quelling the disturbances in the surrounding villages, and had taken with him all the available Dhabtias. I was therefore compelled to follow him; but fortunately he was then at a village not far out of my way to the Tigris, and so I did not lose much time in search of him.

We left Nissibeen at 3.45 A. M., on the 12th of November, and reached Aznaghoor, a large Jacobite village, at ten o'clock. There I halted for a few minutes at the chief's house, where I heard a deplorable account of the lawlessness of the neighboring Koords, and the oppression of the authorities. Indeed, that village was formerly one of the most important and wealthy in all the district of Nissibeen, but the constant raids of the Highland Koords, together with the extortions of the Turks, brought its inhabitants to utter destitution, and when I passed through it, in 1878, it had not more than two dozen miserable huts. I resumed my journey after half an hour's rest, and soon afterwards passed the ruined villages of Haj-low and Siroojee, which were in a flourishing condition a few months before. They were plundered and burned by the Highland Koords of Midhiat, when I passed through that district seven months previously. The majority of the villages in the province of Nissibeen are either Jacobites of Assyrian origin, or

Koords, but there is nothing to distinguish them one from the other, excepting some parts of their dress.

We reached the Koordish village of Deroona Colonga at 2.30 P. M., where I found the Kayim-Makkam of Nissibeen comfortably settled. I was told that it was quite impossible that I could go to Mossul by the desert route, but the Kayim-Makkam said he could send me as far as the Tigris, opposite the Chaldean village of Peshapoor. I was not sorry for this, as I always preferred the change of route. He invited me to accompany him part of the way, as he was proceeding thitherward himself. The poor fellow was suffering from intermittent fever, and as he had no medicines with him, he was pleased with my offer of quinine. I had met this officer at Saart when I passed through that town the year before. He was then acting Motssarif, or sub-governor, and I always found him extremely courteous and obliging.

After a good deal of persuasion, I managed to induce the Kayim-Makkam to move a little before six o'clock in the morning, though my followers were ready to start three hours before; but we had not gone more than three-quarters of an hour when His Excellency halted at the village of Daroona-Aghaz for breakfast. For politeness' sake I had to keep him company, but I got him to send my luggage on towards Tel-Mirjan, where I had intended to remain for the night. After having spent about an hour and a half with the Kayim-Makkam, and finding that he was still intending to remain a little longer there, I left him to rejoin my luggage. I found that it had been delayed a short distance off at Kargho for want of escort. The available force of police had been so scattered on different duties that the authorities could only supply me with two horsemen, one a Circassian Dhabtia, and the other a villager, both of whom decamped as soon as they reached Saramsak, as they were afraid to go further for fear of meeting with Koordish marauders. I was therefore constrained to go on without an escort to the village of Tel-Mirjan, which place we reached, after much delay, at 2.30 P. M.

Had we come on from Daroona Colonga when I ordered the luggage to move at 2.30 A. M., we ought to have reached our halting-place at 10.30, as it takes only eight hours to travel at a caravan pace between Daroona Colonga and Tel-Mirjan. When we reached the latter place I was told that the chief of the village was away, and we were refused admittance into either his house

or any other. When I inquired as to the reason of that strange behavior, I was informed that as we were traders, the very fact of our having valuable goods with us would attract the brigands to their village, and cause a great havoc amongst the inhabitants; and not only that, but the Ottoman authorities would hold them responsible for our losses.* I was never placed in such a predicament before, and to retrace our steps to Saramsak, or go forward to the next village, was too much for the men and animals to undertake. Moreover, it was getting late in the afternoon, and the chances were, with the then existing want of security in the country, we might have met with the same discourtesy in other villages. The muleteers proposed that we should encamp outside the village until the morning; but this I demurred against, as I knew it would be too risky to hazard a night there without arms and protection. The chances were that the bad characters of the village themselves would rob us, and lay the crime on the shoulders of the lawless Koords, who were scouring the country for plunder. Having weighed the pros and cons of our difficult position, I gave orders to the muleteers to move back forthwith to Saramsak, and warned the inhospitable inhabitants of Tel-Mirjan that they would have to give an account of their incivility to the Ottoman authorities before I passed their village again.

Just as we began to move, one of the women who were standing by came forward and offered me her house, and said she would be responsible for my safety and that of my followers. I need not say that I took her at her word, and was not a little relieved to be housed after the fatigue of the day. As her dwelling consisted of only one room, there was no accommodation excepting for myself; so my followers had to take their quarters outside the hut, with the animals picketed in a line in front. Soon after I had settled myself with my hostess, some female members of the chief's family, who found out who I was, came and began to abuse her

* The reason I was mistaken for a merchant was, because we had some mercantile bales with us, consisting of copper plates and Manchester piece-goods. As I always traveled independently of any public caravans, it often happened that the muleteer I wished to engage had more animals than I wanted, and so I allowed him to employ the remainder in the best way he could. He, as a matter of course, let them to carry some goods for the merchants to the place whither the muleteer was proceeding.

for having secured me as her guest. They said that, because I was a profitable tenant, she received me at her house, but they themselves were always saddled with vagrants and extortioners,—that is to say, destitute wayfarers and Turkish officials. My hostess returned them their malediction with interest, and, had I not intervened, the quarrel might have ended very seriously; because my friend's husband, Omar Hosian, had just come home, and having understood what the altercation was about, he took his wife's part, and entered the lists right loyally. The fact was, before the villagers knew that my entertainment was of any material gain, every one shunned me; but when they found that, as soon as I took my quarters, a sheep was brought and slaughtered, and my servant began to prepare me the evening repast, they took it for granted that I was a man whose possession was worth having. They knew that not only my host and hostess would be well fed, but that they would receive a substantial reward for their civility. Soon after the hubbub was over, I learned that my hostess was the sister of the chief, and her husband a respected elder; so in such distinguished company I felt I could not be more secure. On finding that I could not drink from the dirty brooklet which was in front of the village, my hostess volunteered to go and fetch me clean water from one of the springs some distance from the village. A pretty girl, a daughter of the chief, was staying with them, as it appeared that, in consequence of the death of her mother, and her father marrying again, she preferred living with her paternal aunt rather than remaining under the same roof with one who had taken the place of her mother. My cook supplied them all with a sumptuous dinner, and I presented them with several useful articles, which I knew they would appreciate.

The chief of the village returned home at night, and hearing how scurvily his people behaved to me on my arrival, he came to apologize for their bad conduct; but he did not leave before I gave him presents similar to those which he knew I had given to his sister. He pressed me hard to remove to his house, as he said he wanted to show the villagers that I was not offended with him. I told him that as I was a guest of his sister, there was no fear of any one thinking that I was on bad terms with him, especially as his daughter was under the same roof. He assured me of his good will by presenting me with some delicious watermelons.

Having been told that it would not be safe to travel in those

parts at night, we did not leave Tel-Mirjan till 5.30 A. M., on Thursday, 14th. My host escorted me for three hours, until we reached a village where he obtained two guides to accompany me to the Tigris, as he said he dared not proceed any further, on account of the blood-feud existing between his people and those who inhabited the villages beyond. As soon as we came in sight of Peshapoor, a very large Chaldean village on the left side of the river, my cook and I hurried on, and reached the Tigris at 12.50 P. M., and, finding the ferry-boat ready to start, we crossed over in it. I went directly to the chief's house, where I generally put up on proceeding to Mossul that way. Next to Tel-Kaif, Peshapoor is the largest Chaldean village in the plains of Assyria. The house of the chief is the best built in the rural districts, and in the old feudal times it served as a great stronghold against Koordish depredations. At night the reception-room, which was given for my sole use, was crammed with visitors from the village and with travelers, who entertained me with the topics of the day, mostly in connection with the misgovernment of the country. It seemed that lawlessness and corrupt practices were the order of the day!

On Friday, 15th, we started at 2.40 A. M., and as I had no regular escort with me, two mounted Chaldean Peshapoorees accompanied me as guides as far as Goorsheen. From that place my muleteers knew the road. We then went on to Khanekark, which we reached in five hours' ride. We halted there for breakfast, and, after forty minutes' detention, we resumed our journey, and reached the village of Semail at 2.30 P. M. After a little search, I found comfortable quarters at a corn-merchant's house, where I was received very civilly by the landlord. Three hours before I reached Semail I met a large cavalcade of Chaldean traders, who were coming down from Upper Assyria, with fruit for sale at Mossul and the surrounding villages. One of them volunteered to hasten to Mossul and report my approach, of which I was glad, as I did not like to reach the place unexpectedly. Semail being a postal village, where a body of mounted police are stationed, I was provided with the requisite number of escort to accompany me.

We left Semail at 3.15 A. M. the next morning, and as soon as it was daylight, one of the Dhabtias and I pushed on to Tel-Addas, for the purpose of obtaining a change of escort, as those who accompanied me from Semail could only go as far as that station. We made the journey in five hours and a half.

The chief of the police, Saeed Chaweesh, who escorted me five years before, received me very graciously, and provided for me a nice breakfast. After having spent about an hour there, I left for Mossul, and my host accompanied me on my journey, as he did on a former occasion. I had intended to stay that night at Tel-Kaif, nine miles from Mossul, but as the muleteer volunteered to push on, I preferred doing so, as I wished to end my journey as soon as possible. As I desired, however, to have an interview with Monsignor Georgis, the Chaldean metropolitan of Tel-Kaif, I allowed the muleteers to take the more direct route to Mossul, and Saeed Chaweesh, and I went on to that Chaldean village, which we reached in three hours' quick ride from Tel-Addas. On my arrival there I was met by Munssoor Yalda, the chief of the village, who tried all he could to persuade me to spend the night with him, and when he found that I was bent upon continuing my journey to Mossul, he pressed me to dismount at his house and have some refreshment. After having spent half an hour with him, I went on to the church, and had a long talk with the bishop. He seemed quite disappointed that the British Government had not espoused the cause of the Chaldeans, and allowed the Vatican party to do as they liked. They were all looking forward to my coming, thinking that I was going to bring them good tidings with regard to their dispute with the other section of the Chaldeans, who sided with the Papal primacy. From that day forward they seemed to lose heart; and before many months were over, both Monsignor Georgis and the Bishop of Karkook retracted, and returned to their former homage to the Roman Pontiff.

A little before two o'clock I resumed my journey, and Munssoor Yalda and four other Chaldean notables accompanied me to Mossul, which place we reached in two hours and a half. A little before we entered the town a large number of relatives and friends came out to meet me, and by the time I reached my uncle's house, where I usually took up my quarters, my party became quite formidable. As usual, as soon as I arrived, a large number of friends and acquaintances came to see me.

Soon after my arrival at Mossul, I increased the number of workmen at Koyunjik, and went about looking for new sites to excavate. Unfortunately, I was attacked with intermittent fever shortly after I resumed my superintendence of the excavations, which ailment deterred me in some measure in my duties. Never-

theless, I did not give way to the debilitating attacks which came on, with few exceptions, regularly every other day, and almost at the same hour. This malady always begins with a chill (though the temperature of the weather may be as high as 80, and even 90, Fahrenheit), and ends with burning fever. At first the feeling of cold is such that all the blankets in the world do not seem sufficient to bring warmth to the body; but as soon as the fit of ague is over, the patient begins to suffer from feverish heat, when he can scarcely bear a single sheet over him. The duration of the fever depends upon the state of the patient. If he should be full-blooded and indulge too freely in rich food, his suffering becomes more severe; whereas, if his attack should come on after a light diet or fasting, then the malady is less aggravated. In either case, the sufferer becomes quite prostrate, and loses all energy. I suffered, off and on, from this malady for nearly two months, and during that time I visited a large number of mounds, and carried on our excavations at Nimroud and Kalaa-Shirgat.

At the former place we merely discovered here and there a few fragments of inscriptions, both in alabaster and terra-cotta; and, though I placed different gangs of workmen near the spot, where I had formerly found pieces of a black basalt obelisk, in the hope of discovering the remainder, not an atom of any other portion was seen anywhere. I feel confident that the rest of that monolith is in existence somewhere in the mound, as the stone of which the obelisk was made is not capable of being utilized for lime by being burnt, nor is it of such perishable material as to be destroyed by damp soil, or exposure to the air. All the Assyrian and Babylonian mounds, where ancient cities and temples were found, require a regular digging up, for I believe most valuable records and monuments may be found buried in them.

At Kalaa-Shirgat I had excavations carried on for some months, but we met with the same meager results as before. The site of this ancient Assyrian city is an enigma to me. Its size and important position make it look most tempting and full of hopeful results to an ardent explorer; but when the spade of the digger penetrates deep into it, nothing but conglomerate rubbish is found in the heart of it, with here and there some sprinkling of fragments of inscriptions, painted bricks, and pottery. I have tried the mound over and over again, and yet I could never find a sign of any building. With all these failures, I still believe that it contains

valuable remains, which the spade of future excavators will bring to light, as was the case at Birs Nimroud and Babylon.

On that occasion we found a curiously-inscribed ten-sided marble object, which seemed as if it had been used for some sacred purpose.*

Formerly the mound of Kalaa-Shirgat was crown property, and the explorer who possessed a firman had only to visit the place and commence in it his researches; but on that occasion it was owned by Firhan Pasha, the chief of the Shammer tribe, who had settled there in accordance with the orders of the Ottoman Government, who thought they could tame the Shammer Bedouins by forcing them to cultivate the soil; so they gave Firhan Pasha all the wasteland on the western bank of the Tigris, about sixty miles below Mossul, to fertilize. Firhan Pasha tried, doubtless, to make peasants and farmers of the lowest of his obstreperous followers, but with very little success. He actually managed to clear a large tract of land on the southern side of the mound for a garden, wherein he planted a variety of fruit-trees, which he had to fetch from a great distance; but as he had neither money to keep it up nor skilled gardeners to rear the young trees, the place went to ruin. When I was there, in 1878, there were only a few withered trees remaining, and the water-wheel, which he had erected in the river for irrigation, was not in existence. Of the thousands of Shammer Arabs, there were only two or three hundred living under his immediate control, the remainder having either joined his half-brother, Shaikh Faris, his rival in the chieftdom, or followed their petty chiefs in their plundering raids.

Shaikh Firhan, though having the rank of a Pasha of the second degree, lived in the same style as any other superior Arab chiefs. He also dressed in the Arab fashion, even when he paid formal visits to the Mossul or Baghdad Ottoman authorities. He was extremely courteous and hospitable, and all the time I was at Kalaa-Shirgat he would not let my servants buy anything, but

* Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, kindly supplied me with a translation of the inscription, which is as follows: "Budi-llu the faithful prince, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, bulder of the temple of the sun, the temple of the divine protector. Whoever erases the written and destroys my inscription, may the sungod, my lord, overthrow his kingdom, and send down want upon his country." The date of this temple of the sun is supposed to be about 1360 B. C.

supplied my kitchen with what he possessed. He was very anxious that I should be successful in my operations there, and went so far as to ask me to leave a gang of workmen under his direction, in order that he might examine a spot where he alleged some of his men had discovered an arm of a bronze statuette some time before. I at once placed the proper number of workmen under his superintendence; but his patience was of short duration, as he gave up his pursuit before the close of the day.

I had intended to remain at Kalaa-Shirgat at least eight or ten days; but having suffered severely while there from fever, I was obliged to leave for Mossul on the fourth day, as I was afraid that if I staid there any longer, I might get too weak to travel on horseback, and my other researches at Nimroud and Koyunjik would be neglected. I left, however, an overseer to carry on the work for some days longer, especially as Firhan Pasha was kind enough to promise his protection and assistance to the workmen.

The autumn of that year was far from healthy in consequence of the want of early rain, which would have made the air cool and the atmosphere pleasant and invigorating. Rain generally begins to fall in Mesopotamia in September, but during that year it really did not begin to rain till the middle of December. It is very pleasant to see the delight of every one at the sight of a heavy shower, especially when the rain is much wanted. This is natural, when it is considered that the existence of all the people in Northern Mesopotamia and Assyria depends upon the cultivation of the soil, which is only watered through the blessing of rain. It is true that the nomad Arabs, who occupy part of the banks of the Tigris, cultivate their grain, called dhoora, or millet, by means of water drawn from the river, but the quantity obtained through that kind of irrigation is scarcely sufficient for their own wants.

Soon after my return from Kalaa-Shirgat, I was made happy by the receipt of my new firman, which had been obtained for the Trustees of the British Museum by Sir Henry Layard. In that royal mandate I was invested with greater powers and facilities, which enabled me afterwards to carry on extensive operations simultaneously in Assyria, Babylonia, and Armenia. It was granted for two years, with the promise of a further term, if required. I was allowed to carry on excavations in three different welayats at the same time,—that is to say, in the provinces of three govern-

ors-general, of Baghdad, Aleppo, and Wan, Mossul being included in the former Pashalic. This extensive tract of Asiatic Turkey embraced Babylonia, all the lowland of Northern Mesopotamia, Assyria, and that part of Syria under the Pashalic of Aleppo, including Carchemish. In the same firman I was also permitted to pack and dispatch to England any antiquities I found, without division, after they were examined by the royal delegate; provided, however, there were no duplicates. In that case I was allowed to retain every single object, and the remainder were to be given up to the Ottoman authorities for dispatch to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.

With these most exceptional and favorable terms granted to England, through the influence of Sir Henry Layard, by the courtesy of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, I hastened down to Baghdad, to see what I could do on the site of ancient Babylon.

Having arranged for the carrying on, in my absence, the excavations at Koyunjik, Nimroud, and Kalaa-Shirgat, I left Mossul in a raft on the 30th of January, 1879, and reached Baghdad in five days. Colonel Nixon, the British political agent, was kind enough to invite me to his house, and I need not say that his genial society and hospitable reception made my sojourn at Baghdad most pleasant. He also rendered me every assistance in his power to lessen the difficulties of my duties in the archaeological research; and when I left Baghdad to return to Mossul he was good enough to undertake the general control of the British Museum excavations in Babylon.

After I had made the proper arrangement for the tentative examination of the ancient Babylonian sites, I started for Hillah on the 8th of February, taking with me Dawood Toma, one of my experienced Christian overseers, whom I had taken down with me from Mossul, and another man, Ahmed Al-abid, a native Arab of Sammirra. The services of the latter I obtained by chance, as I was leaving Baghdad. Being well acquainted with the country and the mode of searching for antiquities, as he had been employed by some Europeans for that purpose, his services proved of immense value to me at the outset, especially as a Moslem claiming descent from the prophet Mohammed, which entitled him to assume the name of "Seyid."

As we started from Baghdad rather late, I found it necessary to break the journey at the village of Mahmoodia, a distance of

about fifteen miles from Baghdad, and go on straight to Hillah next morning, by starting early. The place was so crammed full with Persian pilgrims, who were going to Carbala to commemorate the death of their martyr, Hosain, that there was scarcely a foot's space vacant to rest at. The khan and every hovel in the village had been occupied before I arrived, and even the dirty lanes and alleys were blocked with wayfarers and their animals. Although I had my tents with me, I did not care, for two reasons, to have them pitched—first, because I wished to start early in the morning; and, secondly, because all the surroundings of the place were too filthy to occupy. I had sent in front of me one of my escort, to see if he could find me a place to spend the night at; but he failed to do so, either because the houses which were usually let to travelers had been already occupied, or those who only took in strangers for hospitality's sake refused to have anything to do with Turkish officials. While I was speaking to the muleteer as to the best course to pursue, and he was saying that it was too late to go on to the next village, a very respectable Arab, who was standing at the door of his house hearing what we were talking about, came and offered me his house, on condition that I would take in no one with me excepting my personal servants, as he said that he could not receive either the muleteers or my escort. I thanked him very much for his courtesy, and forthwith took up my quarters in his house. As usual, as soon as I entered the threshold, its inmates, his wife and daughter, volunteered their services, the former in seeing to the comfort of my room, and the other in providing water and fuel for my kitchen. I found out that my host was a Korai-shite,—that is to say, of the Arab tribe of Mohammed, and a native of the Hijaz. He was one of the few in that part of Mesopotamia who professed the Soonee faith, and considered all those of the Sheea persuasion heretics.

We left Mahmoodia at six o'clock the next morning, and reached at ten o'clock Khan-Alhaswa, where there are a few huts, and a coffee-shop, with some Dhabtias to guard the post. As the luggage was still behind, I halted there about half an hour, passing away the time in partaking of some coffee and smoking a nargeela. We then resumed our journey, calculating that we should not be more than five hours on our way to Hillah; whereas we did not reach that town till a quarter past six o'clock in the evening. An hour before I entered Hillah, I passed the ancient site

of that part of Babylon where, according to history and tradition, Nebuchadnezzar and his successors lived in great magnificence. I felt quite impatient to return to the spot and examine its contents.

Before I left Baghdad, one of the wealthy and principal Jews of that place, named Khoaja Neheem Danial, kindly offered me his furnished house at Hillah, which was unoccupied, as he had heard that I had intended to make Hillah my headquarters while pursuing my archaeological research in Babylon. He merely went out to that place once a year with his family for change of air; but he very seldom remained there more than two months, and the remainder of the year the house was left either unoccupied, or lent to travelers.

My reason for going direct to Hillah without halting on the site of Babylon was for the purpose of seeing the lieutenant-governor, in order that I might present my credentials to him, and obtain the necessary permission to excavate in his province. For some reason or other, I could not get him to appoint an interview. One day he feigned to be sick; another, that the weather was very wet, which compelled him to remain in his harem. It was rumored at the time that he had just received a consignment of a pretty Circassian girl from Constantinople, with whom he had been enraptured, and considered that in his old age he must reverse the common maxim of duty before pleasure. However, as I had sent him both the firman and the Beewirdee, or local passport, and informed him that I could not delay any longer the work for which I had purposely gone to Hillah, he sent to say that I could proceed with my operations as soon as I liked. We met, nevertheless, according to appointment, two days afterwards, and discussed matters together. The governor's name was Mohammed Pasha, a native of Solaimannia, and one of the few-favored Koords who had been intrusted by the Sublime Porte with governing powers. He was at least seventy years of age, and consequently of the old school, who considered searching for antiquities a silly occupation, and those who valued them were only fit for a lunatic asylum.

As a matter of course, when I arrived at Hillah, the first thing I had to guard against was the combination of the Arab diggers, whose interest it was to create difficulties in the way of my operations. They had heard of my intention of excavating in their haunts, and feared that I would stop their clandestine operations when our works clashed.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM time immemorial, the Arabs of Hillah and its suburbs were in the habit of digging in Babylon for bricks for building purposes; and it is a known fact that Hillah, Soak-ash-Sheyokh, and other small towns and villages, on both sides of the Euphrates, up and down the river, have been built from materials dug out of the ruins of Babylon and other ancient cities. Since the value of Babylonian antiquities became known, both Jewish and Armenian brokers of Baghdad began to bribe those Arab diggers to sell them any inscribed terra-cottas or other relics which might be found in the diggings. The laborers did this under cover of their usual vocation, as it was strictly prohibited to any one to dig for antiquities without a special order from the Porte.

The damage done by such mode of searching is incalculable, inasmuch as the Arab style of digging is too clumsy to get out fragile objects intact from narrow and deep trenches, especially when they have to carry on their work as secretly as possible, from fear of being detected by the authorities. In nine cases out of ten, they break or lose a large part of their collections, and worse than all, they try to make a good bargain by breaking the inscribed objects, and dividing them amongst their customers. Generally speaking, an Arab digger contracts with two or three individuals to provide them with a certain quantity of antiquities, and when he can not supply each individual with the same number or quality of objects, he breaks a most valuable inscription to divide amongst them. I myself bought, when I was at Baghdad, a most valuable Babylonian terra-cotta cylinder for the British Museum, which had met with the same fate. The discoverer had tried to saw it in two, and in doing so the upper part broke into fragments, some of which were lost altogether. The saw that was used for that purpose must have been very rough, as it gnawed off nearly half an inch of the inscription.

It will be conjectured from the above narrative, that my movements were watched with great jealousy, not only by the Arab brick-diggers, but especially by those who were bribing them to search for antiquities. I found that I had no power to prevent their excavating at the spot which I wished to explore, as the

practice of digging for bricks had been in use ever since the destruction of Babylon. Not even the authorities had any right to stop such work, and to allow the Arabs to do as they pleased would have greatly interfered with my operations, and caused my work incalculable mischief; to say nothing about having a host of robbers at my elbow to profit by my experience, and be ready to steal whatever they could get hold of, either at night or when the workmen are at rest during the day.

I managed, in the first instance, to engage the services of a very respectable man of Hillah, whose occupation it was to contract for the supply of bricks to the town's people from the ruins of Babylon, and who had, at the time, a large number of workmen employed in demolishing ancient buildings in the mound called "Babel," erroneously styled by Rich "Imjaileeba." He rendered me invaluable assistance in negotiating for me with the Arab laborers who reside on the outskirts of the Babylonian ruins, and consented for his own men working for me, on the promise that I would allow him to have all the plain bricks they found in the diggings; but all monuments, inscriptive tablets, and other articles of antiquity required for the British Museum, were to be made over to me. I then sent for the rest of the brick-diggers, and made them the same offer, which relieved them of any dilemma, as they now had no reason to complain that I had interfered with their labors. The result was that they all, without a murmur, agreed to my proposal, and forthwith they went to work for me, and continued to do so to the end. The best of the joke was, that after a time when I had to employ hundreds of other workmen from different parts of the country, they did not trouble themselves about possessing their share of the bricks found in the diggings, but rested content with the regular wages they were receiving. This arrangement, however, did not satisfy the greedy brokers, because they tried, soon after I began to work, to bribe some of the workmen to steal our antiquities to sell to them, and although I was anxious to bring home to the guilty party the offense charged to them, I was not able to produce tangible proof to condemn them. As the case would have gone for trial before a Turkish tribunal, where the accused would receive greater sympathy than those who preferred the complaint, I feared, lest by my losing a case, other rogues would be encouraged in their nefarious intrigues. Moreover, I always made it a rule never to force myself into any

litigation in the matter of our research. I deemed it always to our advantage to forgive a small transgression, rather than make a mountain of a molehill, which would only be taken advantage of by those who are jealous of our successes. In every little dispute I had with the owners of the soil in which I carried on my excavations, I always settled the case amicably, either in person or through a friend; and I never failed in one instance to obtain the object in view. Had I allowed the local authorities to intervene, I should never have heard the end of the disputed point, and most likely neither one party nor the other would have benefited by their meddling.

I learned afterwards that the poor Arabs received very little for the antiquities they sold to the Baghdad and Hillah brokers. For the object for which the latter asked five or ten pounds, the wretched digger had received one or two shillings. Two of the cases which were brought to my notice, were a marble tablet that was said to have been found at Kalaa-Shirgat, and a collection of inscribed terra-cottas, which were discovered in Babylon. The former, which a native of Mossul sold for thirty piasters, or about five shillings, to the French consul of that place, Mr. George Smith purchased for the British Museum for £70, and the latter were sold for more than a hundred times what the Arabs were paid for them.

As soon as I received the Pasha's message, already alluded to, I started for Babylon, the site of the royal residences of the Chaldean kings of ancient glory, and took up my quarters at Quairich, in the chief's house. There are now two modern villages on the site of old Babylon, one called Quairich and the other Jimjima. The reason I went at first to the former was, because it was the nearest to the ruins of Imjaileeba, the site of the principal palace; but I moved afterwards to the latter, as I found that the bulk of my workmen came from that place, whose chief possessed more power than that of Quairich. Moreover, the copyholder proprietor of the site of Babylon proper had a residence there, which he was good enough to leave at my disposal; and, although I did not like to dispossess him of it altogether while I remained in those parts, nevertheless I availed myself of his kind offer, and spent some days in his delightful garden during the hot months. He is one of the nobility of Hillah, and possesses a great influence with the local authorities and the natives of the place. Being a Sonee and lib-

eral-minded man, he gets on better with the Turks than the heretical Sheeas, who compose the majority of the inhabitants of the Irack.

The present visible ruins of Babylon consist of a large and high mound, called Babel, as already mentioned; Imjaileeba, the site of the principal, or old, palace, and (according to my theory) the temple of Belus, indicated by the brick tower, commonly called "the Kassir," Omran, and Jimjima. The last two localities seem to have been occupied, after the destruction of Babylon, by the Sassanians and Parthians, as I found there evident signs of post-Chaldean habitations. Both at Babylon and at Nineveh I discovered different structures of those less civilized people, built on the old ruins. They used in their erections remains of edifices which had been destroyed; and, in the latter place in particular, they utilized broken sculptures and inscribed marble slabs from the palaces of Sennacherib and his grandson, Assur-bani-pal, commonly called Sardanapalus, with the engraved or inscribed objects turned either upside-down or facing the brick wall.

With the exception of Birs Nimroud, which is about twelve miles to the southwest of Babylon on the western side of the Euphrates, there is no sign of any remains of the ancient city, not even a remnant of kiln-burned bricks, which shows that there could not have been any building of importance on the western side of the present bed of the river. This is the more extraordinary, when we find on the Mesopotamian side innumerable mounds, embankments, and remains of old canals, even as far as the Tigris. It is true there are some mounds, about nine miles to the south of Imjaileeba, called Daillum, where I carried on some excavations; but those could not have been in the vicinity of Babylon, if we are to take Imjaileeba to be the center of the old city, as Nebuchadnezzar's inscription and Grecian historians testify.

I have tried over and over again to reconcile the accounts and deductions of different ancient historians and modern critics with the present visible remains of that famous city; but as soon as I thought that I had arrived at a definite conclusion, I found myself in far greater perplexities than when I began my conjectures. We have only to study Berosus's account, on the authority of Josephus, of the hanging-gardens and palaces of Babylon, as related in the antiquities of the Jews, and in the first Book Against Apion, and we get into a dilemma at once. In the former, Josephus records

that Nebuchadnezzar built a palace adjoining that of his father, with a pensile garden attached to it,* while in the latter the hanging-gardens are stated to be as part and parcel of the same palace mentioned above.†

If any one wants to be convinced how literally and truthfully the different prophecies about the utter destruction of Babylon have been fulfilled, he has only to visit that country, and see the complete destruction of what was once upon a time called in Holy Writ the "Glory of Kingdoms," the "Golden City," the "Lady of Kingdoms," and the "praise of the whole earth." Indeed, the annihilation of that city was so effectual that one wonders whether the accounts given of its greatness and magnificence by different Gentile historians were true, or at all events not greatly exaggerated; but the Word of God can not be gainsaid, as the prophet Isaiah predicted that "the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah;" and, in another place, it was decreed that "Babylon is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods He has broken unto the ground."

I found it would be only waste of money and labor to excavate at Imjaileeba, where former diggers had left nothing unturned

* "After he (Nebuchadnezzar) had, after a becoming manner, walled the city and adorned its gates gloriously he built another palace before his father's palace, but so that they joined to it; to describe the vast height and immense riches of which it would be perhaps too much for me to attempt; yet, as large and lofty as they were, they were completed in fifteen days. He also erected elevated places for walking, of stone, and made it resemble mountains, and built it so that it might be planted with all sorts of trees. He also erected what was called a pensile paradise, because his wife was desirous to have things like her own country, she having been bred in the palaces of Media." (*Antiquities*, X. xi, 1.)

† He (Nebuchadnezzar) added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and this close by it also. and that more eminent in its height and in its greater splendor. It would perhaps require too long a narrative, if any one were to describe it. However, as prodigiously large and magnificently as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now, in this palace he erected very high walks, supported by some pillars, and by planting what was called a pensile paradise and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect of an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation. (*Josephus Against Apion*, I, 19.)

to find what they wanted. From seeing the deep ditches existing, and the nature of the rubbish which had been thrown up, I was convinced that there could be no ancient remains of any value left there; so I contented myself by having a trial at the center for a week, and abandoned it for other localities not far distant, which had not been so much disturbed. These were the other ruins of the city called Omran, and Jimjima, and in both these spots I was amply rewarded for my labors in Babylon. Here were discovered what are called "the contract tablets," and as the bulk of these were found at the latter mound, my idea is, that both the royal mint and banking establishment of Babylon were located there.

The drawback experienced formerly in digging for antiquities in Babylon was, the haphazard way of searching for the desired objects, as the Arabs had made such a mess of the ground, that it would have puzzled the most experienced eye to know where to begin and where to end. After a week's trial, however, by following a certain method, we came upon signs of standing walls, which surprised my diggers not a little, after which time we began to discover relics of the past. Some parts of the walls were undoubtedly of Babylonian origin; but every now and then we came upon Sassanian structures, which looked quite rough in comparison to the regularity and smoothness of the Babylonian buildings.

Nothing of any great magnitude has ever been discovered in the ruins of Babylon, in comparison to the bas-reliefs and colossal mystic figures found in Assyria. The only large object that has ever appeared within the ruins of Babylon was the monolith of a lion, with the figure of a man lying beneath him, hewn of black basalt, which must have been placed in the days of the Chaldean monarchy at the entrance of the palace. There must have been another similar monolith, which stood on the opposite side of the entrance; and although I had a number of trenches dug around the spot, no sign could be found of it anywhere in that locality. The ground seemed to have been thoroughly searched into as deep as the level of the Euphrates.

To the literary world and Assyrian scholars, however, most important discoveries have been made in these mounds from time to time, amongst which we discovered in the ruins of Jimjima a broken terra-cotta cylinder, which has been deciphered in the first instance by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and found to contain the official record of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus while Belshazzar was

reveling with "a thousand of his lords," and using in his impious banquet the golden and silver vessels which were taken by his father, Nebuchadnezzar, from the temple at Jerusalem. The name of Belshazzar does not appear on this cylinder, because, most unfortunately, a large part of it was missing.

While my workmen were busily engaged in digging in different localities in Babylon, I went to Birs Nimroud, and placed a few gangs of workmen to excavate in four different spots. The ruins of the town, variably named Borsippa, Temple of Belus, Birs Nimroud, and Tower of Babel, rising, as it were, a high mountain out of the sea, struck me with greater astonishment than anything that I had seen of ancient devastations, and I could not but look with wonder upon the seeming supernatural vitrifications of a large part of the still standing brick-piles, that can be seen for about twenty-five miles around.* Different travelers have attributed the cause of the vitrification to either lightning, or extreme power of artificial heat; but it seemed to me, on examining the different masses, that neither the work of man nor the common electric fluid could have caused that extent of vitrification.† I have been trying to elicit, through scientific gentlemen in England, the cause of the vitrification; but I have, as yet, found no one who could explain the mystery satisfactorily. Indeed, on referring to two good authorities on the effect of lightning upon such a massive structure, I was told that electric fluid could not cause such deep vitrification. Benjamin of Tudela makes the assertion that the "heavenly fire which struck the tower split it to its very foundation," and my late friend, Mr. Loftus, gives the opinion of a "talented companion who originated the idea when they examined the Birs Nimroud together, that, in order to render these edifices more durable, the Babylonians submitted them, when erected, to the heat of a furnace!"

* It is quite incomprehensible to me why all travelers who visited Birs Nimroud, and wished to ascertain the meaning of the word Birs, failed to do so. It is from the Arabic word Biriġ, which signifies a tower, only, the letter j is corrupted into s. This same word is used in all Arabic Bibles, in reference to the building of the tower of Babel, in Gen. 11, 4.

† We are told in the Talmud that "the tower was exceedingly tall. The third part of it sunk down into the ground, a second third was burned down, but the remaining third was standing until the destruction of Babylon." (The Talmud, chapter 1.)



CLAY CYLINDER OF CYRUS CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF BABYLON. 538 B. C.

The former authority did not explain on what record or idea he founded his allegation. He might have quoted a tradition which existed then in the country when he visited the ruin, about seven hundred years ago. As for the opinion of Mr. Loftus's friend, it is untenable, because it is against common sense that a huge tower as that of Birs Nimroud could, in the time of its glory, be subjected to artificial heat after it was built. The tower must have been at least two hundred feet high, and about one hundred and fifty feet square, and to build a furnace to envelop it would be just like trying to cover a solid mass equal in size to the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, with one huge furnace, and subjecting it to artificial heat for the purpose of vitrifying it! One-third of the tower is still standing in its original position, and not a sign of fire or vitrification is visible in any part of it; but the large boulders, which are vitrified, are scattered all about the place, and look as if they do not belong to the same structure. Some of these must be between ten and fifteen cubic feet square, and the vitrification is so complete throughout, that when I tried to have a large piece broken to bring to the British Museum, I failed to do so until I engaged a competent mason, who managed to break me two pieces after having blunted half a dozen of his iron tools.*

Before I began operations at Birs Nimroud, the Arabs were busily engaged in digging for antiquities under the guise of searching for bricks for building purposes. My first aim was to engage the services of the chief man amongst them, and, fortunately, he made no difficulty in entering my service. As the spot where I wanted to open a few trenches was near the sanctum of Ibraheem-al-kaleel,† where the Arabs of that country believe that Nimrod had tried to throw Abraham into the fiery furnace, I deemed it advisable to engage the guardian of the shrine as a writer, and to watch the workmen against transgressing the limit of the sacred ground. Both this man and his relatives behaved most friendly and faithfully all the time I had any work there. The chief, who

* May not the prophecy of Jeremiah apply to this tower in the following words?—"Behold I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord, which destroyest all the earth, and I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and will make thee a burnt mountain." (Jeremiah li, 25.)

† Abraham the friend (of God).

was a strict Sheea Moslem, and considered that any contact with a Christian would defile him, went so far as to lend me a part of his habitation to make use of as a residence for my overseers, and for the storing of my antiquities.

In my excavations at that mound, I discovered on the western side of it a new building, which could not have been inhabited, or even roofed; and on the southern limit I found a large collection of inscribed clay tablets. This made me come to the conclusion that the débris in which the inscribed objects were found, was thrown from an old building which had existed before the new structure I discovered was erected.

Our excavations were carried on so extensively at that place that other small mounds sprang up from the rubbish that was cleared out of the new building and the outskirts of the southern corner of Ibraheem-al-kaleel, of which the peasantry took great advantage.

The Moslems always choose elevated spots for the burying of their dead; and so, when any of the Maadanees—that is to say, the Arabs who occupy the marshes—wanted to save the expense of digging a grave and covering it over properly, they used to bring the corpses of their bereaved relatives to my workmen, and ask them to cover them with the débris which they were throwing away, and they assured them that the more they heaped over them of the earth they were throwing away, the more they would earn heavenly blessings. They felt certain that by this kind of interment the remains of their deceased kindred were secured against exhumation, either by wild beasts or future excavators.

At Birš Nimroud, and almost opposite the new building discovered at the mound of Ibraheem-al-kaleel, I was fortunate enough to hit upon another palace of Nebuchadnezzar, where Nabonidus was supposed to have been residing when Cyrus captured Babylon. It is on the platform to the east, and just below the existing part of the town, which is identified with the temple of Borsippa, erected by Nebuchadnezzar, and mentioned in his standard inscription. It contained about eighty chambers and halls, but only in four of them we found a few Babylonian antiquities. In the principal hall was found the record of the building which gave us the history of the erection of the palace by Nebuchadnezzar. In the first hall opened, which led us to the remainder of the palace, were found broken pillars, capitals, and fragments of enam-

eled bricks, evidently belonging to the embellishment of the room with cedar wood, which are now in the British Museum. In three other rooms we found two, what are called, boundary monuments, and a small bas-relief.

The finding of this structure was most curious, and shows that archæologists ought not to be discouraged when they fail, sometimes, in their researches. This same mound was excavated at by different explorers from time immemorial, for the purpose of finding some historical record, but without success. When I went to examine it in 1879, I felt convinced that the extensive platform below the tower must contain some Babylonian structure, or other interesting remains, and I therefore lost no time in placing two gangs of workmen to try the most likely spot that augured success. The overseer, whom I have already mentioned, had been in the habit of searching for inscriptions in the mound of Ibraheem-al-kaleel, and had tried the platform of Birs Nimroud on several occasions, but failed to find in it any antiquities. The consequence was that, after I gave him the necessary directions and went away to see about my other explorations in Babylon, he excavated there for a few hours and abandoned it. He removed the workmen to his old haunts in the adjoining mound, as he felt quite convinced, from former experience, that nothing would be found at the place I pointed out to him, especially as he was very anxious to please me by discovering a valuable collection of inscribed tablets in the other locality. On my return to the mound, however, I ordered him to resume the work which he had given up; and, to his surprise, after one day's digging he found that he was excavating in a hall which proved afterwards to be a part of the above-mentioned palace.*

As my time was drawing nigh to return to Mossul, to attend to my other researches in Assyria, and I wished before I quitted

* It is suprising to me to find, after my having discovered this extensive palace occupying the whole platform of Birs Nimroud, that Professor Rawlinson, twenty years before, makes the following assertion in his essay on the Topography of Babylon: "Before concluding this essay," he says, "It seems proper that some account should be given of the great ruin (Birs), which has long disputed with Babel the honor of representing the temple of Belus, and which, a few years back, was very completely explored by Sir Henry Rawlinson." (Rawlinson's "Herodotus," Vol. II, Essay IV, paragraph 13.)

the country to visit the ruins of Tel-loh, to which I have already alluded, I left a few workmen to go on with the excavations, and returned to Baghdad. I had wished to go on to Shat-al-hai from Babylon; but I found that it would entail heavy expenses and waste of time to proceed thither overland, and so I made up my mind to reach it by boat from Baghdad.

I took my passage in a Turkish steamer, called "Mossul," for Coot-Alomara, situated on the left bank of the Tigris, opposite the entrance of Shat-al-hai, leaving Baghdad at one A. M., on the 24th February. The river at that time of the year was very low; the consequence was, we were longer on our passage than we should have been two months later. We passed Ctesiphon at eleven o'clock, where we saw the camp of Colonel Nixon and his family, on the edge of the river. He had gone there for change of air and on a shooting excursion, and, having exchanged salutations, we proceeded on our downward passage until six o'clock in the evening, when we anchored, as the captain, who was an Arab, did not like to go on during the night. It blew, all the afternoon and night, a strong northerly breeze, which made the weather very cold.

On the 25th we did not make much progress, as the steamer stranded several times, and at 4.30 P. M. we stuck hard and fast for five hours. By the time we got off, it was too late for us to go on; so we anchored, and in the morning resumed our voyage. The same north wind continued to blow rather fresh all the night and the whole of the next day, which made the teeth of the poor deck passengers chatter. We weighed anchor at six A. M., and reached Coot-Alomara at 11.30. As soon as I landed, I was hospitably received by the superintendent of the transit department, Allah-Wairdee Effendi. He not only provided me comfortable quarters and a sumptuous table, both on my arrival and return, but rendered me every assistance in his power to hasten my voyage down Shat-al-hai to Tel-loh. I engaged a native sailing-boat with a sharp, active master, who knew Shat-al-hai by inches; and I must say that the services he rendered me were alone worth what he received for the whole charter of his vessel and crew. It did not take me long to make the necessary arrangements, and I started at 2.30 P. M., or three hours after my arrival. As the north wind was still blowing, it did not take as long to sail from the eastern to the western side of the Tigris as to reach the mouth of Shat-al-hai. We had to go round a long island, which in that time of the year

impeded the passage of small craft from the town of Coot-Alomara to Shat-al-hai.

As the river was very shallow, we could not go on at night, but anchored at 7.40 at a place where the tribe of Beni-Omair were encamping. The chief came to offer his services as soon as he had learned of my arrival; but I thanked him for his civility, and begged him not to trouble himself on my behalf, as I had everything I wanted and felt secure under his protection.

We left the next morning at six, and reached the town of Hai, situated on the right bank of the river, at four P. M. Here I landed to see a Christian merchant, called Yoseph Naaman, to find out from him if there were any ruins in the neighborhood which contained antiquities, as I had heard that he was well acquainted with the country. He informed me of several; but I found that they were difficult to reach without a proper escort and great expense, which I could ill afford. While I was chatting with him, the chief of the district came to see me, and offered his kind offices. He was good enough to send with me his son, Bash Agha, with an attendant, to escort me as far as Seyid Isa, which place we reached the next morning at nine o'clock, after having spent the night below the village of Oda. Here the young chief left me, as he said that thenceforward the country was under the government of Shaikh Fahad, or Fahad Pasha, the chief of all the Montifiq Arabs. We then resumed our voyage, and reached Jalaat-Sikir at five P. M. There I obtained a fresh escort, and went on to Munthur-Sibih, where we anchored at seven o'clock for the night.* We found it rather cold there; and those of my followers who were badly clad and possessed no bedding, felt the inclement weather intensely. As the vessel had no cabin, a shed was rigged up for me and my servants, of native reed matting, which the captain obtained for me before we left Coot-Alomara, and covered it over with part of my tent.

* Munthur means a depot for grain. At this point, the Baghdad and Basra merchants obtain cereals for exportation to the Persian Gulf and India. On both sides of Shat-al-hai a good deal of grain is cultivated, and at certain points barns are built to store it, as it is received from the peasants. They bring their produce after harvest time to these stations, for the purpose of either exchanging it for piece goods, or to pay back in kind to the merchants who had advanced them money for the same.

During the last night of February it was bitterly cold, and at sunrise the next morning the thermometer stood within four degrees of freezing-point, but at noon it went up to 60 Fahrenheit. We left Munthur-Sibih at six A. M., with a fair northwesterly breeze, which continued all day. We reached a point on the right side of the river, called Maazal, at 1.30 P. M. My destination was only two miles further, which we might have reached in twenty minutes with favorable wind; but it happened, fortunately, that Dhaidan Bey, the eldest son of Fahad Pasha, the chief of the Montifig Arabs, and governor of that part of the Irack, was encamping there with his clan for the sake of pasture, and I profited by his being in the vicinity to go and pay him a visit before I commenced my exploration in that part of Babylonia. He received me most civilly, and, when he learned for what purpose I had gone thither, he offered me his assistance in everything I required. It was, indeed, a most lucky opportunity for me to have fallen in with him just then, as the country was very much disturbed on account of some dissensions that had taken place amongst the Arabs in that neighborhood, and it required the iron arm of such a man as Dhaidan Bey to keep them in order. This young chief, who was then not more than twenty-five years of age, possessed great influence over all the wild tribes by his affability and manly bearing. The air of Arab noble blood was stamped on his face; he was handsome, as well as benevolent, and the well-known Arab hospitality was never better shown than when he had to use it. He wanted me very much to spend the night with him, but as I told him that I was pressed for time, and was anxious to visit Tel-loh as soon as possible, he made me promise that I would go and see him again on my return to Baghdad. He appointed two of his confidential slaves, called Barrihh and Jaalan, to accompany me, and to remain with me as long as I was engaged in the explorations at Tel-loh; and they certainly did their duty right loyally. On returning to my boat with them, I found that Dhaidan Bey had sent two sheep as a present to my followers, and it did not take them long to kill, dress, and feast on them. The northwesterly breeze being still in our favor, we were not more than twenty minutes sailing down between Maazel and Im-al-ghad, the nearest village to Tel-loh, or the mound of Loh. As soon as we arrived, my escort busied themselves to obtain for me the number of workmen I required; and whether we wanted provisions, fuel, or shelter

for some of my followers, it was immediately produced. The natives of Im-al-ghad, being strict Sheeites, and consequently considering that any contact with Christians would defile them, we had some difficulty on our first arrival to get them to do anything for us in the way of our cooking arrangements; but after a day or two they were reconciled to our ways and plans, especially as they found the representatives of the chief of the Montifig and my Moslem followers partaking of my dainties and mixing with my Christian servants.

I was not a little vexed to learn, on my arrival at Im-al-ghad, that Tel-loh was not in the Pashalic of Baghdad, as Basra had, a few months before, been made an independent Pashalic; wherefore, the privilege granted to me in my firman did not extend further than the town of Hai. But as I had gone to the expense of a voyage thither, and learned that M. Sarzac, the French vice-consul at Basra, had, a short time before, visited the mound and excavated in it without any permit from the Porte, I thought I might just as well try the ruin for a few days, and see if it would be worth while to ask our ambassador at Constantinople to use his influence with the Porte so that my license might be extended to that province.

Early on the 2d of March I walked to the mound with my guide and the workmen I had engaged at the village, and it took us about an hour to reach it, though the distance was not more than three miles from the river. There was neither road nor any sign of footpath, as the soil consisted of dried mud, and both pedestrians and equestrians had to make their way as best they could through the cracked ground without tripping. I found, on arriving at the mound, that the workmen had not provided themselves with water, and that the nearest place from which they could obtain a supply was close to my encampment, so I asked one of the men to go and engage some women to bring the requisite quantity; but I was told that it was not customary nor proper in that country for women to be employed in such work, especially in conveying water such a great distance, where only men are employed. On asking them if they had no poor women in their village who would be glad to earn a few piasters, as was the case in other places, they said that the women in that part of the country were bashful, and would feel ashamed to be engaged in such a vocation. I felt that my informants had some covert design in try-

ing to mislead me, as they wished to monopolize the work themselves, and make me pay them enormously for what I could get the women to do for me at less than a quarter of the amount they claimed. I allowed them the first day to fetch the water required for the workmen; but they were not a little surprised when they saw me the next morning go to the village and call out for any needy girls who wished to earn an honest living to come to me. No sooner were my words heard than a score of dashing damsels responded to the call, and they cheerfully engaged to carry the required water to the mound, and so they continued to do until I had left the place.

The mound of Tel-loh is very curiously shaped, quite different from any other Babylonian site. It is about a mile in circumference, and consists of different small elevations, the largest of which, not more than thirty feet high, is the one in which the black statues were discovered by M. Sarzac, and also the largest statue, which I have already mentioned, whose hands were cut off and sold to the late George Smith, and the bust of which was broken and carried away by the former gentleman. It is quite certain that that mound was not used as a kingly residence, but as a cemetery for renowned individuals.

On arriving there, I found that the Arabs had uncovered the upper part of it, and as I wished to take a squeeze of the inscription on it for the British Museum, I had it wholly dug out. I placed a number of gangs of workmen to excavate in different parts of the mound, which I thought to be the most likely spots where antiquities might exist. The first day I began, we came upon the remains of a temple, where I found traces of the walls and two pebble sockets at the entrance for the posts of the door to revolve upon. One of these I brought home to the British Museum, and the other I gave to the Ottoman authorities for the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. In another place we came upon a grave, in which a large number of unbaked, inscribed clay tablets were buried. In some parts of the area we had only to dig one foot or two, and came upon inscribed objects, the majority of which consisted of curiously-inscribed symbols in the shape of a thick, short tent-peg; but no one has, as yet, found out what these objects represented. There must have been thousands of them in existence at one time, as the whole mound was covered with fragments of them. The other objects were a kind of weights

made of red granite, of different shapes, and inscribed with the same sort of characters.*

During the first day of our excavations, a number of the Arabs who were encamping near the mound, came to be employed, as they said they had more right to dig there than the peasants I had taken with me from Im-al-ghad, especially as they were in a better position to protect our diggings from the marauders, they being near the spot, and having more power to drive away interlopers. When I learned who they were I was glad to engage some of them, and they proved most invaluable to me, not only as workmen, but as men possessing great influence in the country. When I was at breakfast the next day, a messenger came running to ask me to go to the mound as soon as possible to prevent bloodshed, as a party of the Gharaghool Arabs—the most refractory tribe in the country—were trying to stop the Im-al-ghad workmen from digging, in order that they might monopolize the work themselves. The escort sent with me by Dhaidan Bey had tried to quiet them, but to no purpose, as the other Arabs had sworn that they would allow no one to excavate in that mound save those who belonged to their tribe, as they considered Tel-loh to be in their district, and the Arabs that I had employed were fellaheens, whose business it was to cultivate the soil. On reaching the mound, I found that the Gharaghools were really in earnest, and both they and the Arabs I had employed from the camp near the mound were ready to settle their dispute by force of arms, and the poor peasants of Im-al-ghad were standing timidly on one side without daring to go on with their work. As I could not induce the refractory Arabs to listen to reason, though I promised to employ some of them the next day, and I was afraid that if I allowed the excavations to go on some serious fight might take place, I stopped the work altogether for the time being, and returned to the village to see what best I could do to protect my workmen from being molested. I feared that if I sent to Dhaidan Bey, bloodshed might be caused, which I should be sorry for, especially when, legally speaking, I had no right to make any excavations there. I determined, therefore, to send my escort, the two slaves of Dhaidan Bey, to

* It is very curious, in my discoveries at Abou-Habba, or Sippara (the Biblical Sepharvaim), three years afterwards, a small egg-shaped stone was found, made of the same material, and having the same inscription on it, said to be 3800 B. C.

the chief of the Gharaghools, whose camp was about eight miles from my quarters, to represent to him the misbehavior of those of his tribe who molested my workmen. In less than four hours they returned, bringing one of the chiefs, called Shaikh Khallawee, with them. He apologized most humbly for what had taken place, and said that thenceforward he would see that not a man of his tribe go to the mound while I was engaged there. He invited me to go and encamp where they were located, as he said that Tel-loh was nearer them than where I was. I thanked him for his courtesy, and told him that I did not intend to remain there more than two or three days; but I promised that if I went there again, I would pay them a visit.

During my stay in the vicinity of Tel-loh the weather was rather stormy; sometimes we were smothered with dust, and sometimes our work was interrupted by showers of rain. All the time I was excavating there, I felt that I was trespassing, because I did not possess the requisite permit, and I was not certain how long I should be allowed to go on with my work without interruption from the neighboring Arabs, who flocked to the trenches to see what we were doing. On the other hand, had I been fortunate enough to discover any large objects, it was doubtful whether I would be allowed to remove them under the provisions of my firman. Feeling indisposed to carry on my work under false pretenses, and finding that I could ill afford to spend a longer time there on account of my other duties in Babylonia and Assyria, I resolved to close my work at Tel-loh, and return to Baghdad after three days' trial.

I had hoped that on my return to England I should manage, through our ambassador at Constantinople, to obtain permission from the Porte to excavate at Tel-loh. But I was sadly disappointed, because it appeared afterwards, that in the meantime M. Sarzac was endeavoring, through his embassy at the Turkish capital, to obtain a firman to excavate on his own account, and before I could communicate with Sir Henry Layard, he attained his object. I did not know at first that M. Sarzac was negotiating for a concession to excavate at Tel-loh, but supposed only that he had asked the French Government to give him a grant for explorations in Southern Babylonia, which they had refused to do; and this put me off the scent. Though my other duties obliged me to shorten my stay at Tel-loh, had I had the proper permit I

would have left a few workmen, with a competent overseer, to go on with the digging until my return to Babylonia the next year.

From what I have seen of the place of M. Sarzac's discoveries, I am certain that if I had continued my researches there one day longer, I should have come upon the nest of black statues which were discovered in the highest mound, and within a few feet of the large headless statue, which I have already alluded to. As soon as I had uncovered it, for the purpose of taking a squeeze of the inscription I placed two gangs of workmen to excavate in that same mound. One I directed to open a trench in front of the said statue, and the other going across it a distance of thirty feet. The overseer who was employed by M. Sarzac, and who wanted me to leave him in charge of the mound before I left the country, told me that had I gone on with my excavations two or three feet longer and deeper, I could not have missed one or two of the statues, especially as one of the walls of the chambers must have led me to them.

Assyrian scholars have identified that ancient site of bygone civilization as "Sirgulla," or City of the Great Light—that is to say, a place dedicated to fire-worship—and believe that the greater part of the discovered antiquities bore the name of "Gudea," a prince who held the rank of a viceroy under the king of Ur.

CHAPTER XIV.

As I had promised Dhaidan Bey to visit him again before my return to Baghdad, as soon as I broke up my camp on the 6th March, and saw my servant and followers safely on board the boat, we sailed at nine o'clock up to the nearest point, according to appointment, whither the chief's camp had removed. It took us half an hour to reach it with fair wind, and I found, on my arrival there, that a horse had been sent to take me to the encampment, which was about half a mile inland. I was surprised to find, on reaching it, that the grand tent of Dhaidan Bey was full of chiefs from all parts of the Montifi country, as he had invited them to meet me at breakfast. They all accorded me the most gratifying reception, and my noble friend, in particular, was most courteous and affable. His huge tent, made of black goat's-hair, must have contained at least one hundred and fifty chiefs, all of whom, with their followers, partook of the same hospitality; the latter were squatting outside the tent, and had their meal separately, but the former fared alike with me by rotation. No less than twenty sheep had been slaughtered; some were boiled with rice, others were made into stew in the Arab fashion, but as Dhaidan Bey, his father, Fahad Pasha, and all their relatives had mixed a good deal with the town's-people and Ottoman officials, I was regaled by other dainty dishes, both savory and sweet, placed in front of me. Three huge trays, each about ten feet in circumference, were heaped up with rice and mutton, and placed before me in a line, to which a batch of the chiefs were invited. As soon as I had done, I left my seat and sat on one side, and those who sat with me did the same to make room for others. When the second number had done, others succeeded them; and this went on until all of the superior guests had eaten to their heart's content, Dhaidan himself acting as the master of ceremonies. I had to wait until all the guests had finished before I could take leave of my host, as it was contrary to Arab etiquette to go away without drinking a cup of coffee, which could only be handed round after all the company had finished eating. My host tried to prevail upon me to stay the night with him, but I begged to be excused, as I was in a hurry to return to Baghdad. I was able to leave at last

about eleven o'clock; and as soon as I got into the boat we sailed eastward with fair breeze. In the afternoon it got very stormy, with thunder and lightning all around us. At half-past four o'clock it began to rain so heavily that we were obliged to moor our vessel at Munthur-Shwailat, to enable those of my followers who had no cover to take shelter in one of the tents on shore. The downpour did not cease for five hours; and as my servant, escort, and Seyid Ahmed, the overseer, had no proper covering, they passed an uncomfortable night. I tried all I could to persuade them to follow their fellow-passengers to the Arab tents, but nothing would make them leave me. Their great anxiety was that I should not get wet myself, and they kept hovering round me all night.

The next morning the sun shone most brightly, and in a few hours' time everything dried up, as if no rain had wetted us. We started at 6.15 A. M., and as we had a strong head-wind, we were obliged to be towed up the river. At Jilaat-Sikir, which we reached in about four hours, we stopped to buy provisions, both for my followers and crew, and about noon we resumed our voyage, still under the necessity of having our boat towed by the crew. We had to halt at 5.30 P. M. at the village of Munthur-chahaf-Alhockamee, because the crew were quite knocked up with the hard work of towing the heavy vessel.

On the 8th of March it began to rain again about two o'clock in the morning, and it continued to come down in torrents till ten. As the sky looked still overcast with heavy clouds, and most of my followers were wet, as they had been nearly eight hours without proper shelter, we did not leave our mooring until noon. We started with a fair breeze, and sailed pleasantly for three hours, until we reached a bend in the river, which obliged us to take down the sails again, and revert to towing. It took the sailors only about an hour this time to get over the difficulty of making head against the wind, after which we were enabled to set sail once more, and make up for lost time. We reached, at 5.45 P. M., the spot where a branch of the Shihman Arabs, called Bait-Chereem, were encamping, and moored our vessel near them for the night. When we passed this tract of land on coming down the river, twelve days before, the ground was quite parched up, and not a blade of grass could be seen anywhere; but a few showers of rain, which fell there at intervals for eight or nine days, made the

country look quite green, and the pasturage grew high enough for the sheep to feed upon it. This shows how fertile that country is, and how easily it can be cultivated with proper irrigation, if only the wretched inhabitants had better protection to life and property.

On the morning of the 9th the weather looked very threatening, in consequence of which the boatmen made all kinds of excuses to delay our departure; but I would not listen to them, and made them start at 6.45. The weather was certainly anything but pleasant, considering that we were enveloped in a thick fog, and we had to pass about five hours in a drizzling rain. Fortunately, the little breeze we had in the beginning of our voyage that morning was in our favor as far as the town of Hai, which we reached in two hours and a half. After spending there about two hours in replenishing our stores, we resumed our voyage; but this time our boat had to be towed, as the wind was contrary. At noon the sky cleared up, and we enjoyed a most delightful sunshine. A little before six o'clock we reached Munthur Mihairja, or Bunder * Mihairja, where we halted for the night.

As usual, we left as soon as the sun was up the next morning, and the spirit of the crew revived. We had a most delightful sail all day, as the breeze blew in our favor from the south, which enabled us to reach Coot-al-Omara at 3.30 P. M. While we were sailing up the river under full canvas, we were hailed by some men on shore to give them a lift to Coot, and as the master of my boat recognized them to be his friends, he begged me to allow him to take them in, in order that they might be of use in case the wind turned contrary. I, of course, raised no objection to his doing so.

My host of Coot, Allah-Wairdee Effendi, recognized our craft from a distance; consequently I found him waiting at the landing-place to receive me. He gave me the joyful intelligence that I should not have to wait there long, because an English steamer for Baghdad was expected from Basra during the night. She did not arrive, however, till two A. M., on the 12th; but, fortunately, my friend Allah-Wairdee Effendi afforded me every act of hospitality to make the time of my waiting pass agreeably.

In consequence of the unusual scanty fall of snow in Northern

* Bunder, in Arabic, means Port.

Koordistan and Armenia during the winter of 1878-79, both the Euphrates and the Tigris in the spring of that year were extremely low, and this caused lamentable famine all over Asiatic Turkey. Shat-al-Hai, as a matter of course, shared in the calamity, and that was the reason why I was so long in reaching Im-el-ghad, the port of Tel-loh. It took me nearly forty hours on that voyage; whereas, if the river had been as high as it was in other years in springtime, I ought to have accomplished the same voyage down in ten or twelve hours. Coming up the river is another story, inasmuch as the strength of the current, when the river is high, makes both sailing and towing against it very laborious. Our boat, which was about four feet draught, could only just make her way through the shallow places; whereas, in the proper spring flood, the river Hai rises between thirteen and fourteen feet. It is traditionally related that Shat-al-Hai was a gigantic canal dug out by the giants of old; but from what I have seen of it, and of the formation of its banks, it is neither more nor less than a natural gully, which has been enlarged by time through the overflowing of the Tigris into the Euphrates. The former stream is higher, and contains a greater quantity of water on account of being confined within its banks, while the latter loses more than half of its water in the great marshes of Hinddiah and Affaj.

The steamer which took me back to Baghdad from Coot-al-Omara was called the "City of London," and belonged to the firm of Messrs. Lynch & Company, who were the first, I believe, to open a regular mercantile steam communication between the Persian Gulf and Baghdad. I had to go on board at night, as the vessel was to start at four o'clock in the morning. Her master, Captain Clements, supplied me with a snug cabin, which was a great comfort after roughing it, as I had done, in the open, dirty Arab boat. Captain Clements, who was noted for his liberality and courtesy, provided a sumptuous table, replenished with every luxury that could be obtained in that country. I fared quite differently on board the Turkish steamer, "Mossul," which took me down to Coot, as her commander was an Arab, who kept no table, but allowed his cook to prepare what eatables the well-to-do passengers chose to order.

We had a delightful passage up the river, day and night, without any accident to speak of, excepting at four P. M. on the first day, in the snapping of the helm, when we lost about two hours in

having a temporary one rigged up in its place. At 2.20 P. M. on the following day, the steamer stopped at a point to land me with two Swiss passengers, who were proceeding to Constantinople, in order that we might walk to Ctesiphon and meet the "City of London" again on the opposite point, as there was a regular semicircle of about ten miles from one end of the peninsula to the other, which we walked across in about forty minutes, while it took the steamer to go around it about two hours and twenty minutes. The first and second officers and the clerk accompanied us, as they also wished to visit Ctesiphon. We had ample time to see everything, as we had even to wait for the arrival of the steamer on the bank of the river for more than a quarter of an hour. My Swiss companions did not return with me to the steamer, as their friends at Baghdad had sent them horses to take them across the country. The land journey was not more than fifteen miles, which they could easily accomplish in three hours; but it took us more than seven hours to reach Baghdad in the steamer. I landed early next morning, and went to take up my quarters at my cousin's house, where I had staid two years before. I had promised to pay him another visit on my return from Shat-al-Hai. On calling on Colonel and Mrs. Nixon, I found that Mr. W. Scawen and Lady Anne Blunt were on the point of starting for Persia dressed in the Arab fashion, which seemed novel, inasmuch as in these days of constant communication between the East and West and the adoption of the European style of attire by the Turks, native officials, and other respectable classes in Turkey, the wearing of that old-fashioned and clumsy dress by an English lady and gentleman seemed quite whimsical. I have always found all nationalities in an Oriental country pay more respect to the Europeans who adhere to their mode of dressing than when they change it for the costume of the country. Forty or fifty years ago, when the European dress was looked upon as a strange costume, travelers were obliged to adopt the dress of the country to evade notice and insult; but it is now quite a different thing, when even Arabs who mix up with the Turks do not hesitate to dress in the European fashion, excepting the hat.

The late well-known African traveler, Commander Lovett Cameron, also came to Baghdad at the same time, for the purpose of examining the route between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf for a railway.

During my absence in Southern Babylonia, some important antiquities had been discovered in Babylon, and forwarded to me to Baghdad to dispatch to England, before I returned to Mossul; but I had no end of trouble to get the authorities to have them examined according to the provisions of the firman, and permit them to be forwarded to Basra. The first agent they sent to examine them refused to sign the necessary certificate after a regular list of the collection was made, as he said that he could not make head or tail of the quantity or quality of the objects which were shown to him; and, although I had packed everything properly to send on board the steamer, which was starting on that day, I had to allow another examination of the contents of the cases before I could send them off. I deemed it advisable not to make much ado about the detention, because I should only create suspicion and distrust in the eyes of the authorities, and, most probably, if they found me too exacting, they would place greater impediments in my way afterwards. However, after the delay of a week, I managed to get the antiquities clear of further interference, and made them over to Mr. Malcolm Baltazar, an Armenian merchant at Baghdad, to forward to England by the first available opportunity after my departure. This gentleman, to whom I owe great gratitude, was good enough to undertake the responsibility of receiving and forwarding all antiquities to Basra without any remuneration, and he always acted most energetically and cheerfully in that behalf until he was appointed chief dragoman to the Russian consulate, when it was deemed advisable to relieve him of that trouble.

Colonel Nixon, to whom I am also indebted for his great kindness, was good enough, as on a former occasion, to take upon himself the general control of our researches during my absence, and supply our agent in Babylon with the necessary funds, on the part of the trustees of the British Museum, for the carrying on of the excavations.

After having seen all arrangements in proper working order, I left for Mossul on the 24th March, at one o'clock in the afternoon. As I wished to examine some ruins on the right bank of the Tigris, and I had to see how my workmen fared at Kalaa-Shirgat in their explorations there, I traveled this time on the Mesopotamian side of the river. As usual, when it was known at Baghdad that I had intended to take that route, a great number of travelers profited by that opportunity, and their presence with my large escort made

my cavalcade rather imposing. We reached Khan-almashaheeda at 7.15 P. M., and, as my luggage had not arrived, and there being no habitation for some distance further, I deemed it advisable to halt there for the night. There was no village, but merely a caravansary for the convenience of travelers. The rooms were so filthily dirty and infested with vermin, that I did not even care to set my foot into any of them, but had my tent pitched in the courtyard. I was doomed not to rest quietly there, because, early in the evening, it began to blow a regular hurricane from the east, which made my tent stagger, especially as the pegs could not be driven properly into the ground. Fortunately, outside every room there was an open archway, where my servants and followers had settled themselves for the night, and I thought I could not do better than follow their example.

March 25th, when I awoke, I found that my bed and clothing were covered about an inch thick with the rubbish of the khan, and I was not sorry when I moved out of it after seven o'clock. Our poor animals fared very badly, as they could get nothing to eat, the innkeeper having sold all the spare fodder he possessed to other muleteers, who had preceded us. We reached the important village of Dijail * at 12.30 P. M., and halted there for the remainder of the day. My muleteers and escort took up their quarters at the khan; but I went in search of comfortable quarters in the village, and was fortunate enough to find a clean upper room in a respectable man's house, who did not hesitate to lodge me with him for the night, and supplied my servants with convenient shelter in the same house. I was glad to find that my host was of the Soonee sect of Moslems, they having no prejudices against the Christians. It rained a little in the evening.

I had a most comfortable night's rest at Dijail, as my room was very clean and waterproof. I found, on awaking in the morning, that the weather was threatening to be wet; but after it had drizzled for an hour, it cleared up, and we were able to start at six o'clock. We reached Sammirra at 4.30 P. M., after having been ten hours and a half on horseback. As that town is situated on the left side of the Tigris, and we were traveling on the right bank, we halted in a field opposite to it outside the village; but as the weather looked rather stormy, I took shelter in one of the huts. I sent

*Little Tigris in Arabic.

over the chief of my guard in a boat to the commandant of police for a fresh escort to accompany me to Kalaa-Shirgat, as my Baghdad Dhabtias were ordered to accompany me only as far as Sammirra. We had very great trouble to obtain provender for our animals, as the villagers were destitute of even the common necessities of life, and I had to send across the river for everything we wanted. We had a tremendous hurricane at night, with lightning and thunder, accompanied with rain.

We started at six A. M. on the 27th, and reached Ticreet at 3.45 P. M. Our journey the last two days was very dreary. Indeed, the whole of the route on the western side of the Tigris, from Baghdad to Mossul, is very uninteresting, because, with the exception of Dijail, Sammirra, and Ticreet, with here and there some show of Arab tents, the whole distance is a monotonous wilderness. Generally speaking, that route is infested with Arab marauders, and no one dares travel the whole distance without a strong escort. At Ticreet we had very great difficulty to obtain provender for our animals. Soon after my arrival, the Moodeer, or sub-governor, called on me with the members of his council. They all swore that there was no barley to be had, and after no end of empty promises and palaver, they managed to obtain some, for which we had to pay enormously. My muleteers found out afterwards, that not only was there a good supply of grain in the town, but we could purchase it for half the price we had to pay through the authorities! The Ticreetees are considered great cheats, and are notorious for their propensity of fleecing strangers. The men are very muscular and ugly, but the women are handsome and sprightly.

We left Ticreet at six A. M. on the 28th, and reached Khan-Alkharneena at 1.30 P. M. This inn, which is in ruins, must have been very important in former years, because, being situated in such an isolated part of the Tigris, it afforded great protection to weary travelers on their long journeys. Fortunately, when I passed in 1879, a branch of the Dilaim Arabs were encamping not far from it, and their chief accorded me his hospitality for the night. That tribe had gone thither from the neighborhood of Aana, near the Euphrates, in search of pasture for their flocks, because, during that season both sides of the Euphrates were devoid of pasture for want of rain. We had great difficulty to obtain water there, as the river was a good distance from our camp, and my host's water-carriers had failed to obtain the necessary supply, as they

thought that we could manage to get on with as little water as they did, for they were not very particular about washing.

The next day we left the Dilaim's camp at 4.45 A. M., and had a very tedious journey of eleven hours, until we reached the springs called "Balaleej," where we had the beasts of burden unloaded to rest for a while. The water of those springs is neither abundant nor palatable; but for the weary traveler, who had not seen nor tasted water for hours on a hot day, the sight of such an element, even with the feeling of partaking of its impurity, must be welcomed with delight! There were patches of grass near the different springs, on which our poor animals tried to regale themselves. As I wished to reach Kalaa-Shirgat before dark, in order that I might find the whereabouts of my workmen, I left the animals with the muleteers and a few men of my escort, to have a longer rest, and hurried on to that place with two Dhabtias through hills and dales, sometimes in a canter, and sometimes in a quick walk. We found it very green on the plateau, which we had to pass before reaching our destination, with here and there a small Arab encampment. We arrived at the camp of Faraj-Addarweesh, the chief of my Alboonjad workmen, at dusk; and as soon as it was reported that I had arrived, he came out to welcome me, and received me in his tent, which he had pitched below the northern side of the mound. I found that my kawass, Fattah, had arrived from Mossul with my groom and riding horse to meet me; but as they did not expect me so soon, they had gone to the encampment of Firhan Pasha to spend the night. As soon as I arrived, however, they were sent for, and they came immediately and gave me the latest news from Mossul. My luggage did not arrive till nearly two hours after me, and I had my tent pitched a little distance off from the Arab camp, under the shelter of the rocks. As my servants could not begin to prepare my dinner before ten o'clock, I lay down on my bed and went to sleep. When I awoke to have something to eat, I found it was just one o'clock in the morning. It blew a regular hurricane all night, and every now and then I thought the tent would tumble over me.

Early in the morning I went up to the mound to see the excavations, and was disappointed to find them as barren of any valuable results as before. The storm raged all day, and I had great difficulty in going about to see the different trenches and tunnels from the dust which was blowing about. On my return

to camp, I found my tent filthy in the extreme from the dirt that had accumulated in it, consequent on the raging wind. Soon afterwards it began to rain, and it continued to do so all day. At night the rain came down in torrents, and my wonder was that the tents stood the fury of the storm. I went to sleep notwithstanding, and most pleasant it was to slumber while the thunder and lightning were enlivening the sky! The downpour continued all night; and as my followers had only slight shelter, and the servants had neglected to dig a trench round their tent to keep the water away from it, they got wet through in consequence of the torrent, which ran down the declivity under which we had encamped. A part of the escort had taken refuge in a cave behind my tent with those travelers who accompanied me from Baghdad; but finding that the rush of water had penetrated even to that retreat, they had to run out of it into the open air, preferring the ducking in safety, rather than being buried alive in that hollow. An officer's wife who was going to Mossul with her baby-girl under my protection, accompanied by her mother, also spent the night in discomfort, partially sheltered by the eaves of my tent and a tarpaulin I lent her. I could not invite her to share my tent, for fear of causing scandal. The poor infant daughter suffered from the inclement weather for some days afterwards, but under my simple treatment she got over her indisposition in a short time.

I had intended to start for Mossul early the following day, but as I found every one in a pitiful condition, I delayed my departure until all those who had suffered by the storm had dried their things, and partaken of some breakfast comfortably.

As my Baghdad escort were only ordered to accompany me to Kalaa-Shirgat, they left me in the morning to return to Sammirra, and Mijwil Bey, the second son of Firhan Pasha, provided me with the necessary guides instead. His father was away arranging with the Turkish authorities about the best means of putting down the refractory spirit of his brother Farris. On my way through Firhan Pasha's camp I alighted at his tent to offer my salutation to his wife. His son Mijwil received me very graciously, and his step-mother, Fassil Khatoon,* invited me to have some refreshments, which I did not like to refuse, though I was in a hurry to proceed on my journey. Generally speaking, it is customary for a dis-

* "The Lady" in the Mossul Arabic.

tinguished traveler to pay his respects to a lady of rank among the nomad Arabs; but as Firhan Pasha had married the daughter of a Koordish chief, and he had partly adopted the Turkish mode of living, I did not like to visit the harem part of the tent, but contented myself with the ceremony of exchanging salutations behind the screen which separated the male apartment from that occupied by the females. Both she and Mijwil tried very hard to get me to stay to dinner, and went so far as to order a sheep to be slaughtered for me; but I begged to be excused, as I wished to hurry on to Mossul. So, after I had spent about an hour with them, I left, and Mijwil accompanied me a short distance from the camp, and then left me to return home.

The whole country seemed partially under water that morning from the storm of the previous night. When I was proceeding to Firhan Pasha's tent from Kalaa-Shirgat, I had to go a round-about way to reach it, on account of the torrents which were rushing down to the river from all directions.

At sunset I reached the encampment of the Jeboors, whose chief, Shaik Azzawee Zarzoor, received me with every mark of civility and hospitality. I had my tent pitched near his; and, as the night seemed very threatening, I took the precaution to have my servants and followers lodged in different Arab tents. According to the usual Arab hospitality, a sheep was slaughtered as soon as I arrived, and a large dish of savory stew was made of it for all. As I expected, we had a tremendous thunderstorm about eight o'clock; and although I took every precaution to guard against wet, the heavy downpour penetrated even through the canvas. Had not my host and his people held the ropes of my tent tightly, nothing would have saved it from coming down on my head. The interior of my tent got so wet that I had to move to that of Shaikh Azzawee, where a fire was kindled to dry up my wet things.

Tuesday, the 1st of April, everything was saturated with wet; the consequence was that we could not move as early as I wished. However, by eight o'clock we were able to do so, and reached Hammam Alee at 3.30 P. M. As I was afraid of another storm, I engaged one of the huts in the village for the night. I had my tent pitched outside my dwelling, in case I should be annoyed with fleas; but as I did not feel any discomfort from those pests, I slept all the night there. We had another storm in the evening, but it was not so severe as those of the past two nights.

Hamam Alee being only about fifteen miles from Mossul, I left my luggage the next morning to follow with the escort, and cantered on alone to that town, and reached it in about three hours. The whole sky was overcast with black clouds, and the sound of thunder and flashes of lightning were incessant along the horizon all the time I was hurrying to Mossul; but, fortunately, it did not begin to rain till I reached my destination. As soon as I dismounted, it began to pour down from all directions, and when my followers arrived they were soaking wet. Happily, my luggage was comparatively intact, as it was well protected by tarpaulins.

I started for Nimroud April 3d, as I wished to stop the work there, on account of the unsuccessful explorations that had been carried on at that mound in my absence and the short time I had left me to return to England. The bridge of boats had been taken down, on account of the high rise of the Tigris, so I had to cross by the ferry. I found the road very heavy with mud, and my horse was often nearly down to his knees in puddles; nevertheless, I managed to reach the mound in three hours' ride, a distance of eighteen miles. Having examined all the trenches and tunnels that had been dug, and seeing that it would be useless to go on with the excavations any longer, I closed the work. Wishing to return to Mossul the same day, and fearing lest the double journey would be too much for one horse, I had sent another the day before to Nimroud to carry me back, as the roads were very heavy. Before I crossed over to Mossul, I went to Koyunjik to examine the work at that place. The operations were getting on very slowly, in consequence of the quantity of débris we had to remove before we came to any objects of interest, as the valuable inscriptions which were searched for were found at the bottom of the chambers.

The two following days I spent in receiving visitors, both Europeans and natives, and returning the call of those who expected me to visit them; an etiquette which I could not very well dispense with, though I had a good deal to occupy my time in making arrangements for carrying on a few days' excavations at the mound of Nebel Yonis,—that part of the city of Nineveh where there is a sanctum dedicated to the prophet Jonah.

CHAPTER XV.

I HAD been longing, for some years past, to explore in that part of ancient Nineveh, called Nebee Yonis; but the prejudices of the native Mohammedans and jealousy of the local authorities were too powerful to cope with, especially as the whole place was built upon, and none of the landlords would allow me, or any one else, to open a few trenches, or tunnels, in their domains. On this last expedition, however, I had employed at Koyunjik a large number of the inhabitants of that village as laborers, one of whom I promoted to the rank of overseer, and as I very often visited the place, and the people began to know me well, it was proposed to me by a number of the well-to-do inhabitants, who were not in my employ, that I should dig in their courtyards, as they felt confident that many objects of antiquity would be found there. They did not ask me for any indemnity or remuneration, but they only wished to please me by giving me the chance of finding some valuable ancient remains in their houses. I thanked them all for their kind offer; but I said that as I was making researches for the British nation, I could not accept their friendly offer without entering into a legal arrangement with the landlords, in accordance with the provisions of my firman. The fact is, I was reluctant to accept their liberal offer, from fear of future complications in case I found some valuable antiquities, and should lose them through the interference of the local authorities, who could easily prevail upon the landlords to debar me from appropriating any object I found in their habitations. In the meantime, I heard that two or three owners of tumbled-down houses, who were in need of money, wanted to sell their property, and so I made arrangements with them that I should pay them what their property was worth, and after I had finished the necessary explorations, I would level the excavated ground, and present them with all the materials with which they might rebuild their houses. This proposal was received with the greatest satisfaction, and, under this arrangement, I could then purchase what houses I liked. The difficulty that first presented itself to me was, that the land happened to be a copyhold of the mosque, or shrine, of the prophet Jonah, and I could not purchase the houses and make a bargain for digging in the land

without the consent of the guardians of the sanctuary. On consulting a number of my Mohammedan legal friends, I was assured that there was no impediment to my buying houses or land, and digging in what would be constituted my property for the time being, especially as it had been made law that aliens could make such purchases. I was advised, however, to obtain the consent of the guardians of the mosque, which would facilitate matters. After a short negotiation, I was able to enter into an agreement with them, which was to the effect that, in purchasing the required sites, I should pay a fee on each purchase I made, and I reserved to myself the right of restoring the land to the individuals from whom I had bought the property. Before the agreement was signed, I had come to an arrangement with the land-owners about their property, most of which was waste-land or ruined houses unfit for habitation; and if I had had any money to spare, I could have bought half of the village for a mere trifle. To make the purchase more sure, I got one of the guardians to witness the compact, and I need not say I lost no time in commencing the longed-for operations immediately afterwards.

As a matter of course, as soon as it was known that I was taking steps to dig at Nebee Yonis, and that the guardians of the shrine were countenancing my project, jealousy and intrigue began to be busy, especially amongst the local authorities, who took it for granted that I had bribed the guardians to consent to my excavating in what they chose to call a sacred spot! Strictly speaking, the guardians of the mosque had no legal right to prevent me from purchasing any houses in the village of Nebee Yonis, or digging in them when they became my property; but they could have used their influence and authority with the natives of the place to prevent them selling me any of their houses; or worse than this, they could have easily raised the hue-and-cry against what they might have called desecration. But they, being my friends, did not choose to use such a subterfuge; on the contrary, they helped me to do everything according to law; and as the senior of them was the chief of the Olemas,* it was left to him to raise objection to my digging, if there was any impediment to my doing so. They got me to give them a bond, however, before they consented to the arrangement, that I should abstain from digging anywhere in the

* A term applied to Moslems learned in the law.

close proximity to the mosque; and, to prevent future complications, we fixed certain limits round the courtyard of the mosque, in order that mischief-makers might not have it in their power to say that I was going to excavate within the sacred edifice. For that matter, I was assured that if I really wished to try a few trenches within the precincts of the mosque I could easily do so, by offering to set up some useful dwellings and baths for charitable purposes, which all good Moslems would hail with infinite pleasure; and as deep foundations must be dug for such erections, I could appropriate any antiquities which might have been found therein.

I deemed it prudent to employ all the laborers from the inhabitants at Nebee Yonis, of whom not a few had already worked for me at Koyunjik, and, consequently, they not only knew their vocation, but they strengthened my hand in my new undertaking in their village. One of their principal men, whom, as I said before, I had raised to the rank of an overseer at Koyunjik, I appointed, with two other men who had also been in my employ, to superintend the operations. This arrangement, of course, not only created great confidence amongst the inhabitants of Nebee Yonis, but it gave satisfaction to all the Moslems at Mossul and in other parts.

As I expected, before many days were over the opposition which was threatening in the distance began to break out with persistent activity; but though I knew I should have to contend against a formidable resistance, I certainly never contemplated a dead set against my excavating in that part of Nineveh by the Ottoman Government in contravention to the conditions contained in the imperial decree which had been granted to me for the Trustees of the British Museum by the Sultan.

After the guardians of the mosque and myself concluded the agreement, they began to fear that if they did not get the governor-general to countersign it, they might get into trouble; so they asked me to let them take the document to His Excellency, and obtain his assent, and as I knew the governor-general well, and felt sure that he would be the last man to object to my digging at Nebee Yonis, I did not raise any objection to their proposal; but, on the contrary, I thought that by his indorsing our agreement, I should be doubly strengthened in my operations. Unfortunately, there were other influences working against my enterprise, which seemed to

frighten him from sanctioning such a measure without referring the matter to the Porte. He therefore informed the guardians of the mosque that the wording of the agreement required a revision to prevent future disputes; but when I told him that I was desirous to begin at once, he said, pending the ratification of the agreement, I could go on with my excavations in accordance with the provision granted to me by my firman. He did not tell them, however, what he considered to require altering, or of any addenda which he desired to embody in the compact. I had no doubt that what he wanted was to gain time to consult the proper authorities at Constantinople about the matter. As far as I was concerned, I was content to begin my operations forthwith, and I therefore lost no time in commencing the work I was longing for.

As those who were opposed to my new undertaking saw that I had begun my excavations, and no one had taken steps to stop me, they began to spread false rumors regarding my intentions, and went so far as to frighten the chief and some elders of Nebbee Yonis into the belief that, if I purchased half of the village and destroyed the habitations, the local authorities would call upon those who occupied the remaining dwellings to pay the taxes in full, and before many months were over the whole village would be deserted, as it was the case with Khorsabad.* They were told, further, that they would lose nothing by petitioning the local councils and the governor-general about the damage I was causing to their village; but, on the contrary, the authorities might be induced to lower their taxes and get me to indemnify them for the damage which might happen to their village through my excavations. They even prompted some women to create a hubbub, on the plea that their dwellings would be destroyed through the boring of my tunnels in the neighboring houses, whereby they and their children would become homeless. This plea I had guarded against at the outset, as I knew that mischief-makers would pre-

* Khorsabad was the ancient city of Sargon, father of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, which was a flourishing village in 1844; but M. Botta, the then French consul at Mossul, having discovered the ruins of the famous palace of Sargon, and found that it spread underneath the whole village, was obliged to purchase all the dwellings, and had them leveled to the ground for the purposes of his researches. The inhabitants had ultimately to erect their village below the mound, where it now stands.

vail upon incredulous proprietors of houses which I had not purchased, to put forward this plea to prevent me from digging. I therefore added a clause in my agreement with the guardians that I should not approach any dwelling which did not legally belong to me; and if my workmen caused any damage to neighboring houses, I would indemnify them for all losses. Furthermore, in case of disagreement, we should leave the settlement of the dispute in the hands of arbitrators, to be appointed by both parties.

As soon as the petitions were presented the *Mijlis-at-Tamyeez*,* or Court of First Instance, composed of Moslems, Christians, and a Jew, the non-Mohammedan members tried to show a great zeal by protesting against aliens digging in that sacred spot, which undertaking, they said, would create ill-feeling amongst the Mohammedans. When they found their covert design availed them but little, as all the workmen I employed were Mohammedans of Mossul and Nebes Yonis, they thought that by threatening Salih Effendi, the junior of the guardians, who they knew was the one that was assisting me in the undertaking, he would make me desist from carrying further researches in that part of Nineveh. But my friend, being too wide-awake and not easily frightened, paid them off in their own coin, and told them that he could not understand their motive, because, first, I was benefiting the property of Nebes Yonis instead of injuring it, as I had paid a good value for the tumble-down houses; and then, as I had promised to restore the land, properly filled in and leveled, after I had finished my work, the former proprietors could build better houses, especially as I intended to give them all the old material I might find in the ruins. He said, moreover, that as I was allowed by international treaty to purchase landed property anywhere in the Ottoman dominions, he did not know who could prevent me from doing so in that part of Turkey. When he was told that I was desecrating the hallowed ground of the prophet Jonah by digging for antiquities, he replied that I was not doing more than what the Ottoman Government did thirty years before, when no one even thought of interfering, and he did not see that my work was in any way different from that of any other owner of a house in that locality, who chose to dig a deep ditch for a vault or a well, nor was my purchase half as bad as the religious endowments which were appropriated by the

* Arabic words, which mean "Council of Inspection."

chief of the Latin monks in the very heart of Mossul and adjoining a mosque.* It can be easily imagined how vexed those dignitaries felt at the rebuke administered to them by that plucky official; but as they found they could not argue with him, they were determined to try some other method to stop me from digging.

One of the official members of the Council was the superintendent of the religious endowments, who imagined that I had pecuniarily rewarded the junior guardian of the shrine of the prophet Jonah for his help, and he therefore thought, perhaps, that he ought to have shared in the gain. The consequence was he and the sub-governor of Mossul became thenceforth the prime movers in stopping my operations. They endeavored to prevail upon the governor-general to prohibit my working there; but as he did not like to do so without investigating the case, he asked me to meet him one day at the village, that he might see what the petitioners had to say upon the subject of their complaint. They and the members of the Council were ordered to attend on a certain day at my excavations, and so we all met at the time appointed to discuss the matter. Some women were induced to come forward with their babies to plead for the injury their dwellings were exposed to through my tunneling.

Fortunately, I had already tried a few trenches in two houses that I had purchased, and as I found in them no sign of any ancient remains, except a few fragments of enameled bricks and small objects of interest, I restored them to the former proprietors; to one of whom I returned his dwelling intact, as I managed to dig trenches along the walls, and bored a few tunnels without doing any damage to the building. This act of liberality was received with great favor by the inhabitants, and induced many others, who were hesitating to sell me their dwellings, to come forward and offer me their houses to dig at, without even asking me for remuneration.

* He alluded to a plot of land the property of one of the mosques at Mossul, which was allowed to be purchased, contrary to Moham-medan law and all precedents, by the Papal Vicar Apostolic, for the purpose of erecting a mission-house on it. To an unprejudiced Moslem's mind, the sanctioning the purchase of a religious endowment by a Christian was far more objectionable than the buying of a house at the village of Nebes Yonis, for the mere purpose of digging a few trenches in it, and then restoring the ground to its former owner.

The first thing the governor-general did, was to see whether my excavations were at a legitimate distance from the mosque, and, finding they were a good way off from it, he sent for those who had sold me their houses, and asked them if they had done so willingly, and were quite content with their bargain. On their replying in the affirmative, he asked the female complainants why they had objected to my excavations. One of them, whose dwelling adjoined one of the houses I was digging at, replied that she was afraid that my workmen would undermine her habitation, and as she was poor she would be unable to repair any damage done to it. As I said before, this contingent I had already guarded against; and on appealing to the guardian of the mosque and others standing by who were witnesses to my engagement to indemnify the owners for all damages caused by my excavations, the governor-general said that he was certain that I was the last man in the world to act unjustly towards any one, inasmuch as it had been proved that all those with whom I dealt were quite satisfied with what I had done for them. It was a notable fact that not one of those who signed the petition was present at the inquiry; and I learned afterwards, that as they were made to sign the petition without having any good reason for their complaint, they thought it prudent to absent themselves.

On finding that the opposition to my researches at Nebee Yonis dwindled to a cipher, His Excellency relieved my mind by saying that he could find no legitimate reason for stopping my work. I thought then that all obstacles were got rid of; but, unfortunately, I was doomed to be disappointed, because those of the members of the Council headed by the lieutenant-governor would not suffer the matter to be at rest, and the latter managed two days afterwards to gain the sanction of the governor-general to write and prohibit my purchasing more houses for the purposes of my explorations beyond those I had already possessed. In that letter he set forth three reasons against permitting me to carry on my researches in other parts of the same mound where I had intended to dig. First, he said that I was debarred by my firman to excavate in hallowed ground, or in any place which contained a burial-ground and sacred buildings; secondly, that by doing so, I should be hurting the feelings of the Mohammedans; and, thirdly, that the village of Nebee Yonis would be damaged by my work were I to carry on my operations to a great extent.

My answers to these clap-trap objections were plain and indisputable; namely, that I had not dug, nor intended to dig, in any sacred ground, which could only be reckoned as such within the precincts of the mosque; that it was far from me to disrespect the feelings of the Moslems; but, on the contrary, that I had the approval of the most learned and pious amongst them, which the sanction and written agreement of the guardians of the mosque of the prophet Jonah showed; and that I was not doing any harm to the village, or causing any loss to its inhabitants; but, on the contrary, I was benefiting all those who were willing to work for me and sell me their houses of their own free will.

I was glad to learn from the governor-general afterwards that my reply did not displease the local authorities, and His Excellency declared that I had answered their pleas most satisfactorily. Had the dispute rested with the governor-general and his Council, I should have had no more opposition to my legitimate work there; but, unfortunately, the matter had already been brought to the notice of the Ministry of Public Instruction at Constantinople, whose province it was to create obstacles and difficulties in the way of any enterprise which would benefit foreigners; and as the then chief of that department was not very fond of the British, he tried to thwart us in everything, and succeeded.

The inhabitants of Nebes Yonis were very much dissatisfied at the interference of the Mossul authorities, whom they considered to be unreasonable in the course they had pursued. The most respectable amongst the villagers wanted to address the governor-general about the matter, and to inform him that the few persons who signed the petition against my excavating there had really no houses on the mound, but their dwellings were situated below it, where I had never intended to dig, seeing there could be no likelihood of any remains of ancient buildings existing there,—the ground being on a level with the cultivated fields. Indeed, the chief mover in presenting the petition came to me afterwards to apologize for what he had done, and offered, in conjunction with those who joined him, to counteract their former deed by showing up the men who instigated them to sign the document.

Having then scarcely time to excavate properly the spots which I had purchased, and not knowing how far the Trustees of the British Museum were willing that I should carry on our researches there, I did not deem it advisable to move any further in the matter

until I went home and laid the case before the proper authorities. However, I felt confident that, with the presence of Sir Henry Layard as our ambassador at the Turkish capital, we should have no difficulty in gaining our object; but, unfortunately, when the time came that we required an influential supporter at the Sublime Porte, he was replaced by another official, who had greater aims to gain in matters politic than to waste his time on archaeological squabbles.

It also happened, unfortunately, that a man who owed the British Government a grudge for having been the cause of his dismissal from two high positions for alleged malpractices, was appointed at the head of the Ministry of Public Instruction, and, as soon as it fell to his power to annoy us and put a stop to our further operations, he did not hesitate to do so. I went myself to Constantinople, when Lord Dufferin was acting as ambassador there, to see what I could do through his influence; and although his lordship did his best to assist me in removing the opposition to our researches at Nebee Yonis and elsewhere, no advantage was gained by his intervention. He sent with me the second dragoman of the embassy to the Ministry of Public Instruction to explain to the chief of that department certain matters that had been misrepresented; but the more I tried to show him that all the objections that had been raised against my digging were mere phantoms, and that all I wanted was the fulfillment of the imperial pledges, he became more dogged than ever. One of his fanciful pleas against my exploring at Nebee Yonis, was that the Moham-medans of Mossul would imagine that if I were to be allowed to excavate there, I might one day bore a tunnel under the shrine of the prophet Jonah, and bring about riot and bloodshed. I explained to him, in the first place, that if I had the least suspicion of any riot resulting from my researches I should never dream of continuing them. I also said that I had stipulated with the guardians of the shrine that I should commence at a good distance from the outskirts of the mosque, and dig away from it, and there need be no fear of my breaking my word. I pointed out further, that even if I attempted to do so, there were on the spot the imperial delegate and the police, who daily watched my operations, and last, but not least, the local authorities had carte-blanche to examine my excavations any time they liked, without warning, to say nothing about the diggers themselves, who were not only

Moslems, but natives of the place, who could stop working as soon as they found I was trespassing on forbidden ground. He then asked me to show him on paper the plan of my operations, and how far I intended to dig from the mosque. I accordingly drew a rough sketch of it, and the space I had intended to leave between the outer wall of the mosque and the limit of my excavations. Not only did I leave the old diggings of the Ottoman Government between mine and the mosque, but even left a public road to intervene. To make it more clear, I drew points of the compass between the shrine and my excavations, showing thereby that my work would be carried on forward. To make my explanation still more clear, I stood up and pointed out to His Excellency that in doing so I should leave the mosque behind me. He coolly looked into the paper, and said, "This shows that you intend to dig towards the mosque." The fact was, he was not heeding what I was saying, and did not want to understand my explanation, as he had determined to turn a deaf ear to the ambassador's solicitation.

To make matters worse, this man not only did his best to curtail my operations, but tried to bully those who did not choose to set a stumbling-block in the way of my work. The imperial delegate, who had protested strongly against the unjustifiable prohibition of my digging at a spot in the village of Nebes Yonis, which was not considered sacred ground, was dismissed, on pretense of his inebriate propensities, and the junior guardian of the mosque was suspended from the exercise of his functions, on the ground that he had proved false to his office by allowing me to excavate in hallowed ground for the sake of some gratification, which was put down at twenty Turkish sovereigns. As I knew that both accusations were false, I represented their cases to our ambassadors, Mr. Goschen and Lord Dufferin; but, unfortunately, British influence was then at its lowest ebb at Constantinople, and nothing could therefore be done to protect the falsely-accused officials against injustice.

The Porte, however, thought fit to put Salih Effendi on trial; but the court which was appointed at Mossul to investigate into his case exonerated him from all blame, especially as they failed to discover any dishonest dealing against him. In fact, they found that whatever he did was for the benefit of the mosque, and the fees that he had received from me for the purchase of the houses were credited to the religious endowment. I have no doubt that those

who misrepresented his case mistook the fees which I had paid him according to agreement for a bribe!

With regard to the imperial delegate, the governor-general of Baghdad, who was my personal friend, took up his cause, and proved to the proper authorities at Constantinople that the accusation which had been brought up against him was made by some designing individuals, and he was also allowed to resume his duties. I had heard, on reliable authority, that messages were sent to him on several occasions from the Ministry of Public Instruction, to try and find out some fault or a breach of faith on my part in the performance of my different undertakings, whereby I could be stopped from carrying on my explorations altogether; but I was always on the alert.

Lord Dufferin tried also to help me to resume my researches at Nebee Yonis, by prevailing upon the Porte to order a court of inquiry to investigate the objections that were raised by certain individuals against my operations; and, though the Mossul authorities were communicated with, and Her Majesty's vice-consul there was directed to appoint a delegate to watch the case, the matter was allowed to drop in a mysterious manner. I was informed that those important personages on whose support the local authorities depended, had been sounded and found to be prepared to favor my cause by trying to prove that there was not the least objection to my digging at the spots I had purchased. Consequently, the court of inquiry was not allowed to be convened, especially as it was feared that other matters would be divulged which had better be left undisturbed. Thus the vexed question has been doomed to lie dormant for an indefinite time; and as long as we have no one in authority at the Turkish capital to befriend our cause, the field is open to any one to take possession of our sites.

My Moslem friends could not make out why the Porte was so exacting in what they considered a trumpery affair, as they reckoned the spending of so much money upon rubbish, the relics of Gentile nations, mere folly, and it was unbecoming for a Mohammeden to dabble in such idolatrous researches. I was told that some few years before, while the overseers of the mosque of Nebee Yonis were digging a foundation for a minaret within the inclosure, or outer wall, of the sanctum, they came upon a large reservoir hewn out of one solid stone, inside which was found a bronze throne covered over with inscriptions and representations

of animals and human figures. The former was used for the base of the minaret, but the latter was broken to pieces and divided amongst different officials. This shows how little the Moslems care about such antiquities, and the only value they set on any relic is its intrinsic worth.

I feel confident that, sooner or later, the mound of Nebes Yonis must be thoroughly explored; and, though my tentative examination did not show satisfactory results, I am inclined to think that some important discoveries will yet be made in that interesting spot, where both Sennacherib and his son, Esarhaddon, had royal habitations.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE site of ancient Nineveh has never been lost in the memory of the inhabitants of Mossul, because both tradition and history indicate Koyunjik and Nebes Yonis as the localities where the Assyrian monarchs reigned with unlimited power. Nebes Yonis, a mound about half a mile from Koyunjik, contains a mosque dedicated to Jonah, wherein is shown the shrine of that prophet. It was formerly a Chaldean church; but like many other old churches in Turkey, the indolent Mohammedan conquerors preferred to turn them into mosques, rather than go to the expense of building new ones. Though this mound is commonly called "Nebes Yonis" by the natives of the country, after the prophet Jonah, yet, officially, it is styled 'Neneweh.' This I learned when I entered into an agreement with the guardians of the mosque to excavate there. They merely mentioned the word "Neneweh" in the document; and when I asked them why they omitted the common name of "Nebes Yonis," they said that that was the only name they could use officially.

The mound of Nebes Yonis is supposed to have been occupied by three kings,—Pul, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. The annals of the latter monarch show that he had built a palace "such as the kings, his fathers who went before him, had never made," and which he called "the palace of the pleasures of all the year." According to this statement, the climate of that country must have undergone a wonderful change, because the heat in June, July, and August, at the present day, is so intense that no one in his right senses would spend the summer months in that locality, if he could avoid it. There are most pleasant retreats within thirty or forty miles of Nineveh, where the kings of Assyria might have spent their summer months enjoyably in the verdant and picturesque valleys of the Assyrian mountains.

Nineveh is alluded to in the thirty-seventh chapter of the Koran in the following words: "Jonah was also one of those who were sent by Us,* when he fled into the loaded ship, and those

* The word "Us" is used here in the same sense as in Genesis, chapter 1, verse 28, "Let us make man in our image," as the Moslems believe that the Koran was divinely revealed to Mohammed.

who were on board cast lots among themselves, and he was condemned, and the fish swallowed him, for he was worthy of reprehension; and if he had not been one of those who praise God, verily he had remained in the belly thereof until the day of resurrection; and we cast him on the naked shore, and he was sick, and we caused a plant of gourd to grow over him; and we sent him to a hundred thousand persons, or they were a greater number; and they believed; wherefore we granted them to enjoy this life for a season." *

It is not surprising that such an error should be introduced into the Koran, for the author related the story of Jonah's mission to Nineveh either from hearsay or tradition. As to the number of inhabitants Nineveh contained, and the disjointed incidents that took place during his divine mission, even Josephus, who ought to have known his Hebrew Bible better, committed a great blunder. He mentions that the whale which swallowed Jonah vomited him out on the shore of the Euxine, or Black Sea, and that when he went to Nineveh "he preached that in a very little time they should lose the dominion of Asia." †

Al-Baidhawee, an Arab historian, narrates the following story concerning the preaching of Jonah: "This people having corrupted themselves with idolatry, the son of Mattai [or Amittai, which the Mohammedans suppose to be the name of his mother], an Israelite of the tribe of Benjamin, was sent by God to preach repentance. Instead of hearkening to him, they used him very ill, so that he was obliged to leave the city, threatening them, at his departure, that they would be destroyed within three days, or, as others say, forty. But when the time drew near, and they saw the heavens overcast with a black color, which shot forth fire and filled the air with smoke, and hung directly over their city, they were in terrific consternation, and getting into the fields with their families and cattle, they put on sackcloth, and humbled themselves before God, calling aloud for pardon, and sincerely repenting of their past wickedness; wherefore God was pleased to forgive them, and the storm blew over." ‡

After having made arrangements for the continuation of the researches at Koyunjik and Nebel Yonis, after my departure,

* Sale's Koran, page 870.

† Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews," IX, x, 2.

‡ Sale's Koran, note, page 173.

and given directions to my nephew, Mr. Nimroud Rassam, to whom I intrusted the superintendence of the work, to do what was necessary, I left Mossul on Friday, the 2d of May, 1879, to return to England by way of Sinjar, Khaboor, and Dair.

The excavations at Nebee Yonis were to continue only in the houses I had purchased, and as soon as the unexplored ground was thoroughly examined, the work was to terminate. The researches at Koyunjik, however, were to be carried on regularly on a small scale, merely for the sake of searching for inscribed terra-cottas, the remainder of the library discovered by Sir Henry Layard in the palace of Sennacherib thirty-five years before.

The reason I took on this occasion the unfrequented route via Dair, was because I had heard of some mounds situated on the bank of the Khaboor, said to contain Assyrian antiquities; and as I had a little time to spare before the hot weather, I thought I could not do better than visit the identical spots in person, and see whether I could find any ancient site worth excavating.

The first village I halted at, on the first day, was only about six miles from Mossul, called Homaidat. Being then springtime, the inhabitants were living in tents. I chose my camping-ground, however, on a hill occupied by the Hadeedcyin Arabs, where there was some pasturage for our horses. The Mossul authorities were good enough to supply me with Dhabtias to accompany me to the Khaboor; otherwise I should have been obliged to send for an escort to Shaikh Faris, the chief of those of the Shammer Arabs occupying the plain around Sinjar, which would have delayed my journey, and made it very inconvenient to me in other respects.

The next day we made somewhat a long journey as far as the town of Tel-Aafar, as we started at two o'clock A. M., and did not halt till eleven o'clock. Finding the heat of the sun very severe, I preferred taking my rest in the town, instead of living in a tent, and took up my quarters in the house of one of the elders of the place, which was clean and comfortable. The whole country around Tel-Aafar looked quite parched up for want of rain, which ought to have fallen in abundance at that time of the year. The wretched inhabitants looked very disconsolate at the prospect of a poor harvest, as all their cultivation depended entirely on rain. My host, Seyid Wahab, was away, but his father, a venerable old man, who, I was told, had completed fivescore years, received me very civilly.

Tel-Aafar was very famous for its importance, and for the courage its inhabitants always displayed in repelling the attacks of the surrounding Arabs. They had even given no end of trouble to the Turks in years gone by, and always managed to evade paying the imperial taxes. Forty years ago, however, one of the governors-general of Mossul, called Mohammed Pasha Bairak-dar, attacked them with great force, and utterly destroyed their power, but not before he had left the place almost a heap of ruins. The town can scarcely now be called a second-rate village, though it boasts of an Ottoman governor, called Moodeer. All the water-supply in and outside the town is brackish; and even the beasts of burden turn their heads from it when they first taste it. This and other discomforts made me break my usual rule against traveling on a Sunday, and, to avoid the heat of the day, we started for Sinjar at midnight. The journey was rather tedious and fatiguing, as I was eleven hours on horseback, and it took my servants thirteen hours to come with the luggage.

On arriving at Bullud, the capital of the mountain district of Sinjar, I was recommended by my escort to halt at the house of Abbas Effendi, the Kadhee of the place, as it was considered the cleanest and most convenient for my short sojourn there. My host was not at home, but his servants received me well; and while I was contemplating my awkward position of being in a strange house without the invitation of its owner, my ipso-facto host, learned in the law, came in, and soon made me feel that I was a welcome guest. He lent me his reception-room for taking my rest; but before I occupied it, he had it swept and watered, to make it more agreeable for me. He dined with me in the evening in the English fashion, which was a great novelty to him.

A large number of the Mossul and Ottoman officials called on me in the afternoon, amongst whom I was surprised and pleased to meet an old Mossul friend, of the name of Solaiman Effendi-al-Omaree, a Mossul nobleman, who was at the time intrusted with the government of Sinjar. He upbraided me for not having gone to stay with him, which I should certainly have done had I known that he was living there.

When I passed through this place a few years before, with my friend, the Reverend Watkin Williams, the present Dean of Saint Asaph, we were most hospitably entertained by a former governor, who had been sent from Dair because at that time Sinjar was in

the Pashalic of that city;* but it appears that soon after we left, he was murdered in cold blood by a number of Yezeedees, or devil-worshippers, on account of his exactions for the benefit of his superiors. The inhabitants of Sinjar are all of the above persuasion. They are supposed to be of pure Assyrian origin, and certainly if independence and martial spirit are an indication of ancestral inheritance, they are more entitled to that name than any other sect inhabiting Assyria or Mesopotamia. They rebel periodically against the tyranny of their oppressors, and, though the Ottomans have repeatedly conquered them, and on several occasions nearly annihilated them, they still persevere in their anarchical propensities!

As both my followers and beasts of burden seemed quite knocked up the day we arrived at Bullud, we remained there a day longer; but I started again at midnight on the 5th of May, in order that I might avoid the heat of the sun the next morning. We reached the village of Sakainee, inhabited by Yezeedees, at six o'clock A. M., and, having been told by the guide, who was supplied to me from our last halting-place, that we should not come to another village or encampment for five or six hours, I deemed it advisable to rest there a few hours, to escape the hottest part of the day. My guide immediately set about getting me comfortable quarters in one of the huts of the village, whose inmates had gone to their camp some distance off on important business; but as soon as they returned they made the place tidy.† Soon after four

* The Sublime Porte is extremely partial to chopping and changing the jurisdiction of their several Pashalics. Within the last few years Sinjar has been three times in the province of Mossul, once of that of Nissibeen, or Diarbekir, and once under Dair; Mossul has been thrice independent, twice under Baghdad, and once under Karkook, and last, but not least, Basra is constantly changing its status; one year it is an independent principality, and the next it is immersed into the Pashalic of Baghdad. Everything depends upon the influence of the chief ruler in either Pashalic, or the caprice of the most powerful of the Sultan's ministers. Through these eccentric and sudden changes, the British Museum lost a valuable collection of antiquities, which were appropriated by M. Sarzac. See page 82, ante.

† It is always the custom in Assyria and Northern Mesopotamia for the villagers to leave their dwellings in the spring and live in tents, for two reasons—first, to avoid the annoyance of the fleas, which abound at that time of the year; and, secondly, to enjoy the green pasture with their flocks and herds. They generally leave their huts the beginning of February, and return to them some time in May.

P. M. we resumed our journey, and went on till we reached a dirty rivulet, called Im-addeeban, at seven o'clock. Here we staid a little while to give our animals drink, and then went on further, and halted for the night at eight o'clock, at the camp of the inhabitants of Samooga. I had my tent pitched near that of the chief, who was absent, but his brother received me very civilly. It became very cold at night, and, as I slept in the open air, I could scarcely keep myself warm. A strong westerly breeze was blowing, and from the strong smell of rain on the dry soil, it seemed that a heavy shower must have soaked the ground a short distance from us in the direction of the wind.

Although the chief of my escort promised to awake me early, to start again about midnight, he overslept himself; but, thanks to a horse which broke loose from his picket and ran past my bed, I was aroused about one o'clock in the morning. He was followed by half a dozen dogs, and they nearly hemmed him in, in close proximity to my bedstead. I immediately ordered a general move, and by two o'clock A. M. we were again on our way westward. We went on until we reached the main spring of Maalagat at seven A. M., where we halted for a few hours, as my guide informed me that we could reach the Khaboor early in the afternoon. There was the remnant of an old khan in that place, which showed that in the time of the Califs that route must have been frequented by traders and wayfarers. We spent about four hours there, and after our animals had enjoyed not a little the rich verdure which grew along the spring course, we resumed our journey, and reached the mound of Tabban about four P. M. The Jeboors, who are the real inhabitants of that district, had gone on to Nissibeen to seek for pasture, as the country on both sides of the Khaboor was quite parched up for want of rain; but we found two other tribes there, who were called Baggara and Igaidat. They were also seeking for grass, for their animals seemed in a starving condition. These Arabs had come from that part of the Euphrates below the junction of the Khaboor, and were then returning to their quarters. I had my tent pitched near the Baggara Arabs, to the west of the mound of Ita-ban, and their chief placed his services at my disposal, and rendered me every possible assistance. I chose for my encampment a green spot between wheat-crops which were nearly ripe, and I had very great difficulty to keep the muleteers' animals from injuring it. It seemed quite unnatural for the Jeboors to

go away and leave their crops to the mercy of the passers-by; but I believe that when the owners of these fields went away in search of food for their animals they did not expect that their grain would come to anything for the want of the early rain; but since they left a good deal of rain must have fallen, which is called in Deuteronomy "the latter rain," * and this, of course, restored the crops to vitality.

Having heard the next morning that there was an important mound on the western side of the Khaboor, about two miles above us, I dispatched Mahmood Alfaraj with a few men to examine it. He came back in the afternoon to report his discovery of some marble slabs. Generally speaking, when marble remains are found in any mound in Assyria and Mesopotamia, they inspire good hopes of the discovery of some valuable antiquities. I therefore determined, on hearing that good news, to proceed to the spot at once, and see for myself. My difficulty was how I was to cross to the ruin, as there was neither raft nor bridge, and the ford was too deep for a horse, but Mahmood Alfaraj and another tall Arab, like himself, volunteered to take me across on their shoulders, which they did most splendidly without wetting me in the least. But I was rather disappointed to find, on arriving at the spot, that the pieces of marble were merely fragments, which had been brought from a quarry in the neighborhood by some Arabs, who had inhabited the mound in bygone days, for their domestic purposes.

On Friday, 9th, we left Ita-ban at 1.50 A. M., and passed the mound of Irban, on the opposite bank, at five o'clock, reaching that part of the Khaboor opposite Shaddadee, the seat of the Kayim-Makkam of the district, at eight.† Having rested there about half an hour, awaiting the arrival of the luggage, my escort and I resumed our journey, and reached our halting-place, near the mound of Fadghamee, at one P. M. We passed a large party of Igaidat Arabs this afternoon seeking for pasture, and the poor animals were trying to satisfy their hunger by picking here and

* Deuteronomy xi, 14. It is supposed that, by this river Khaboor, called in Holy Writ Chebar, the prophet Ezekiel saw the Divine vision. (Ezekiel, chapter i, 1.)

† Sir Henry Layard excavated in this mound in 1850, where he discovered some Assyrian relics, among which was a small human-headed bull.

there at some roots of shrubs and bits of parched grass. I had our tents pitched about a mile to the north of the mound, in a nice green corner formed by the bend of the river, and as soon as Mahmood Alfaraj saw me comfortably settled, he went with some Arabs to search in that ruin for antiquities. Towards the evening I went to the mound, and as I could find no indication of any ancient remains there, I brought the overseer and workmen back with me. They had only discovered some hewn stone and kiln-burnt bricks, but there was no sign of any inscription found. The mound of Fadghamee is a lofty and good-sized one, and to examine it thoroughly, it requires at least a fortnight's labor of ten gangs of workmen. There is also another large mound on the other side of the river, about four miles to the south of the Fadghamee, called Ishmisancc, which also ought to have been examined thoroughly; but, unfortunately, I could ill afford to spare the time and money for that object. Moreover, I should have found it difficult just then to find the number of men I required, as the inhabitants of that locality were away seeking for food for themselves and animals.

The scare which overtook the Jeboor Arabs and others was not only from the failure of the crops and the want of proper pasture, but from the constant oppression of the local authorities and Arab marauders, who dispossessed them of all their substance; and if they had not sought for some protection elsewhere, they would even have lost the scanty number of sheep and goats which were left to them. It saddens one to see such fertile country lying fallow, when such industrious Arabs as the Jeboors, who are accustomed to irrigation, should be frightened away from their soil through the mismanagement of the Turkish authorities. Had there been proper supervision over the peaceful and well-disposed peasant Arabs, Mesopotamia would be inferior to none of the grain-growing countries in Europe or Asia; but the Turk has no greater enemy than himself in this respect.

We left our camping-ground, near the Fadghamee, at 1.50 A. M., and went on till we reached our destination, the mound of Shaikh Hammad, at nine o'clock. Here we pitched our tents on the banks of the Khaboor, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the mound. My object in going there, was for the purpose of examining an Assyrian sculpture, which was reported to me by different Arab travelers to exist there. I found the monument to

be a representation of an Assyrian king on a black basalt tablet (supposed to be Shalmaneser II), but, unfortunately, the bas-relief had been broken, and only the head and shoulders of the figure were visible. This part of the monolith was covered with arrow-headed characters, which were very much defaced. It had been hurled down the mound by the Arabs, who erected a shrine in memory of the son of the Patron Saint of Baghdad, called Shaikh Abd-Alkkadir, as the effigy was considered an idol of the benighted heathens unfit to remain in that hallowed ground. It is believed that the remainder of the tablet is buried on the top of the mound, and I intended, when I went back there on a future occasion, to search for it. I had great difficulty to move to the sea-coast what remained of the Assyrian sculpture, because it was too large to carry on horseback; and when we came to thin it, as I had taken some tools with me for the purpose, it was found too hard to cut. My muleteer managed to convey it ultimately on the backs of his strongest mules with thick pads under it, and by that means we were able to take it to Alexandretta.

Before I reached the place, I thought the name of Shaikh Hammad was merely given to that mound; but I was not a little concerned to learn on arriving there, from the chief of the Igaidat Arabs, who had just encamped below it, that that spot was dedicated to the above-named saint, and that a memorial sanctuary had been erected on the top of it for pilgrimage purposes. On inquiring as to the time of Shaikh Hammad's visit to that spot, as I had never heard of that individual ever going so far northwest from Baghdad, I was told that he himself had never been there in the flesh, but his spirit hovered over it after his death. The story told me was as follows: One of the Arab devotees of that neighborhood had been ailing from an incurable disease for some years, and one night, while the invalid was lying restless on the mound, Shaikh Hammad appeared and cured him of his malady. The only reward he craved was that a memorial sanctuary should be built for his spirit, which behest was, as a matter of course, obeyed. Since then every man or woman who was afflicted with a disease or had a boon to be gratified performed a pilgrimage to that holy spot, and it was believed that most wonderful answers to invocations for the saint's intercession had been vouchsafed! This report put a damper upon my spirits, as I was afraid I should find it difficult, or indeed impossible, to try an experi-

ment in that mound in the way of excavations. I was glad to find, however, on examining the spot, that I could carry on the necessary researches in it without going near the part where the ghost of Shaikh Hammad was supposed to haunt the place. On mentioning my plans to the Shaikh of the Arab clan, he not only created no difficulty, but offered to assist me by sending men to help my overseer. From the few relics we discovered of painted bricks and pottery, it seemed to me that there was every chance of finding ancient remains; but, as usual, I could ill spare time and funds to undertake extensive operations in such an out-of-the-way place, especially as it was too late in the year to prolong my visit in that part of Mesopotamia. I had hoped, however, to proceed to those parts the following winter, and examine that and other mounds existing on both sides of the Khaboor; but, unfortunately, I had no chance to do so, Sir Henry Layard having, in the meantime, been recalled from Constantinople, and the Porte determining to refuse the renewal of our firman. Had the Ottoman authorities allowed the provisions of the firman I then possessed to be properly carried out, I could have conducted my work in other localities, where I feel confident I should have found valuable remains; but, unfortunately, the law of the Ottomans is not like that of "the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

There is a mound at the junction of the Jarajir River with the Khaboor, wherein I had made some tentative excavations, and after a few days' labor some important sculptures were discovered; but as soon as the local authorities at Ras-al-ain heard of the find they sent and turned away my workmen, and took possession of the relics, which I was told consisted of crouching lions and a bas-relief on which were represented horses and other animals. The only object my overseer was able to come away with was a fragment of black basalt, whereon there were engraved a few hieroglyphic figures, which I brought to the British Museum.

Unfortunately, I could not go there myself, because when I first heard of the mound, I was at Dair on my way to Baghdad to resume my superintendence of the excavations at Babylon; and as I had then important work there, I could not possibly manage to go so far out of my way to Ras-al-ain. I was therefore content to send an agent to do the work, and I took the precaution to cause a letter to be written for him by the governor of

Dair, embodying the sense of the royal mandate with an official recommendation to the authorities at Ras-al-ain. This was to enable him to carry on operations without any molestation, but it seems that no one gave any heed to either of the communications.

I had hopes that the Porte will allow us to finish what we had already begun, on the faith of the royal license, which ought not to have been ignored.

Having satisfied myself that on a future occasion some few days' labor might be carried on in that mound with advantage, I left during the afternoon of the next day to visit another mound called Soower, which means in Arabic "images," or "pictures;" and as the site was represented to me to be much larger than that of Aboo-Hammad, and resembled the mound of Nimroud, I was longing to see it. Indeed, my reason for visiting the Khaboor, was mostly for the purpose of examining that mound, of which I had heard so much. It was now necessary for us to cross the Khaboor, because both Soower and Dair are on the western side of that river; and as there was no bridge or a ferry-boat in the neighborhood, my Arab acquaintance, Shaikh Hasan Alkassar, volunteered to take us across. On reaching the ford, called Sharceat Ihata, after a ride of an hour and a quarter, I found him awaiting my arrival with about a dozen of his followers to assist in the passage. They took the luggage across by leading the animals through the river, one man holding the head by the halter, and on either side two others lifted the boxes and packages up to keep them from touching the water. I myself was carried across by the shaikh with my legs round his neck, one Arab supporting my back behind, and another lifting my legs up in front. As soon as we were ready to start, the men brought me some fish which they had speared in the river. The Arabs are very expert in throwing their javelins, and their aim with the spear very seldom misses. I found the fish very nice but full of bones, which made the enjoyment of them rather questionable.

After we had spent about an hour in crossing and reloading some of the luggage, we resumed our journey and reached Soower at five o'clock. I was sadly disappointed on arriving at the place to find that instead of an artificial mound (which certainly looked like one at a distance) it was a natural promontory overhanging the Khaboor, and there was not a sign of any ancient remains anywhere near it. We had great difficulty to find some fodder

there for the animals, as the nomad Arabs who preceded us to that spot had cleared the ground of every bit of either green or dry fodder, and there was nothing to be seen on the bank of the river except some green reeds, which were out of the reach of the animals; but my muleteers managed to cut down some bundles to satisfy the beasts of burden, which they seemed to enjoy, though coarse and hard to bite. We were very much troubled there with sand-flies at night. They were so minute that they could scarcely be seen, but their sting was felt even the next day. They kept me awake the greater part of the night, as they managed to creep under my bedclothes.

May 12th, my second muleteer was taken seriously ill. The symptoms of his malady looked very like Asiatic cholera, which frightened us all; but after my giving him a good dose of brandy he seemed to revive, and we were able soon after to proceed on our journey. It was thought afterwards that he must have eaten some unwholesome food, which affected him. The weather in the morning was very sultry, quite contrary to that experienced the morning before, when the thermometer went down below 40 degrees. We started at 1.40 A. M., and reached Tel-Alfidain at 5.30. Here I remained a short time to examine the mound, of which I had heard a good deal. I was satisfied after I had done so, however, that there could be nothing in it worth looking for, though if I had had time and a little spare cash, I might have tried a few trenches in it. It is certainly an Assyrian mound, but it seemed more a place of defense against the Bedouin marauders than an important royal habitation. I then resumed my journey after spending about twenty minutes examining the spot, and reached the ancient ruined town of Al-Ibsaira at 10.30 A. M. The ruins of the old town extend far and wide, and even the inhabited buildings which remained were in a most dilapidated state, so much so, that my guard did not take the trouble to look for lodgings for me in that quarter; so I had to take refuge in the barracks, where I was received very civilly by the chief of the guard, who was good enough to provide me with the best room in the place. It blew a regular hurricane from the west in the afternoon, and as the windows of my room had no shutters, I was almost suffocated by the dust that blew into my habitation. My host was able at last to block up my windows with sacks, but that made the room unbearably close; but even this I preferred

to being smothered with dust. Al-Ibsaira, which is situated within the junction of the Khaboor with the Euphrates, was, a few years before, the chief seat of the Jeboors, at which time it played a conspicuous part in the affairs of the Arabs in that neighborhood; but since the Porte occupied Dair, and demolished all the strongholds of the marauding Arabs, Al-Ibsaira fell like the rest into decay. That spot was formerly considered by savants and travelers to be the site of Charchemish, the capital of the Hittite kingdom, but since the discovery of the ruin at Jarabulus near Beerajeek it has been identified almost to a certainty with that ancient city, on account of its position. At Al-Ibsaira there is not a sign of any antiquities, nor have the Arabs any tradition of its former greatness; and this fact alone does away with the former supposition.

CHAPTER XVII.

BEING in a hurry to reach Dair early, I left Al-Ibsaira at two A. M., and reached Tel-Assir at six o'clock. There I halted for a while to examine the mound, as I found it larger than many I had seen near the Khaboor, and commanded a fine view of that part of the Euphrates. While I was walking about in search of ancient remains (which I failed to find), a messenger arrived from Dair with an escort, bringing me a letter from my friend, Ali Pasha, the governor, welcoming me to his Pashalic, and inviting me to his house. I had written to him before I left Mossul of my intention to visit Dair, and, according to Arab news-carriers, the report of my approach had been spread in the neighborhood of Dair two or three days in advance of me; and thus my friend, Ali Pasha, heard of my being in the vicinity of the Khaboor, and sent his people to meet me. I then remounted my horse, and proceeded with my guide and escort to the Euphrates, which we reached in an hour's ride. The ferry-boat had been got ready to take me across, and so we lost no time in landing on the Syrian side of the river, just below Government House. My kind friend was ready to receive me, and soon after I had a cup of coffee and a whiff from a nargalee I was shown to the rooms which were got ready in the public edifice for me and my followers to occupy during my stay there.

In the afternoon he took me to see his private residence outside the town, which was under repair and enlargement, as he expected his family to join him in a few months, and was making it comfortable for them. It was the only residence in the place surrounded with a garden; but as is generally the case in out-of-the-way places, the villa and its surroundings had been allowed to go to rack and ruin, and the paths were thickly covered with weeds. Ali Pasha was, however, trying to put it in order and renovate the ornamental part, which had already cost him more than he could afford.

Soon after my arrival, the chief officers, both civil and military, and the only priest in the town called on me. The few Christian inhabitants who were there consisted of Armenians, Syrians, and Chaldeans; but as they are all Roman Catholics, and

Dair was considered to be in the diocese of Mardeen, it was left to the Syrian patriarch to send one of his priests to attend to the spiritual wants of the mixed Papal flock who were trading there. They had managed to build a small church on an elevated position outside the town and near the military quarters, which fact insured them the necessary protection.

A hurricane of unusual severity visited Dair towards the evening, and as it was unaccompanied with rain, thick dust overspread the whole place.

Soon after breakfast on May 14th I returned the call of the chief visitors, and at 2.30 P. M. I resumed my journey for Aleppo along the Euphrates. The first stage was short, as we halted at Al-boo-Serie, an Arab encampment, at six o'clock in the afternoon. I had my tent pitched near that of the chief of the clan, who provided me with fodder and other requirements for my kitchen. At first both he and his followers were somewhat chary of affording me the proper hospitality, thinking that I was an Ottoman official going to fleece them; but as soon as they found who I was, they changed their demeanor and waited upon me most cheerfully. We were told there that it was not safe to travel at night in that part of the country, because lions were supposed to infest the wood, which still existed there. I had often heard at Dair and elsewhere that lions were plentiful in that neighborhood; but I never saw, nor even heard, the roar of one during my travels, though I passed through that country on three different occasions, and slept in a tent either inside the tamarisk wood or outside of it on the bank of the Euphrates.

We resumed our journey at 3.45 the next morning, and reached Tibnee at 8.15. I halted near the water-shed, which irrigated the cornfields along the river, and after having spent about three-quarters of an hour in partaking of some refreshment, I resumed my journey, and reached the old Parthian ruins of Halabeeya at eleven o'clock. As I had heard a good deal about that "wonderful" edifice from my Arab guides, I dismounted and examined the ruin. In one sense of the word it is certainly wonderful, and quite unique in the style of its architecture, but meaningless in regard to design. The architect must have bestowed all his skill on the huge size of the coarse alabaster, or gypsum, blocks, of which the structure is composed, and the inelegance of its general plan. The composition of the alabaster is the same as that found in the

quarries around Mossul, and used in some of the buildings of the Assyrian kings.

Halabeeyia is supposed to have been the capital of Odenathus, husband of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, whereto that famous sovereign is supposed to have fled when she was pursued by Aurelian's cavalry, and was taken captive to that haughty Roman emperor.

There is another structure on the opposite, or left, side of the river, called Zalabeeyia, whose style of architecture differs from that of Halabeeyia, and seems to have been used merely as a fortress. Both the buildings are seen from a great distance, as they are erected on high promontories projecting to the bank of the Euphrates.

I find that General Chesney had overlooked the existence of Zalabeeyia, because in his account of the latter ruin he calls it "Helebi, or Zelebi;" whereas they are two distinct ancient sites on opposite sides of the river.

The Arabs have a very romantic story attached to the town of Zalabeeyia, about a prince who was in love with a beautiful princess that lived in the Halabeeyia palace, and as he was not allowed to have any communication with her, contrived to build a citadel on the opposite side of the river, from which he bored a tunnel under the Euphrates to Halabeeyia, by means of which he obtained his desired object.

After having spent about half an hour at the ruin, we went on to Goosbee, and halted there for the night at 12.15 P. M. The village was deserted, and its inhabitants were residing in tents and huts below it. I was always glad to halt at an Arab encampment, as I was assured of good supplies of milk, fodder for our horses, and sheep, if we wanted any, for slaughter. My cook was also pleased to be located in such proximity, because he was certain to obtain the required assistance from the active damsels, either in the way of fuel or water supply.

We left Goosbee at 3.30 A. M., on Friday, 16th, and reached Kishlat-As-sabkha * at one P. M. While I was awaiting the arrival of the luggage, I visited the governor of the district, Rasheed

* Kishlat means in Turkish, Barrack; and Sabkha is derived from an Arabic word which denotes nitrous soil. This appropriate name is given to the district, because when the ground is a little moist and the heat of the sun strikes on it, a whitish salt-like substance, or nitre, appears on the surface.

Effendi, at the Kishla, which was more or less tumbling down; but it seemed that the place was going to be abandoned, and on my return through it the year after, I found the settlement had been deserted, and only a few Circassian irregulars were keeping watch on an island in the river. All the Arab inhabitants had gone away, some towards Aleppo and others to Damascus.

I was entertained, however, very hospitably by the governor of Sabkha, and when my luggage arrived and I retired to my tent he presented me with a lamb, which my cook caused to be slaughtered, and he had it dressed in different kinds of entrees. As my guest had not tasted any vegetables or Baghdad and Mossul delicacies for a very long time, I invited him to dine with me, and he was not a little pleased to find that amongst the dainties my cook had prepared was the favorite Turkish dish, called dolma. We finished with stewed damsons and apricots, pancakes, and custard, which my servant prepared to perfection.

On the 17th, having been officially informed that the whole country between Sabkha and Maskana, on the right bank of the Euphrates, had been deserted by the Arabs, who occupied it formerly, I was compelled to cross the river at Rakka, and travel along the left bank as far as Maskana. It took us about five hours to reach the ferry, as the luggage had to be taken by a circuitous route, owing to the dangerous defile overhanging the Euphrates. The rise of the river had cut away the greater part of the frequented path, and made it unsafe for laden animals to traverse on account of the projecting rock.

As soon as I crossed, I hurried on to the camp of the Kayim-Makkam, Moosa Effendi, who received me very hospitably and provided me with breakfast. He was called in the country "Ang-leezee" (Englishman), as it appears that his father had rendered material assistance to General Chesney's Euphrates expedition, and was rewarded with a pension. When my luggage arrived, I had my tent pitched in the grove of wild mulberry-trees, a short distance from the governor's camp. We had great difficulty to obtain fodder for our animals there, but Moosa Effendi sent me some dhirra (millet) stalks, which was better than nothing. He also presented me with a lamb, and he came afterwards and dined with me. Beside the cuisine which was prepared in my kitchen, his harem sent us some other dishes, both savory and sweet, and between us both we had a nice spread.

As I wished to examine the ruins of Rukka I delayed my departure till the afternoon, and soon after breakfast Moosa Effendi and I rode to the ruins of the old city. It is said that the famous caliph, Haroun-al-Rasheed, used to spend his summer months in this locality. This seemed to me a quaint idea, seeing that that part of the Euphrates must be as hot as Baghdad at that time of the year, though I was told that in former days Rukka was surrounded with orchards and splendid gardens; and the country around it was thickly inhabited. As is generally the case with all Arab ruins, there was nothing of interest to be seen amongst the remaining erections, save some vestiges of walls. There were scattered about the place a large number of burnt-clay knobs resembling those found at Tel-loh, but having no inscription on them. I was in hopes of finding some interesting ancient monument there of Assyrian or Babylonian origin, but not a sign of any such work could be seen anywhere. The river, which must have skirted it formerly, is now about a mile off, though I was told that when the Euphrates rose very high it went to within a few yards of it. From the fragments of pottery and other indications, it seemed to me that the city of Rukka must have extended about three miles along the left bank of the Euphrates, but in breadth it could not have been more than a mile.*

We left Rukka at 3.45 P. M., and after having traveled about two hours and a half, we halted for the night at a place called Abd-Alee, near a saltish pool, the remains of the periodical overflow of the river, which showed the existence of extensive salt deposits in the land near it. The pebbly hills come down in this vicinity to the edge of the river-channel, and no trace of vegetation was visible on the barren hills.

As I knew that we should have a long journey before us the next day, I ordered the loading of the luggage at 11.15 P. M.; but

* In his narrative of the Euphrates expedition, General Chesney alludes to Rukka thus: "It is, however, a place of some celebrity in Moslem history, although our researches the next morning were scarcely repaid by the discovery of spacious cisterns, the remains of a mosque, the ruins of Haroun-al Rasheed's palace, and the extensive walls which once surrounded this city of Kaliph-el Mansour, whose name has been deservedly handed down to us in connection with astronomical observations, and with his promotion of the science of astronomy itself by the measurement of a grand base-line on the plain near this city." (*Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, p. 243.)

the muleteers and my followers were too sleepy to do their work briskly, and so we could not start before 12.45 the next morning. My escort and I hurried on to the ruin of Jaabar, which I wished to examine as soon as it was daylight, and reached the old castle at nine o'clock. This old Arab fort is an imposing structure, as it is built on a high promontory overlooking the river Euphrates, and it was used until lately as a penal settlement, from whose impenetrable walls no criminal ever escaped. It is the most solid Arab building I ever saw, and as it is situated on an elevated defile stretching into the heart of an extensive and flat part of the valley about twenty miles in length, it is seen from a great distance. The river must have run below it in days gone by, but now it has receded about a mile or more towards the western border of the valley. As soon as the luggage arrived I resumed my journey, and reached our halting-place, called Al-wasta, at noon, and had our tents pitched near Shaikh Saaloo, the chief of the clan who were encamping there.

The Arabs complained bitterly of the oppression of the Turks, and when I asked them why they did not build themselves houses or huts, but always resided in tents, they said they preferred that mode of living, in order that they might be able to move away without much trouble as soon as they found themselves imposed upon beyond endurance.

The next day we did not start as early as I wished, because I had overslept myself, and no one felt inclined to awaken me. However, we were able to leave soon after four o'clock, and as a curious illustration of how quickly our luggage could be laden when the muleteers are put to it either by coaxing, scolding, or interest, they managed to load and start in less than half an hour; whereas, on other occasions, it would have taken them more than that time merely for arranging their pack-saddles and tying up their packages. Four hours' ride brought us to the ferry opposite Maskana; and, as the luggage was far behind us, my escort and I crossed soon after our arrival, as I found a ferry-boat ready to take us over. The muleteer did not reach Maskana till about eleven o'clock, or three hours after. In the meantime I rested in the tent of the commandant of the Sabkha Dhabtias, who had gone there to receive the harem of Ali Pasha, the governor of Dair, who were coming from Aleppo. I had my tents pitched afterwards in the island near the ford where there was a green plot, in which

our animals feasted for a little while. Maskana was garrisoned by Turkish mule-mounted regulars, whose duty it was to keep the refractory Arabs in order. Besides the barracks and public offices, there were a few huts and shops belonging to the camp followers, who carry on a small trade both with the soldiery and the nomad Arabs around.

The ruin of ancient Beles stands about two miles down the river below Maskana, where there was a steamer at anchor awaiting the arrival of the harem of Abd-ar-Rahman Pasha, the governor-general of Baghdad, who were coming from Constantinople.

A branch of the Inizza Arabs were crossing the Euphrates to Mesopotamia all day in search of fodder for their animals, as the pasture in the Syrian desert had failed them for want of rain. These Bedouins used to be very troublesome some years ago, but the iron rule of the Turk brought them, in some measure, to obedience.

We started the next morning at 12.20, and when the sun rose we found other clans of the Inizza Arabs encamping along our path, and all seemed very orderly and friendly. On passing some wells, I found a number of their shepherds drawing water for their flocks, and perceiving that my horse wanted a drink they immediately volunteered their services. I had a supply of Baghdad cakes with me, of which I gave them some to eat. They seemed very much amused in tasting them, as they had never eaten such a dainty before; "actually," they exclaimed to each other, "bread flavored with sugar and butter!" My escort and I reached our halting-place, Jodaida, at eleven A. M.; but the luggage did not arrive till an hour after us. Thus our animals were nearly twelve hours on the journey without the chance of having anything to eat on the way. We found the village deserted, as its inhabitants were encamping about two miles away; but we took possession of one of the gardens in which there was thick grass growing, which was not a little enjoyed by our animals. I was prepared to offer the proper compensations to the owner if he should come and murmur; but when he did make his appearance, he not only refused to receive anything for the occupation of his domain, but waited on me all the time I remained there, and provided my kitchen with fowls, eggs, milk, butter, and wood. At the end, however, I prevailed upon him to accept a present.

Jodaida is the first inhabited village to the west of the Eu-

phrates and north of Palmyra; and had it not been for the subjection of the Inizza Arabs by the Turkish authorities, this unprotected little hamlet would not have been in existence now, on account of the marauding Arabs who infest the desert.

Although I instructed the escort and my followers not to awake me till one or two o'clock the next morning, as I knew that we could easily reach Aleppo in six hours' ride, I was called at 11.20 P. M., as they were longing to reach that attractive city as early as possible. Had we been leaving that place instead of proceeding to it, I should have had great difficulty to make them hasten their departure.

We left Jodaida at 12.20 A. M. on Thursday, the 22d of May; and as we reached the suburbs of the town soon after sunrise, I did not like to intrude so early on the hospitality of my friend, Mr. Henderson, but waited a little while in a corn-field, which enabled my horse, and those of my escort and muleteers, to feed on the stalks that remained after the gleanings. After having spent about an hour and a half there, I left my luggage animals to feed a little longer, and hurried on with one of my guides to the British consulate, where, as usual, I was kindly received by my friend, Mr. Patrick Henderson, whose generous hospitality to visitors is proverbial. I had to go a round-about way to reach the consulate, because, as I said before, it is situated in the northern suburbs of the town, at a place called Azeczzia. Soon after my arrival a large number of friends and acquaintances called on me, and I had to return most of the visits in the course of the day. I found that my friend, Mr. Skene, the ex-consul, and his wife were still at Aleppo, and so was my old friend, Mr. Augustine Catoni, the British vice-consul at Alexandretta.

After having spent four days most pleasantly with Mr. Henderson, I started for Alexandretta, and reached that port in three days, or twenty hours' ride. As I left Mr. Catoni at Aleppo, I was received most kindly, as on a former occasion, by his estimable wife, whom I knew when she was a child. Her brother, Mr. Bel-fanti, who was acting for Mr. Catoni, rendered me every assistance in his power, and made my visit to them most agreeable.

The French steamer, "*La Seyne*," of the Messageries Maritimes Company, having reached Alexandretta in due time from Egypt and Syria, the day after my arrival I left in her for Marseilles, on Friday evening, the 30th May, and reached the latter port on the

morning of the 22d June, having touched on the way at Mersine, Rhodes, Smyrna, and Messina. At Smyrna we had to wait two days and a half, for the purpose of exchanging passengers and cargo with another Messageries steamer, which came from Marseilles bound for Constantinople.

After having spent two days with my friends, Madame and M. Fleury, at La Seyne, near Toulon, I went on to Paris and thence to London, which I reached on the 19th June, 1879.

The Trustees of the British Museum having found it expedient to continue the excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, and to carry on some researches in Armenia, I was deputed again to proceed thither and conduct the necessary explorations in those countries.

After having spent about nine months at home, I started for the scenes of my labor on the 7th April, 1880, and took the usual sea route from Marseilles to Alexandretta, touching at Palermo, Messina, Syra, Smyrna, Rhodes, and Mersine.* We reached Alexandretta on the morning of the 20th April; and after having purchased provisions for the road, and employed a muleteer to take me to Aleppo, I started the next day on my journey. I had on this occasion to engage a servant on board the steamer, who was a native of Aleppo, as I had no time to send for my old servant from Mossul. As usual, it took me three days to reach Aleppo, and as the old consulate had been demolished, and a new residence was being built in its place, Mr. Henderson could not receive me; but he had engaged rooms for me in the hotel kept by Madame Cleopas, who did her best to make her lodgers comfortable. There was staying at the time in the same hotel Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, who had been sent by a committee of gentlemen to make some researches in Syria and Mesopotamia; but as the small sum allowed him was exhausted before he could even reach the Euphrates, he was compelled to return home sadly disappointed in his expectation.

Having resolved to proceed direct to Babylon from Aleppo,

* Generally speaking, when I proceed to Mesopotamia from England, I make it a point to leave in September, so as to begin my work at the end of autumn; but as the grant allowed for the excavations did not become due until the beginning of the official year, and the Trustees were desirous that I should lose no time in resuming the work intrusted to me, I ventured to face the scorching sun of Southern Mesopotamia in summer.

I had not a little difficulty to obtain the required number of animals for the journey; but after a good deal of trouble and annoyance, I engaged the services of a Sheea Mohammedan of Baghdad, whose apathy and shuffling caused me no end of discomfort on the journey. It appeared that when he came to be engaged he did not possess the proper number of animals I required; and, though he was not in want of money to purchase the remainder to complete his bargain, he did not care to go direct to the market and buy suitable mules for the long journey, but trusted to chance for finding cheap animals, which were unfit for the purposes they were wanted. It happened, moreover, that for two years the crops had failed throughout Mesopotamia, Koordistan, and Asia Minor, which caused immense distress everywhere. The peasants had scarcely enough corn to keep them alive, much less to spare it for the beasts of burden. Generally speaking, during the spring muleteers depend entirely for the feeding of their animals on the grass they find on their line of march; but during the former two years, both fields and valleys were devoid of any pasture, and the dry grass and straw of former years had been consumed by the flocks and herds of the nomad Arabs and Koords. On this occasion, I did what I could to obtain the necessary succor from the different Ottoman authorities and Arab chiefs on the way, who were always ready to lend me a helping hand; but, though I rendered my muleteer pecuniary help, both in the supply of corn and food, three of his baggage horses and mules succumbed on the journey for the want of proper nourishment. Of course, I had to hire extra animals for carrying fodder in case of emergency, which, on other occasions, would not have been necessary; and if it had not been for this precaution, I do not know what we could have done when not less than four of our baggage animals became disabled on the way.

After a delay of nine days, which was six days beyond my usual halt at Aleppo, I was able to start on my journey to Babylon on the 3d of May, when the weather in that part of the world begins to be somewhat oppressive in the sun. The fact is, I was obliged to put up with the shilly-shallying of my Baghdad muleteer, because it was quite impossible for me to find any other to undertake such a hazardous journey with famine raging all over the country. Had it not been for this man, who was anxious to return home, I should have been obliged to proceed to Baghdad

via Diarbekir and Mossul, which would have lengthened my journey at least a fortnight; and from what I found out afterwards, the difficulty of obtaining provisions on that route would have been far greater in extent than I experienced along the western bank of the Euphrates.

In the Pashalic of Mossul the poor people were living on roots and what they could pick up in dunghills. I was told that many starving people had to chew pieces of old leather and gnaw any bone they could get hold of to satisfy their hunger. In some instances, even starving cats and dogs were devoured, and many went to the shambles to lick the blood of the few slaughtered animals that remained for the consumption of those who were still able to pay for meat. M. Seoffi, the French consul at Mossul, showed me some cakes which were sold to the wretched poor in the time of the famine, consisting merely of sawdust and putrid blood collected from slaughter-houses, and he gave me a heart-rending account of the suffering of multitudes who were going about in the time of this harrowing distress through the streets crying for food.

Had there been any railroads in those parts some timely succor might have been rendered from Europe to the starving populations, but the difficulty of transport to countries situated hundreds of miles from any seacoast renders succor almost impossible. Indeed, a large number of philanthropic individuals, and in some cases societies, did their best to allay the suffering of the starving poor; but they could only render their help in remitting hard cash, which proved useless in places where there was no corn to buy.

The first stage we halted at was Dair-Hafir, a well-to-do village, about thirty miles from Aleppo, which my escort and I reached in a ride of nine and a half hours; but the luggage did not arrive till an hour after us. We were glad to find some pasture outside the village for our animals, and I and my belongings were received very hospitably by the chief, a venerable old man, who did his utmost to make us comfortable.

I found it rather close inside the hut at night, though it was the beginning of May. We started for Maskana at five A. M., and reached our destination at one P. M. We passed a large number of Baggara encampments moving about in search of pasture. We also found detachments of Turkish troops at Maskana returning to Aleppo from Dair. As soon as I had partaken of some early

dinner, I had our tents struck and packed ready to resume our march at night, and I slept for the first time on this journey in the open air. One of the mules strayed away, and could not be caught until daylight; consequently we did not make a fair start before five o'clock, or sunrise.

On passing the so-called ruined city of Beles, I examined the old ruins, both in the valley on the bank of the river and on the hills, and found nothing in them to warrant me to associate them with an older date than the Arab conquest. Historians and savants suppose this place to be the same as the Roman Barbalissus and Xenophon's Belesys, which idea, in my humble opinion, is rather preposterous, because either the account of Xenophon himself must be most erroneous, or he jumbled up distances and sites of cities and rivers to a most lamentable extent. If we are to follow him from the time Cyrus's expedition left Myriandrus, which, according to Xenophon, was "a city near the sea inhabited by Phoenicians,"* we find that they had marched nine days, or fifty parasangs (equal to about one hundred and fifty miles), before they reached the source of a river called Dardes, on which the "palace of Belesys, the governor of Syria," existed. We must conclude that Cyrus had proper guides to direct his force to the nearest point of the Euphrates, and they could not have followed a straighter course than to make for that part of the river from the Mediterranean where the present ruins of Beles is situated. But Xenophon's Belesys, according to my theory, was in quite a different locality from the present known site; because, in the first place, he records that it was at the source of the river Dardes, and no mention is made at all of the Euphrates, seeing that that was the first point where the river is seen in its grandeur. He explicitly mentions in the next paragraph that they proceeded from thence "three days' march a distance of fifteen parasangs to the river Euphrates, which is there four stadia in breadth, and on which is situated a large and rich city named Thapsacus." Some commentators have tried to reconcile the existence of a river on the source of which Beles was situated, with a canal which is said to have been taken from the Euphrates! Surely Xenophon could not have confounded a canal with a river, and forgotten to mention the existence of the Euphrates, which must have stretched

* Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Book I, chapter 1, sections 6 and 10.

far and wide before him! Moreover, if the opinions of different commentators be correct, that Cyrus's expedition touched at first at Beles, and then went on three days' march down the river to cross at Thapsacus, it is very odd that Xenophon took no notice of the Euphrates until they arrived at the site now called Al-hammam, though they must have marched alongside of it for forty-five miles! Furthermore, if the Greek Auxiliaries had crossed at Al-hammam, the supposed site of Thapsacus, then Xenophon's calculation of the distance from it to the Khaboor exceeds the reality by at least fifteen parasangs, or forty-five miles; but if they had forded in the valley of Beles, where the Arabs now cross, their marches, according to his account, is quite accurate.

Xenophon's narrative of the marches from Myriandrus to the river Chalus, which I take to be the river of Aleppo, is correct to the mile; but from that point to the next river, the Dardes, his statement raises a mountain of difficulties. Whether Cyrus's expedition touched at the source, or tail end, of the Aleppo river, it made no difference as to the length of the route from the sea to the Euphrates, as it runs nearly in parallel with them, and the distance from both is almost equal. If Xenophon's account be correct, it may be that after Cyrus touched at the river Chalus, he set northward, intending to cross the Euphrates below the mountains of Asia Minor; but, finding it impossible to do so, he changed his course southward, and forded the river near the present ruins of Beles. During the autumn and winter both the Euphrates and Tigris become shallow, when they can be forded at different spots without any difficulty.

One thing is certain, that the confusion created was from the time Cyrus's expedition left the river Chalus; because from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the Euphrates, in a direct line, whether by Aleppo or north or south of it, is not more than one hundred and ten miles—that is to say, about sixty miles from the Mediterranean to Aleppo, and fifty miles from thence to the Euphrates; whereas, Xenophon's account makes the latter distance nearly twice as long as the former.

We reached Aboohhaira at one P. M., and as I found the encampment of the Arabs far from tempting, it being surrounded with dunghills and dirt, I went on about half a mile lower down, and had my tent pitched near an old ruin on the bank of a creek; an overflow from the Euphrates.

The chief paid me a visit afterwards, and asked my assistance in deciding a serious dispute between him and a Christian family, which had just arrived from Baghdad on their way to Aleppo. It happened, most unfortunately, that while a lady and her daughter were passing a narrow defile along the bank of the Euphrates, near the spot where we were encamping, their Mahhafa,* in which they were riding, struck against a projecting rock, and both the animal and the occupants of the litter were precipitated into the river; but the mother was fortunate enough to catch hold of a branch of a tree projecting out of the slope where they fell, which enabled her to keep afloat until she was rescued by the Arabs from her watery grave. Her daughter was thrown out of the Mahhafa, and was carried down the stream. The poor girl called out to her mother not to think of her, but to try and save herself. On reaching the Arab camp, the mother offered a reward to those who would go and search for her daughter; but the quest proved abortive. The men who went for that purpose had only seen the Mahhafa, which had stranded on an island. The mother refused to reward the men for their trouble, on the plea that she had only meant to pay them if they had found the body of her daughter. I advised both parties to come to terms, which they did after a long argument.

We resumed our journey the next day at 4.30 A. M., and reached Al-hammam at 2.30 P. M. We had a tedious march that morning, on account of the overflow of the river, which obliged us to go out of our way two or three times to avoid the creeks, which were made impassable by the swelling of the Euphrates, and lengthened our march by two hours. We had to take the hill track twice, to enable us to reach our destination safely. Even after this long detour, we had to cross a muddy end of a creek, in which one of our luggage animals tumbled and spoiled some of our provisions. I had my tent pitched on the bank of the river, where the stream was running at the rate of ten miles an hour. Al-hammam means in Arabic "the bath," where still exist some ruins marking an old Arab settlement. It is said that there were there formerly some famous baths, which attracted a large number of visitors every year

* Mahhafa is a litter consisting of two hampers hung on either side of a mule, in which two persons sit in travelling.

from the neighboring towns; but there is no visible sign of such establishments in the place now.*

We left Al-hammam at 3.45 A. M., and had a most tedious journey of twelve hours to Sabkha, on account of the regular high road having been flooded through the unusual rise of the Euphrates, which obliged us to go a round-about way, to avoid crossing numberless inlets and puddles. As I had anticipated on passing through this place a year before, I found it quite deserted, the Government House in ruins, and not a house in the village had a roof on it; but a small garrison of Circassians, retained there for the protection of the postal service, were encamping on the island. As soon as I arrived, their commandant, Tatar Khan, crossed with a number of his followers to render me the necessary assistance and protection during my stay there. At night the muleteer discovered that his best mule was missing, and after he and his men had searched for it in vain everywhere, he declared that the guard had stolen it, as the Circassians were considered the greatest robbers in the country. Though I participated in his suspicion, I cautioned him to hold his tongue, because if the Circassians began to suspect that we distrusted them we should never get back the missing mule, which we could ill spare, seeing that our luggage animals were already showing the effect of long marches, and it was quite impossible to overburden them by heavier loads. I therefore offered a reward to any one who would find the lost animal, and told the guard that they would get into trouble when I arrived at Dair and reported their negligence to the authorities, as they would be held responsible for the loss of the animal, as it was their duty to have watched properly and not allowed us to be robbed. The poor muleteer was going about crying and almost out of his mind for the loss of his valuable mule, which he declared he had purchased for thirty Turkish liras (equal to £28), and said that he could have got fifty for it at Baghdad. He was willing to give five liras to get the animal back, but I told him if he offered a reward of two it would be more than

* I have already alluded to the generally-received opinion that this place was the site of Thapsacus, the point on the Euphrates where Cyrus is said to have crossed to Mesopotamia with the Greek Auxiliaries.

sufficient. We then started, after having arranged the distribution of the luggage on the other animals in the best way we could, and awaited the search for the missing mule on an eminence about two miles from our last halting-place, and we had not been there a quarter of an hour when we saw one of the Circassian horseman galloping towards us, leading the prize triumphantly. His story was that the animal must have strayed at night, as he found it grazing in one of the ditches near the hills. The head muleteer, however, declared that the Circassians were a set of rogues, vagabonds, and thieves, and swore that he would not give them a piaster (two pence) for what he considered to be an imposition! After my having remonstrated with him for his vacillation and suspicion, which was quite impossible for him to substantiate, he agreed to give half the reward offered, but not until I had consented to pay the remainder.

Although we began our march at five o'clock in the morning, we did not make a fair start before 8.30. As we had to pass the camp of Shaikh Fahhil, I paid that chief a short visit, as he had sent his son to invite me to his tent. Of course I was asked to spend the day with him, as he wished to have a sheep slaughtered and dressed for me; but I thanked him for his civility, which I said I could not accept, and, after having partaken of some coffee, I left with my escort and joined my caravan, which was hastening on to our halting-place, Maadan. We reached this hamlet at 5.30 P. M., though the distance could not have been more than twenty-five miles from Sabkha. We encamped on the bank of the river near a small Arab camp, where a guard is stationed for protecting the postal service.

Sunday, the 9th of May, being the Lord's-day, we did not start in the morning, but made a short journey of about four hours in the afternoon. We had to make again to-day long detours over the rugged hills to reach Tibnee, in consequence of the rise of the Euphrates, which had overflowed the lower road. We found the place quite deserted, and there were only a few wretched Arabs remaining with the post guard. The fields, which were last year blooming with fine crops, are now stocked with wild oats, in which we let loose our animals, and they did enjoy themselves without any mistake! I encamped again on the bank of the river, and was very much pestered all night by mosquitoes.

We left Tibnee at 2.30 A. M., and in consequence of the lower

road being flooded, we had again to take a most rugged path over the hills overlooking the valley of Alboo-Sarai. My escort and I pushed on to Dair soon after sunrise (five A. M.), and reached that town at 11.45. The luggage did not arrive until three hours after us. I found my good friend, Ali Pasha, just leaving his garden villa for the meeting of the *Mijlis* (Council), and as soon as he saw me he stopped and welcomed me by an affectionate embrace. He invited me to his hospitable house, and gave me a room opposite his own to occupy during my stay at Dair. The great *Shaikhs* of the *Inizza* and *Shammer* Arabs were at Dair at the time. They had assembled there to consult about keeping the refractory Arabs in order. *Shaikh Jaadan*, of the *Inizza*, with his son, *Tirkee*, and *Shaikh Farris*, the chief of the *Shammer* in the *Dair Pashalic*, paid me a visit soon after my arrival. Ali Pasha and I dined in the open air in the garden, and in the evening I enjoyed a Turkish bath, which His Excellency erected in his new villa. We had a good deal of thunder and lightning at night, but there was very little rain.

The next day, May 11th, I had, as usual, a large number of visitors, both civil and military, and the ecclesiastical head of the community. In the evening Ali Pasha gave a dinner party to the chief officials of the settlement in honor of me.

On the following day I resumed my journey at 9.30 A. M., and reached the town of Mayadeen at 4.30, and as soon as I encamped near the river, *Shaikh Farris*, of the *Shammer* Arabs, with the governor of the place, came to see me. The former had preceded Ali Pasha thither with his retinue to cross the next day with him to *Mesopotamia* to punish those Arabs who had proved turbulent.

The ruins of *Rahhaba*, the supposed site of *Rahaboth* of the Bible, stand on the crest of the hill about five miles westward of the river, and there is no doubt that when that place was occupied the *Euphrates* ran just below it. I was in hopes that I should be able to examine those ruins on my way southward, but, unfortunately, I was too much pressed for time to enable me to go out of my way for that purpose.*

* General Chesney calls this *Rahhaba* "*Rahaboth of the Ammonites.*" (*Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, p. 251.) On what authority he does so, I can not make out. The *Ammonites* were supposed

We were delayed again the next morning in starting, consequent upon the straying of one of our baggage animals with a tent on its back, and so we could not resume our journey before three o'clock, although I was up at one. We also lost another hour by going round a canal, which was too high for the luggage animals to cross. We reached our halting-place, Ssalhheya, where there was a Turkish guard stationed, at 12.40 P. M. We found there some rich pasture, on which our animals feasted to their heart's content. We were obliged to encamp on that occasion away from the river, on account of the meadows, which lie about a mile from it; but we got some women to go and fetch us water and fuel. Arab women, especially spinsters, are always very handy in a case of emergency. Married women are generally engaged either in nursing their children or attending their lords and masters! We were very much annoyed at that place, especially at night, from the attack of mosquitoes.

We started May 14th at 2.15 A. M., though I was up at midnight. The muleteers and Dhabtias were dead sleepy, and so I could not get them to hurry. We reached Albookamal, or Skaireya, at eight. I encamped about half a mile to the southeast of the fortress, the residence of the Kayim-Makkam, who paid me a visit in the afternoon. He told me that he was foolish enough to bring his family with him, and that, in consequence of the destitution of the inhabitants of the place and the general distress all over the country, they were well-nigh starved. He assured me that the only light they had at night was what could be procured from a wood fire. I therefore gave him some candles and what I could spare of food. We changed the escort there, but Sooltan Agha, the commandant of the Aleppo guard, remained with me to accompany me to Dair.

We started the next morning at 2.45, and reached Alkayim at 8.30. This is the first station in the Pashalic of Baghdad where there is a Moodeer, or sub-governor; but he was away at the time,

to occupy the land to the east and adjoining to Gilead, the inheritance of Gad. He refers, however, to Rehoboth, mentioned in Genesis xxxvi, 87, wherein mention is made of "Saul of Rehoboth by the river;" but as this Saul was a descendant of Esau, who was called "the father of the Edomites," and that tribe occupied the country adjoining Egypt, the river there could not have been the Euphrates, which is about three hundred miles from the supposed country of Edom.

and his son and the commandant of the garrison received me very civilly, and offered me their services. My escort was increased there from the Baghdad Dhabtias, and as I was assured that there was an Arab encampment not far distant, where I would be able to find grass in abundance for our animals, I pushed on forward, as I knew if we staid at Alkayim neither love nor money could procure us the required fodder, for there was not a blade of grass to be seen in or around the place. I was greatly disappointed to find no grazing ground, although we traveled three hours longer; and as man and beast were getting quite knocked up from the heat of the day and fatigue, the latter not having had anything to eat for fourteen hours, I deemed it advisable to halt near an Arab encampment of the Dilaim. But the poor wretches could not assist us much, seing that they themselves had scarcely enough food to suffice them for a week longer. While my tent was being pitched, I searched the banks of the river for some fodder for the animals, and seeing a patch of green reeds on the opposite side, I prevailed upon some Arab damsels to swim across and bring us a few bundles of the leaves, and see whether our animals could eat it. The poor creatures, being nigh starving, had no choice but to chew that coarse food. The country between Alkayim and Rbaidha, where we halted, was quite barren, and incapable of being cultivated, and the river zigzagged in every direction; consequently we had to follow the current in all its windings, which lengthened the distance to nearly double what it ought to have been, especially as we had to go up and down hills to avoid the circular route.

The Arab camp was on the move early in the morning; but, being Sunday, we did not leave until the afternoon. We only traveled for three hours, and encamped near wheat and barley crops at a place called Al-braikha. I had my tent pitched on the edge of the river, which was quite refreshing. After no end of coaxing and promises of good remuneration, I managed to induce the peasants, who were watching the cultivation, to sell me some grain for our animals, and provide me with milk and butter.

We left Al-braikha at three A. M., May 17th, and, in consequence of the rise of the river, which had blocked the valley route, we were obliged again to take to the hills, and make our way in the best style we could through rough and intricate defiles to the next stage, Aana, which we reached at eight o'clock. We had to travel more than half an hour through the town before we

halted at the residence of the governor, situated about the center of it. Aana, which contains about four hundred houses, is one of the most peculiar spots in the world. It stretches on the right bank of the Euphrates for about six miles, and the houses, or huts, built of mud, are almost all detached, and each surrounded by groves of trees, such as date-palms, figs, pomegranates, and other indigenous fruit. The river is confined between high, rocky hills, the west side of which is bordered by elevated alluvial rich soil, which the natives have turned to a very profitable use in grain-growing. There are a number of islands in that valley, the largest of which is called Ra-wa, containing about two hundred houses. Another, which is in ruins, was supposed to be the palace of the Persian king, Ardasheer. On the left bank of the river, just below Aana, it is said that the ruins of ancient Anothoth still exist. This spot is also famous in history for its connection with the expeditions of the two Roman emperors, Trajan and Julian, in the years 115 and 363 A. D. respectively.

The Kayim-Makkam received me very civilly, and the kadhee of the place, who happened to be a native of Mossul, was most agreeable. We were hospitably entertained by the governor, and we all spent a very pleasant evening together.

We resumed our journey at 3.15 on the morning of the 18th of May, and it took us more than half an hour to go through the other part of the town, as we entered it the opposite way. We had at this time to make an exit eastward, through narrow lanes and muddy aqueducts. Our escort of two Dhabtias, on this occasion, were not of the brightest, and one of them we had to part with about five miles from Aana, as his horse became quite disabled, and he could not get him to move; the other lost his way in the desert, which caused both man and beast great fatigue and an unpleasant march. The rise of the Euphrates was again the source of our discomfort, as it had blocked the road which skirted the Euphrates, and we had in consequence to proceed inland to our next stage, Hadeetha; and by the time I had expected to arrive at our destination, no sign could be seen of either the town or river. We had neither water nor fodder, and so, after having traveled for thirteen hours without knowing where we were, I galloped for about two miles towards what I calculated to be the direction of the river, to see if I could find anything to guide us. To my great delight I found, on ascending a little hill, a deep valley just

below me with a large pool of water in it. I immediately signaled to the muleteers to join me, as it was then near sunset, and both animals and the men were dead beat. I ordered a halt there for the night, feeling quite sure that we would reach the river early the next morning. As soon as the muleteers saw the valley, they recognized it to be Wadee-Hijlan. It seemed there had been some rain in those parts within a few days, which filled a large pool, at which we encamped; and, had it not been for this Godsend, I do not know what might have happened to my followers from thirst! Two of the luggage animals were already disabled, and if we had gone on any further I was certain others would have shared their fate. My only fear was that if we slept in the wilds of Arabia, without a proper escort, we might be attacked by a marauding party at night, without being able to defend ourselves. However, we kept a strict watch, and I was not sorry to resume our march the next morning at 2.15; and after having proceeded about five miles on our journey, we saw the river below us. I found that we had overshot our mark by nearly twenty miles, and that we had passed the town of Hadeetha by over ten miles, which was, of course, a gain towards the second day's stage. We had intended to halt opposite the town of Jaaba, situated on a large island; but as we had gained two hours by straying the day before, I deemed it advisable to push on to the next halting-place, Al-Baghdadee. On finding, however, that our animals required earlier rest, we stopped at ten A. M. at a place called Na-oosan, about a mile to the west of it. This break in our journey was necessitated by the rise of the river, which had filled a long ravine, and would have compelled us to go round it through very rugged hills for an hour longer. Other animals of my followers, who accompanied me from Aleppo, were disabled to-day, and their riders had to walk and lead them. At the spot where we halted there was no fodder for the animals, and the grain which we had with us for them was barely enough to suffice them to the next stage, so I prevailed upon the chief of my escort to proceed to Al-Baghdadee and fetch us some barley and straw, which I distributed amongst the muleteers and followers. I felt quite knocked up that day from the heat of the sun, and my anxiety for the poor animals, as we had still a long and tedious journey before us. Wherever we went there was the same great distress from the scarcity of food amongst all the inhabitants of the land.

Our animals having had a long rest and seeming quite refreshed after a good feed, we resumed our march in bright moonlight at 10.30 P. M., and traveled for an hour through most difficult ascents and descents, until we came to a plateau to the north of Hheet. We reached that town at six o'clock in the morning of the 20th May, and I went direct to Government House, where I was welcomed by the governor, called the Moodeer, Hameed Effendi, with whom I took up my quarters. Hheet has always been famous in history for its bitumen springs, and called classically Iz, or Is. It is stated by different writers that this place was visited by the emperors, Alexander the Great, Trajan, Severus, and Julian. Herodotus also alludes to the bitumen springs, from whence, he says, the Babylonians obtained this commodity for their building purposes.* Even now hundreds of tons are taken down the Euphrates to Babylonia every year, for the use of boat-builders and paving purposes. But why Herodotus asserts that "the bitumen used in the work was brought to Babylon from the Is, a small stream which flows into the Euphrates at the point where the city of the same name stands, eight days' journey from Babylon," is more than I can understand, unless he meant that the bitumen springs were then further inland, and the small stream existing there now was used for purposes of navigation. The present rivulet is not capable of floating even a boat or a raft three feet wide, but it may be that in his time a canal was made from the river to the springs, whence the present stream comes down, and thus the exporters of that commodity were spared the land transport.

* Herodotus, I, 179.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TO SAVE our animals and my followers further fatigue, and myself much annoyance and anxiety, I resolved to go down to Babylon by water, as I was told by the governor that he could buy me a Hheet boat, by which I should be able to reach my destination much quicker than if I went by land. The great rise of the Euphrates made it very difficult for travelers to follow the frequented road, and it was next to impossible to reach Hillah along the right bank of the Euphrates, on account of the marshes and inundations that intersected the land on the west side of the river. In less than two hours' time I purchased the required boat, and engaged a master, with a mate, to guide and propel her. This vessel, which the Hheet people call "Kaya," was the quaintest that I have ever seen. It is like a huge basket made of wicker work bound with straw and plastered over in and out with bitumen. I can not do better, I think, than quote General Chesney's interesting description of the way these boats are built and navigated. He says: "The self-taught shipwrights of Hit have neither docks nor basins, nor even slips to facilitate their labor, yet they can construct a serviceable boat in a short time, with no other tools than an ax and a saw, with a ladle for pouring out the melted pitch and a roller for smoothing it. The first process in this primitive mode of ship-building, is to choose a level spot of ground, near the water, on which the carpenter traces the figure of the bottom of the projected boat—not, it is true, with mathematical accuracy, but still a line is used, and a certain system followed. In the space thus marked out a number of rough branches are laid in parallel lines, and others interlaced across them. A kind of basket work, of reeds and straw, is then plaited through them, to fill up the interstices; and some stronger branches, laid across at intervals of eight or ten inches, give the requisite stability to the bottom. The sides are then built up, which is done by driving upright posts of the requisite height through the edge of the platform, about a foot apart; these are filled in, in the same way as the bottom, and the whole is consolidated by placing strong branches, or stems, of small trees as tie beams, at short intervals from gunwale to

gunwale. The necessary stability being thus obtained, the outside of the boat is coated with hot bitumen, which is melted over a fire made on the ground close at hand, to reduce to proper consistency by admixture of sand and earth.

"This bituminous cement is spread over the framework of the boat, both within and without, by means of a wooden roller, which produces quite a smooth surface, and soon becomes perfectly hard, impervious to water, and well-suited to river navigation. Some of these boats are not unlike a coffin, the broadest end representing the bow; but others are of a neater build." *

By the energetic assistance of the Moodeer, I was enabled to complete the purchase of the boat and engage the services of a competent navigator, named Joomaa, by noon the same day; and, having taken all my luggage on board, I embarked at seven P. M. with my cook, Dhabtia, and two passengers, a Turkish officer and his mother, who accompanied me from Aleppo, as it was feared that their animals could not carry them through the remainder of the journey. The old lady was in ecstasy when she heard that I had offered her and her son seats in my boat, as the poor creature had had no end of falls off her horse throughout the journey, and extra roughing might have killed her. Our riding and baggage animals I sent on by land, carrying only their necessary fodder and the muleteers.

It was quite delightful, after we started, soon after seven o'clock, to feel that there was no more loading and unloading, and we could sleep on to our heart's content, without the unpleasantness of taking a nap by fits and starts and gulping our meals in hurry-scurry. After we had floated down for about two hours, Joomaa, the master of my boat, rowed to some peasants' huts on the right bank of the river, and obtained for us some wood for cooking, and straw to make my hut more comfortable, as I could not have my traveling bedstead stretched out in the boat for fear of its legs going through the bottom of the vessel. These Hheet boats are allowed to float down the stream without any exertion, save when the current carries the vessel to some dangerous offshoots, or when the banks of the river require to be approached; in that case an oar, made in the shape of a strainer ladle, is used in bringing the boat to land, which is easily done by the rower

* Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition, pp. 77 and 78.

standing at the side where he wants the boat to proceed, and should the current be too strong two oars are used. My boat was about ten feet long by eight, flat-bottomed, and rounded at the corners. In comparison to the rafts of skins which are used on the Tigris, they are more easily propelled, and twice as swift in moving on the water; but in striking against a bank the rafts are safer. In case of head wind they fare the same; but from my experience of both, I would say the latter have the advantage, as they are low and have no bulwark to catch the wind.

The whole of the next day it blew hard from the west; and although the wind was in our favor, when we came to the bends of the river the men had to labor with all their might to keep the boat from striking against the banks. I must say the poor men had tremendous exertion to prevent an accident, as their captain said that they would be disgraced forever if any mishap occurred to the boat. We reached the populous town of Rumadee at five o'clock P. M., though the distance by land was not more than forty miles. I found the muleteers had already arrived there, and were awaiting my final orders. They all seemed in the best of spirits, as they had indulged in riding all the way,—a luxury which they had not enjoyed for many days past on account of the fatigue the beasts of burden underwent. The head muleteer proposed that he should cross to Mesopotamia from Rumadee with his animals and followers, and proceed to Baghdad along the left bank of the Euphrates until he reached Saglaweya, whence he would take the high road. He would then send me the required number of mules to Hillah to convey my luggage to Baghdad. Having acquiesced in his arrangement and fixed the day when he would join me, we parted, he with his followers to spend the night at Rumadee, while I continued my voyage down the river.

Rumadee is the first station in that part of the Pashalic of Baghdad, having telegraphic communication with that city, Hillah, and all the different towns in Assyria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, as far as Constantinople; but when I was there the wires were not in working order, so I could not communicate with my agents at Baghdad and Hillah about my movements.

After we left Rumadee, we had a delightful voyage, and the next morning, the 22d May, we reached Saglaweya, where there was a Turkish garrison and a ferry; and as soon as my cook purchased the necessary provisions for the remainder of the passage,

and I had dispatched telegrams to Baghdad and Hillah informing my agents of my approach, we continued our course. In the afternoon a strong westerly wind sprang up, which caused my boatmen immense trouble, and myself much anxiety. At one place both the wind and the high waves were so set against our vessel that the men lost all control over her, and she was driven into an extensive marsh which had been swollen to a fearful extent through the rise of the river. I was told that if we were drifted into it we should either be lost or rendered helpless in the way of communication with any inhabited place; the consequence would be, of course, starvation! Fortunately, just as we were within an ace of being dragged by the rush of water into the sea-like marsh we got entangled by the branches of a large tree which had not yet been unrooted, of which we were able to get hold until we obtained help. It was fortunate also that while we were sticking firmly to the prostrate tree we saw two Arabs coming towards us, making haste with their buffaloes for terra firma, as they had also got alarmed at the sudden great rise of the river. As soon as they saw what danger we were in, they came and helped us out of our difficulty, which enabled us to cross to the left bank of the river, where there was no fear of our being dragged again into another marsh.

All along the Euphrates there are innumerable herds of buffaloes, which are kept there to graze for the purposes of cheese-making and breeding, and the men who have the care of them are considered the bravest of the brave.

At eleven o'clock in the evening a westerly gale sprang up, which obliged us to moor our vessel in a sheltered place for the remainder of the night, as the master was afraid to proceed with such strong side wind blowing. It was so hot between eleven A. M. and two P. M. that I could scarcely breathe. The thermometer rose in my tent to 107 degrees.

At sunrise the next morning (Trinity Sunday, the 23d May), we resumed our voyage, and went on smoothly until we reached the town of Imseyib* at four P. M. Here Ahmed Effendi and his mother left us to go on to Baghdad, as this was the nearest station from which they could proceed thither with any degree of comfort

* This town is called by different people Imseyib, Mooseyib, or Al-Imseyib.

on horseback. After having spent there about two hours in going through the bridge of boats, which the authorities had to disunite from the western bank, we continued our passage and went on favorably all night; but the weather was stifling and mosquitoes innumerable.

On May 24th, as soon as we sighted the village of Quairich, a part of ancient Babylon situated on the eastern side of the Euphrates, I saw one of my Arab workmen on the left bank awaiting my arrival, who, on seeing me, ran back to inform my head overseer, Dawood Toma, of my approach. The latter soon afterwards made his appearance, and as I wished to examine the works before going into Hillah, I landed a little above Jimjima, another Arab village, the headquarters of my Babylonian workmen, about a mile below Quairich. After having spent about an hour in going over the trenches and tunnels, I repaired to Dawood's habitation, where I partook of some refreshments, including fresh apricots and plums, the produce of the country. The Ottoman delegate, Mohammed Effendi, came there to see me, and after breakfast he, Dawood, and I embarked on board the Hheet boat and floated down to Hillah, which was reached in about an hour and a half. The Hillah authorities had already engaged me quarters at the house of one of the principal inhabitants of the place, named Ganj Agha. As soon as I landed I was conducted by the delegate to my temporary residence, which was pleasantly situated and comfortable.

The Salamlic, or reception-room, I found to be large and well-furnished; and the other suite of rooms for self and followers were also as nice as we could wish for. The house consisted of two divisions, the Salamlic and its accompaniments of three or four smaller rooms, which pertain to the male inhabitants, and are located at the entrance; and the inner part, which is called the Harem, is apportioned to the female establishment. So in this instance I was allowed to take possession of the outer compartment, and my landlord had to content himself in keeping company with his consort. I was told that the kind old man volunteered part of his house for my occupation when he heard that the authorities were looking out for a house for my reception, there being no hotels in the place. The heat on that day was most trying; and while I was going about the trenches, especially, I thought I should drop down in a fit of apoplexy. I

think the morning sun is felt in those hot climes more severely than that of the afternoon, especially between eight and eleven o'clock.

Mohammed Effendi, the Turkish delegate, Dawood Toma, and I, with an escort, started, May 25th, for Birs Nimroud at 3.15 A. M. It took us two hours and a half to reach our destination, on account of the overflow of the lake, which obliged us to go a round-about way, to avoid being submerged into the quagmires that surround the old tower.

I found, on arriving there, my energetic head overseer, Dawood, had conducted the work I had intrusted to him in an admirable manner, and with the funds I was allowed to apportion for the different explorations I left under his superintendence he had made several discoveries, with efficiency and economy.

Both at Babylon proper, and Birs Nimroud, he had uncovered a large number of chambers which had been hidden from the sight of man for more than two thousand years, and in most of them he had unearthed monuments and inscriptions of the Babylonian epoch, which are now in the British Museum. The palace of Nebuchadnezzar, inhabited afterwards by Nabonidus, which I had discovered at Birs Nimroud when I visited Babylon the year before, he had nearly excavated throughout, and he was then awaiting my orders to penetrate under the old tower on which the Temple of Borsippa was supposed to have been erected.

Just as I set my foot on the mound a workman came running to inform me of the discovery of a large metal object, which the ignorant Arabs mistook for gold, because the pick-ax had struck it in one or two places where it glittered. On going to examine it, I found it was a large block of copper, which had been placed on the threshold of what seemed to be the grand entrance to the tower. I waited there to see it wholly uncovered, and it looked from its shape and fixture that it was not intended for the purpose it was latterly used, but it must have been placed there in after time. The original entrance was much wider than the length of the copper block, and to make it look uniform the future occupiers of the edifice had narrowed the passage by a brick wall on either side. It was fitted in between the stone pavement and the steps leading downwards toward the tower. From its length and shape it looked as if it had been originally one of those

bronze gates mentioned by Herodotus.* It must have been, when it was made, double the length; but for the purpose of fitting it in the position I found it, or for the sake of the value of the metal, those who placed it there had cut it in two, just where the inscription ended, and disposed of the other half. Some archaeologists, however, are of opinion that it was originally a doorstep, and the groove at the end served as a socket, while others think that it might have been part of a battering engine. Nevertheless, I still maintain that if it was not the leaf of a gate, it could not have been used for either of the above purposes. The most striking fact in connection with it, is the inscription on the ledge, which Assyrian scholars read as a dedication by Nebuchadnezzar to his God for his restoration to health, which proves more than anything that it could not have been intended to be walked upon, as it was dedicated for a sacred object, and might have been one of the shutters of that very entrance to the Temple.

On passing out of this entrance towards the tower, we found no remnant of any structure, but all that was excavated afterwards consisted of *débris* showing evident signs of a ruined building. As I was anxious not to miss any trace of ancient remains, I had a large ditch excavated between the palace and the tower, about sixty feet in diameter and twenty feet deep; and as I could not afford to dig out the remaining space along the western end of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, or eastern base of the Birs, I penetrated by tunneling under the latter, a distance of about eighty feet. Having proceeded so far, I was obliged to stop for fear of entombing the workmen in their attempt to dig further in; because we met with nothing but loose earth and a large quantity of broken burnt bricks, which came down in a run as if that huge tower was erected on anything but solid foundations!

There is not the least doubt that formerly there was a communication between the palace and the tower through the western entrance of the former where the copper monument was found,

* Book I, chapter cxxxI. It may be that this kind of gate was alluded to in Isaiah xlv, 1, where it was prophesied, "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut."

as will be seen from the plan.* It was descended by steps, at the bottom of which there was a pavement of red granite. Whether this was an open space or a roofed hall, it is now quite impossible to tell.

After the copper object was removed to my quarters in the village, where I used to reside when superintending the works, I had it packed in a wooden case, made expressly for it, to take with me to Baghdad for the purpose of having it dispatched to England; but finding that it was too heavy to transport even on the strongest camel I could find, I left it in charge of my Arab overseer at Birs Nimroud, intending on going to Baghdad to send a proper conveyance to carry it. So on reaching that city I engaged a muleteer to go and fetch it on a strong litter borne by four mules. I was then pressed for time to proceed to Mossul to see about our other excavations in Assyria and Armenia. I therefore left the arrangement of sending the copper monument to England to Her Majesty's consul-general.

Whenever I left our excavations in charge of native agents in Babylonia I always solicited the favor of the British representatives at Baghdad to protect our explorations, and thus when I was proceeding to Mossul at that time, Colonel Miles, then consul-general at Baghdad, was good enough to undertake the official management of the Babylonian researches. But just as I was starting for my northern journey, I received a telegram from my head overseer at Babylon complaining that the local authorities at Hillah had seized the copper relic and refused to allow it to be taken to Baghdad, alleging that the object was a block of gold. Rumor had spread all over the country that our find at Birs Nimroud was of incalculable value, and it was feared that if the warlike tribes in the neighborhood believed the report they might take it into their heads to plunder it and cause it to be injured. Colonel Miles therefore lost no time in sending to the Baghdad authorities under whose jurisdiction the Province of Hillah is, warning them that if any injury happened to the monument he would hold them responsible, especially as they had no right to object to having it taken to Baghdad, where all antiquities had to be examined before they were dispatched to England. Whereupon an official telegram

* Plan.

was sent to the Hillah authorities, ordering them to allow the relic to be taken to Baghdad with a proper escort.

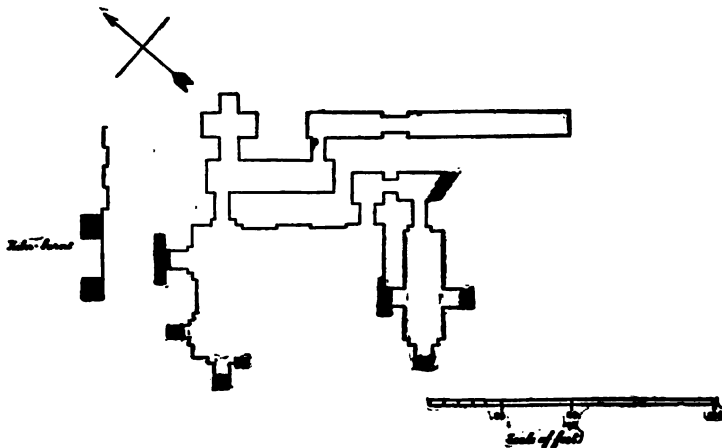
I learned afterwards that when this peculiar object arrived, the governor-general appointed a commission to see if it was really of intrinsic value, as if they could, by any manner of means, detain it, even if it had proved to be made of gold. According to the wording of my firman, we were allowed to appropriate every unique or singular object of any material or metal; and in this particular case especially, it was absurd for the Ottoman authorities to mistake old copper for gold when the relic was thickly coated with verdigris! For five days this monument was gazed upon by the Arabs, as well as by my Ottoman escort and the imperial delegate, the latter of whom was the first to see it with me on its discovery, and not a soul breathed a syllable about its fanciful value; but as soon as it was thought that I had started for Mossul the authorities imagined that they could prevent its leaving the country with impunity.

Besides the excavations I carried on at Birs Nimroud, in the mound of Ibraheem-Alk-haleel, and Babylon, I tried other small mounds in the neighborhood, both on the eastern and western sides of the Euphrates, but I only found a few inscriptions on clay tablets at Tel-Daillam, which is about six miles to the south-east of Birs Nimroud, and six miles to the south of Hillah; also in the mound called Al-garainee, about four miles to the north of Babel, and about two miles to the south of Khan Al-Mahweel.

A remarkable incident occurred while we were digging in the last-named mound, which might have ended in the stoppage of our excavations there had not the owner of the mound known how particular I was in respecting the rights of others. As I have pointed out before, in all the Assyrian and Babylonian mounds, large quantities of bricks are always found mixed up with the rubbish when excavations are carried on in old ruins; and in Al-garainee, in particular, we came upon a store of them. I always allowed the owners of the mounds to take them; and in case the land belonged to the State the bricks were given to the local authorities if they wanted them. It happened that while I was away superintending other researches in Babylonia, the owner of the Al-garainee required some bricks, and when he sent his workmen to fetch them my overseer refused to give any without a special order from me. As soon as I heard of the mistake, I

sent to apologize to the owner of the mound, and begged him to take as many bricks as he liked, and if he wished I would direct my workmen to assist his own men in loading them. He lost no time in assuring me that he took no offense at the conduct of my overseer, as it was his fault that he did not apply to me in the first instance for his requirement, and he hoped I would not blame my agent for what he had done, seeing that he had acted properly in the performance of his duty. The most extraordinary part of the business was that all the time I was in those parts the owner of the Al-garainee and myself never met, as he never came near the place, and I could not spare the time to go and see him.

In those ruins of Babylon called Imjaileeba, Omran, and Jimjima, situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, we always found inscribed tablets mixed up with the rubbish; and in some parts we went systematically to work by digging straight through the ground, in order that no object of interest might be missed. The excavations were carried on so efficiently by my overseers during my absence in England, that other small mounds were formed by the débris which was cleared out of the old ruins. The more I dug there the more puzzled I was in arriving at a tangible conclusion in regard to the different sites. With the exception of half a dozen rooms I discovered on what was the borders of a grand



THE REMAINS OF THE SUPPOSED GREAT PALACE OF THE KINGS OF BABYLON.

palace of the kings of Babylon where Belshazzar was supposed to have met with his death on the capture of that city by the Per-

sians, I could find no regular structure or foundation of any building to enable me to identify the position of the edifice. The whole place seemed to have been upheaved or overthrown by an earthquake or by some supernatural destruction. In some places objects of antiquities were found almost within a foot of the surface, and in other parts, not more than a few feet further, we came upon Babylonian relics almost as low as the former foundations. At one time I thought I had hit upon some ancient walls to enable me to penetrate with a definite aim into the interior of a regular building, but I was soon doomed to disappointment; because, what I thought at first sight to be a Babylonian building, turned out afterwards Sassanian or Parthian. There is no mistaking a Babylonian or Assyrian structure for that of Sassanian, Parthian, or Arab, as there is as much difference between the two styles as there is between Grecian and Egyptian art.

That part of the mound called Omran, to the north of the sanctum of that name, is more mysterious to me than any mound I ever dug at, either in Assyria or Babylonia; because, while the southern portion contained evident signs of ancient remains, where we discovered a large number of inscribed clay tablets, the northern part was an accumulation of ashes, bones, fragments of pottery, and other refuse. We could find no sign of inscription or any object of interest to show that it had ever been occupied, though I had a wide trench dug in the middle of it as far as the water. I am even now unsettled in my mind whether that portion of Omran which is very extensive, ought not to be tried once more in other localities. I felt at the time quite reluctant to waste more money in digging other trenches in that site, especially as I could ill afford to carry on researches barren of good results when I had other more promising localities to explore.

It has been supposed by some geographers that the mound of Omran indicated the site of the hanging gardens; but against this theory there is the undoubted fact of the discovery of the four wells at Babel and the lowness of the former in comparison to the towering prospect of the latter, which can be seen from a great distance. Moreover, the very name of hanging gardens implies that the plantations were laid in terraces to give them a grand appearance, and the aspect of the flat, low mound of Omran does not show any sign of such feature. The southern part of Babel, where the wells are found, shows even now unmistakable

indications of sloping tendency, though for the last two thousand years the place had been furrowed through by searchers for treasure and diggers for bricks. Mr. Claudius Rich, one of the most accurate and judicious observers, was the first who harbored the idea that Babel (which he called *Imjaileeba*) indicated the site of the hanging gardens, but the fact of the existence of some skeletons which were found there somewhat puzzled him in determining his theory.* At the time Mr. Rich visited Babylon there had been scarcely any archæological research on a large scale carried on in Babylonia, and, consequently, neither the graves nor buildings of future occupiers of the ruined city were examined properly to define their origin. Had he tried even half a dozen graves he would have found that they did not belong to the ancient Babylonians, but to subsequent occupiers of the soil, supposed to be Parthians or Sassanians. In both Assyria and Babylonia I very often came in contact with that kind of graves, whether the dead were buried in vaults, sarcophagi, or merely interred in the earth. The females were buried with their ornaments, consisting of common beads and rude trinkets, and the males were supplied with their drinking earthenware jugs and cups. What struck me as being extraordinary was the non-existence of valuable or precious ornaments in any of the tombs, unless the remains of the respectable class and the well-to-do were cremated. At Babylon we found some skeletons with thin gold-leaf covering the faces, and others with bands of the same gold-leaf placed across the foreheads.†

Besides the tombs of those rude people, we found a large number of earthenware drain-pipes, varying from ten to eighteen inches in diameter, which had been sunk through the débris from the top of the different mounds to the depth of about twenty and thirty feet. There is no doubt these belonged to the sinks of those people who occupied the ruined city after the utter destruction of Babylon had taken place.

Nothing can now be seen of that famous city but heaps of rubbish, in which are mingled, in utter confusion, broken bricks, pottery, and remnants of enameled tiles of different colors and

* Rich: *Babylon and Persopolis*, p. 95.

† Similar masks were found by Sir Henry Layard. See Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 592.

designs. These latter are only found at Imjaleeba, and mentioned both in sacred and profane writings. Ezekiel alludes to them in his prophecy;* and Diodorus Siculus, the Grecian historian, says concerning them, that the walls and towers of the palace were covered with tiles of different colors, representing hunting scenes wherein were shown various kinds of wild beasts with Semiramis on horseback striking a leopard through with a dart, and next to her, her husband, Ninus, in close fight with a lion, piercing him with his lance."†

I consider this ruin, the only place where the enameled tiles were found in great abundance, is the site of the old palace which was occupied by Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, and the one at the eastern extremity of that mound where I found some halls and chambers was the palace mentioned by Josephus, which had been erected by the latter king in the marvelously short time of fifteen days!‡ Then at the southern portion of the same site, indicated by what is commonly called the "Kassir," § I take it to be the remnant of the Temple of Belus; and my reason for saying so is founded on the fact that that ruin has the same architecture as *Birs Nimroud*,—that is to say, wholly built of solid, hard, kiln-burnt bricks, and cemented with lime cement, especially as there is no other building in all Babylonia possessing the same style of fabric devoid of any sun-dried bricks. No less than the remains of seven royal structures, which I discovered at Babylon, *Birs Nimroud*, *Cutha*, and *Sepharvaim*, or *Sippara*, were built with sun-dried bricks plastered over with adhesive clay

* Ezekiel xxiii, 14, 15.

† Diodorus Siculus, Book II, c. 1.

‡ Josephus, *Antiquities*, X, xi, 1.

§ "Kassir" means a palace in Arabic; not that there is any reason to call it so, but the Arabs always like to give a name to an old ruin, either a palace or citadel. It is a remnant of a solid, original brick masonry still existing there. But "*Imjaleeba*," which is the name of the whole mound, means "overturned," from the nature of upheaved ruins. It had been dug into for hundreds of years by seekers of treasure and bricks, and now the whole place seems as if it had been destroyed by an earthquake. The only reason that part of the tower has been left undemolished, is on account of its solidity and the adhesive quality of the cemented bricks. Although I tried my utmost to find an entire enameled brick for the British Museum, I failed to do so.

cement; and whenever I found any kiln-burnt bricks in any of those buildings they were either used as buttresses or pavements.* It may be considered a novelty to start up such a supposition as there having been three separate structures on the mound of Imjaileeba,—that is to say, the Temple of Belus, the palace of Nabopolassar, and the wonderful building of Nebuchadnezzar, which was said to have been erected in fifteen days! But if we take the size of the mound, and compare it with other Babylonian or Assyrian sites, we shall find there was ample space there for the three great edifices. The mound of Koyunjik (the royal city of Nineveh), which is one-third smaller, contained two large palaces, one of Sennacherib and the other of Assur-bani-pal, or Sardanapalus, and these only occupied about one-third of the mound; and at Nimroud, which is not quite half the size of Imjaileeba, Sir Henry Layard discovered no less than three palaces of Assurnazir-pal, Esar-haddon, Saracus, and the remains of a fourth, supposed to have belonged to Tiglath-Pileser.

At the mound of Babel, which is no doubt the site of the hanging gardens, as I shall prove presently, I followed the excavations of the Arabs, who were digging for bricks, and uncovered four exquisitely-built wells of red granite in the southern center

* The only difficulty which stares me in the face, regarding the situation of the Temple of Belus, and the royal palace in the same position, is the account given by Herodotus with regard to the situation of those two buildings. He distinctly says (I, clxxxi) that the Temple of Belus stood in one division of the city, and the royal palace occupied the other. I think this seeming antagonistic statement may be explained by the fact that there must have been more than one palace in each division, as there are unmistakable indications both at Babel, Omran, and Jimjima, of royal habitations. Moreover, we are informed by Diodorus (II, 8) that there were two palaces, one on either side of the river, and if the Euphrates flowed then between Imjaileeba and Omran, it would have a palace on each of those sites. As for the proximity of the temple to the royal residence, we have only to take for an example Nabonidus's palace at Birs Nimroud, which almost joins the Temple of Borsippa. We are also told by Strabo and Arrian that when Alexander tried to repair the Temple of Belus, it was conjectured that it would entail immense labor, ten thousand men being unable to remove the rubbish in two months from the ruin. As a matter of fact, even now the débris around the Kassir is the only existing indication all over Babylonia of the nature attributed to it by historians.

of the mound; three of which were situated in a parallel line within a few feet of each other, and one was some distance from them in a southeasterly direction. Their engineering and scientific erection reflect great credit upon the designer. Each well is built of circular pieces of granite, which must have been brought from a great distance in Northern Mesopotamia, as there is no quarry of that nature to be seen anywhere near the Euphrates within five hundred miles up the river. Each stone, which is about three feet in height, had been bored and made to fit the one below it so exactly that one would imagine that the whole well was hewn in one solid rock. On digging to the bottom of these wells, it was found to communicate with an aqueduct supplied with water from the Euphrates, or a canal which must have skirted the north-eastern corner of the mound. Even when I dug into the water-course when the river was high, the water oozed out through the débris, though the Euphrates ran then about a mile from it. These wells, which were about one hundred and forty feet high when I uncovered them, and could not have been less than fifty or sixty feet higher originally, must have been erected exclusively for irrigating the hanging gardens, as they doubtless stood higher than any other building in the city on account of the commanding position the mound of Babel occupied.* These stone-built

* Both Strabo and Quintus Curtius represent the hanging gardens to have been very near the river; and Diodorus, in particular, mentions that the water was drawn by engines through conduits for irrigating the surface, which testimonies prove more than anything else that the wells and aqueduct found at Babel were the identical sites that the ancient historians alluded to. As Diodorus gives a full description of these gardens, I will quote his history of them.

He says: "There was also a hanging garden (as it is called) near the citadel, not built by Semiramis, but by a later prince, called Cyrus, for the sake of a courtesan, who, being a Persian (as they say) by birth, and coveting meadows on mountain-tops, desired the king, by an artificial plantation, to imitate the land in Persia. This garden was four hundred feet square, and the ascent up to it was as to the top of a mountain, and had buildings and apartments out of one into another like a theater. Under the steps to the ascent were built arches one above another, rising gently by degrees, which supported the whole plantation. The highest arch upon which the platform of the garden was laid was fifty cubits high, and the garden itself was surrounded with battlements and bulwarks. The walls were made very strong, built at no small charge and expense, being

wells are quite peculiar to that spot, because all the wells that have hitherto been discovered in Assyria and Babylonia were of the same style of architecture, consisting of hard-baked bricks, molded in such a shape as to fit regularly to each other in a cricle. One of the wells I allude to was found at Nimroud by Sir Henry Layard, and three others by me, at Abou-habba, Jimjima, and Balawat, one of the Nineveh mounds where the bronze monument of Shalmaneser II was discovered. The well which I found at Jimjima was not deep, and seemed to have been repaired by the Parthians.*

two and twenty feet thick, and every sally-port ten feet wide. Over the several stories of this fabric were laid beams and summers of huge massy stones, each sixteen feet long and four broad. The roof over all these was first covered with reeds, daubed with abundance of brimstone (or bitumen); then upon them was laid double tiles pargeted together with a hard and durable mortar, and over them all was a covering, with sheets of lead that the wet which drenched through the earth might not rot the foundation. Upon all these was laid earth of a convenient depth, sufficient for the growth of the greatest trees. When the soil was laid even and smooth, it was planted with all sorts of trees, which, both for beauty and greatness, might delight the spectators. The arches, which stood one above another, had in them many stately rooms of all kinds and for all purposes. But there was one that had in it a certain engine, whereby it drew plenty of water out of the river, through certain conduits and conveniences from the platform of the garden; and nobody without was the wiser, or knew what was done. The garden, as we said before, was built in later ages." B. II, c. 1. (Buckingham, Travels, Vol. II, p. 265.)

Pliny also mentions that the hanging gardens were constructed on columns, arches, and walls, and contained terraces of earth watered by machines from the river, producing forests of large trees. Its height was equal to that of the castle walls, and from the fine air enjoyed there, fruits of all kinds were produced, and the shade and refreshing coolness of the place were delicious in such a climate. It was said that a king of Syria (Assyria), who reigned in Babylon, constructed these gardens to gratify a wife whom he violently loved, and who, having a passion for woods and forests, thus enjoyed, in the midst of a great metropolis, the sylvan pleasures of a country life. (Nat. His., B. V, c. 1, Buckingham, Travels, Vol. II, p. 282.)

* Strange to relate, all the water found in those wells was brackish, owing to the existence of saline matter, both in the vicinity of Nineveh and Babylon, though wells are dug within a short distance from the Tigris or Euphrates.

It is very remarkable that in 1854 I discovered amongst the bas-reliefs found in the palace of Assur-bani-pal a representation of this very mound, which Sir Henry Rawlinson and other Assyrian scholars identified with the famous hanging gardens of Nebuchadnezzar. They are now in the basement room in the British Museum. On this sculpture the usual monolith of a deified king is shown, with water-courses running down the declivities of the mound. The first object that attracts the traveler's notice on approaching Babylon from Baghdad, is this remarkable high mound at the extreme northern border of the ancient city, and in riding into Hillah the traveler skirts it on the eastern side. Next to Birs Nimroud it is the most prominent of all the mounds. It can be seen from a great distance; and at the time of its construction it must have looked most imposing.

Of all the existing sites and ruins in Babylon proper, Babel is the only mound that could have represented the hanging gardens, both from its position and shape. Besides the wells which I have mentioned, there still exist solid walls and battlements built of kiln-burnt bricks, which evidently supported the arches and columns which Diodorus and Pliny mention. On the northeast and northwest the walls are quite perpendicular, and when they are uncovered from the rubbish they look very like the architecture of the Kassir, but the bricks are not so difficult to detach. The Arabs had been at the work of destruction for centuries, and when I was there they were busily engaged in demolishing the huge walls on the northeast and northwest portions of the mound. Had I had power to stop them and possessed the necessary funds to uncover the ruins, I feel sure that I should have discovered important and more convincing proof of the identification of the historical hanging gardens.

I also feel sure that there must have been an important public building almost as large as Babel in area, but somewhat low, about half a mile to the east of that mound; but as I had more important work to carry on in other localities, I could not spare more than one gang of seven men to examine it for a few days. I have never found it of any use to spend more than three or four weeks upon the examination of any site, unless I found some good indications of valuable remains, especially when my workmen could be employed with greater advantage in other places. On this account, therefore, I did not give that spot a thorough examination.

Every time I returned to that country I tried all I could to trace the original outskirts of the ancient city, according to the description of the Grecian historians, Herodotus and Diodorus; but the more I puzzled my head to arrive at a definite result, the more I was perplexed. I also tried, after a strict examination of the different sites in dispute, to reconcile my theory with that of Mr. Rich, Major Rumell, M. Oppert, and other recent writers, but I failed to do so; because the different conflicting arguments of those who wrote about the topography of Babylon seemed to add to the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion.

We have no reason to suppose that all those ancient historians who wrote about the enormous size and magnificence of the capital of Chaldea, reported what was not the fact, though they might have made some mistakes and exaggerated the prodigious extent of the walls and their great breadth and height. We ought also not to discredit the united testimony of the ancients that the river ran between the most notable royal buildings, the Temple of Belus, and the hanging garden, though, with the exception of Birs Nimroud, which is about thirteen miles to the southwest of Babylon, all the remaining ruins are now situated on the east side of the Euphrates, and not a vestige of any ancient remains of importance can now be seen on the western bank. There are, indeed, some isolated and insignificant artificial mounds around Hillah and at Annana opposite Omran, but from the nature of the soil these could not have been in existence before the destruction of Babylon.

It is quite impossible for the river to have demolished every trace of the royal buildings on one side of the river, and not on the other, especially as it is known how particular the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs were in protecting their habitations and temples against an enemy and the inroad of flood. We ought, therefore, to conclude that the Euphrates must have run formerly either between the mound of Babel and Imjaileeba, or between the latter ruin and Omran,—that is to say, keeping the mound of Babel and Imjaileeba on the east or left side, and the other ruins of Omran and Jimjima on the right or west.

All authorities agree that the river divided Babylon in two parts, the same as the Thames divides London, and the royal residences, the Temple of Belus, and the hanging gardens occupied central parts, and these likewise were separated by the river. The

old course of the river ought therefore to be found between the existing principal ruins, and I shall not wonder if even traces of the old bed are discovered to the east of Babel and west of Imjaileeba, as I have found during my researches there brick masonry deep under ground, in those two localities which would make the river run in such a way as to leave Babel and Imjaileeba to the right or west, and the other ruins to the left or east.

Although I am not certain between which mounds the river actually flowed formerly, I am, nevertheless, quite convinced in my mind that the main stream of the Euphrates did not run in its present course before Cyrus captured Babylon; but through the stratagem he used in turning its flow into Nitocris's old reservoir and other canals, it made for itself a new channel.*

There is no doubt that his engineering for that purpose was carried out to the southwest of Khan-al-Mahweel, and not far from the mouth of the Neel Canal, about six miles to the northwest of Babel; and as Babylon was invested all around by the Medo-Persian army the numerous canals, which must have traversed Babylon, inside and out, for the purposes of irrigation, might have contributed to a large extent in exhausting the main flow. The body of the Euphrates, as a matter of course, must have been very small in comparison to its present size in the neighborhood of Babylon, seeing that the great canal called Nahr-Malka, or royal river, with all its branches, must have absorbed at least one-third of it beside the other minor canals that were fed by the Euphrates lower down; that is to say, between Aboo-habba, or Sepharvaim, and the northern limit of Babylon.

I am of opinion that the present lake that surrounds Birs Nimroud is neither more nor less than the reservoir of Nitocris,

* Herodotus relates thus: "Having stationed the bulk of his army near the passage of the river where it enters Babylon, and again having stationed another division beyond the city where the river makes its exit, he (Cyrus) gave orders to his forces to enter the city as soon as they should see the stream fordable. Having thus stationed his forces, and given these directions, he himself marched away with the ineffective part of his army, and having come to the lake, Cyrus did the same with respect to the river and the lake as the queen of the Babylonians (Nitocris) had done. For having diverted the river, by means of a canal into the lake which was before a swamp, he made the ancient channel fordable by the sinking of the river." (Herodotus, I, 191.)

which is now fed by the Hindeya Canal. I feel confident, also, that the ancient course of the river could be ascertained easily by a small outlay; because, if the statement of Herodotus can be depended upon in reference to Queen Nitocris's embankment of the river with burnt bricks, and bridging it over in one place with large blocks of stone, some of these materials might be in existence now.*

As for the theory that the site of the famous Temple of Belus may be traced in the ruin of Birs Nimroud, it is utterly inconsistent with historical evidences and contrary to the bare fact of its distance from the royal precincts,—sites which can not be disputed.

In the first place, there is the royal record of Nebuchadnezzar found in his standard inscription, wherein he enumerates the wonders of Babylon, and the part he had taken in adding to its magnificence. He particularly mentions Borsippa (Birs Nimroud) and the Temple of Merodach (supposed to be Belus), as two separate buildings.

Secondly, Birs Nimroud is so far from what is considered the center of Babylon, that it could never have occupied the position

* Herodotus relates: "As the city consisted of two divisions, which were separated by the river during the reign of former kings, when any one had occasion to cross from one division to the other, he was obliged to cross in a boat; and this, in my opinion, was very troublesome. She (Nitocris) therefore provided for this; for after she had dug the reservoir for the lake, she left this other monument built by similar toil. She had large blocks of stone cut, and when they were ready and the place was completely dug out, she turned the whole stream of the river into the place she had dug. While this was filled, and the ancient channel had become dry, in the first place, she lined with burnt bricks the banks of the river throughout the city, and the descents that lead from the gates to the river in the same manner as the walls. In the next place, about the middle of the city she built a bridge with the stones she had prepared, and bound them together with plates of lead and iron. Upon these stones she laid, during the day, square planks of timber, on which the Babylonians might pass over; but at night these planks were removed, to prevent people from crossing by night and robbing one another. When the hollow that was dug had become a lake filled by the river, and the bridge was finished, she brought back the river to its ancient channel from the lake. And thus the excavations having been turned into a marsh, appeared to answer the purpose for which it was made, and a bridge was built for the use of the inhabitants." (Herodotus, I, 186.)

assigned to the Temple of Belus in either of the divisions, seeing that it is more than twelve miles distant and quite isolated from the other ancient ruins. Both Herodotus and Diodorus place the Temple of Belus in the center; but while the former assigns the palaces to the other center of the division, the latter merely mentions that the bridge was built on the narrowest part of the river, with the royal edifices at each end of the bridge. So if we allow the Birs to be the site of the Temple of Belus, we must discredit altogether the statements of the ancients that the most important buildings were situated in the center of Babylon on the opposite sides of the river, and increase the size of that city to double the dimension given to it by Herodotus as being fourteen miles each side of the square; a measurement which has been considered by all critics to be preposterous!

Thirdly, we are informed by Berosus, on the authority of Josephus, that after Cyrus had captured Babylon, he ordered the outer walls of the city to be demolished, and marched to Borsippa to besiege Nabonidus, who had fled thither after his defeat.* This proves, more than anything else, that not only Borsippa was not included in the enciente of Babylon, but that it was quite a separate place, and had its own defenses, part of which can even now be seen intact.

It is related by Arrian, the historian of Alexander (*Exp. Alex. VII, 17*), that Xerxes razed to the ground the Temple of Belus, a destruction which could not possibly apply to the town of Birs Nimroud, which even now, after twenty-three centuries, can be seen standing to the height of nearly two hundred feet!

* "When Nabonidus perceived he (Cyrus) was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and, joining battle with him, was beaten, and fled away. with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city of Borsippas. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave orders that the outer wall of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippas to besiege Nabonidus; but as Nabonidus did not sustain a siege he delivered himself up into his hands." (*Josephus Against Apion, I, 20.*)

Herodotus, however, says that not Cyrus, but Darius, had destroyed the walls. His words are these: "But when Darius made himself master of the Babylonians, first of all he demolished the walls and bore away all the gates, for when Cyrus had taken Babylon before, he did neither of these things." (*Book III, clause 159.*)

The most wonderful of all destructions that have ever taken place in the world is the non-existence of even a small remnant of that prodigious wall of Babylon, which was said to have been sixty miles in circumference; three hundred and fifty feet in height, and seventy-five feet in width. Herodotus says that "on the top of the wall, at the edges, they built dwellings of one story fronting each other, and they left a space between these dwellings sufficient for turning a chariot with four horses." * If we reduce the size to half, or even a quarter, of the supposed extent of the wall, it is marvelous that not even a speck of it can now be traced, though there has been no lack of ardent researchers and explorers, who have strained their wits to fix a certain spot or limit to their conjectures, but failed to do so.† I myself have had ample opportunity to arrive at a definite conclusion, and have met with the same disappointing result. The reality of the utter extinction of that gigantic wall seems the more astonishing when there are now other Babylonian city walls still in existence, almost entire, not far from Babylon.‡

Consider it as we may, it is certainly most puzzling to determine where the site of ancient Babylon begins and where it ends. If we take the present conspicuous ruins to be the center, according to the general accepted testimony of different historians, with the Euphrates running through the principal structures, why then, both to the north and east, there are still to be seen ancient remains, but to the south and west there exist no signs whatever of such ruins.§ If Herodotus's account of the different gates of the city

* Herodotus, I, 179.

† The destruction of the walls of Babylon was foretold by the prophet Jeremiah in the following words: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts; The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire; and the people shall labor in vain." (Jer. II, 58.)

‡ The existing Babylonian city walls in the neighborhood of Babylon are around Birs Nimroud, Aboo-habba, and Dair. The last of these three mounds, which is very small, about two thousand yards in circumference, and three miles to the east of Aboo-habba, is quite entire, and there is not the least doubt that it is an original Babylonian erection, not unlike the existing wall of Koyunjik (Nineveh). It is faced with the common burnt bricks, but not hard baked, and it may be that the walls of Babylon were built in the same style.

§ Diodorus and Strabo reduce each side of the square to eleven miles, or three miles less than the measurement of Herodotus,—that is

can be relied on, I think the mound of Algarainee indicates the spot where the Nineveh gate was supposed to have stood.*

If we adopt the reckoning of Herodotus to be the correct one; namely, that Babylon was about fifteen miles square, and that the palaces and the Temple of Belus occupied a central position and represented by the ruins of Imjaileeba, we may then, safely, take the mound of Al-hhaimar, about seven miles eastward, to indicate one of the eastern gates of the city, either the Beledian or Cissian.

From all accounts it seems that within the area of the huge outer wall, fields of corn, parks, and gardens predominated as it is in the suburbs of Wan, the capital of Armenia. Outside the walls of the latter city all the houses are surrounded by gardens and orchards for nearly five miles in length, and three or four miles in breadth.†

The complete demolition of that famous wall can only be accounted for by its construction; as we are told by Herodotus that "a moat, deep, wide, and full of water, ran entirely round the city, of which the wall was built;" and, as a matter of course, when the invaders were bent upon the destruction of what caused the Medo-Persian conquerors immense trouble in the capture of Babylon, it was no difficult matter to throw the débris back into the ditch from whence it was dug out. Since then the plowing of the soil for cultivation from year to year, and the digging of different new canals and water-courses for the purposes of irrigation, together with the deposit of alluvial soil from the constant inundations, soon caused the furrowed land to assume its former aspect. There is one objection to this theory, however, which must not be overlooked, and that is, the statement of Herodotus about the existence of baked bricks in the walls; as he says that "as they dug the moat they made bricks of the earth

to say, the latter makes Babylon about two hundred square miles, while the former compute it at only one hundred and thirty miles.

* Book III, clause 155.

† We are told by Quintus Curtius "that the houses of the city did not touch the walls, but were at some distance from it. All the space within the city was not built, nor more than ninety stadia of it; and even the houses did not join each other. The remainder of the ground served as fields and gardens, sufficient to furnish provisions to the city in the event of a siege." (B. V, c. 1.)

that was taken out, and when they had molded a sufficient number they baked them in kilns." *

Berosus, Diodorus, and others also mention that the walls were partly built of burnt bricks cemented with asphalt; and as I know how difficult it is to detach kiln-burnt bricks from each other, when they are built into a wall, without breaking them, I am quite puzzled to account for the total absence of every sign of such remains on the west side of the Euphrates for a distance of twelve miles, until the outskirts of Birs Nimroud are reached. It may be, as I said before, that the accumulation of alluvial deposit, for so many centuries, has covered the old ruins to such a degree as to make the land appear as if it was in its natural state, or the alleged burnt bricks were of that nature as to decompose to powder after a short space of time, when they are not protected by a coating of bitumen.

There were three kinds of bricks made in Babylon, the sun-dried bricks, which were commonly used in the royal buildings in Assyria and Babylonia; the hard-baked, which Nebuchadnezzar declared to be, in his standard inscription, as "hard as stones;" and the other burnt bricks found in some localities in Babylonia, such as the mound called Al-hhaimar, some of the chambers in Nebuchadnezzar's palace at Birs Nimroud, part of Aboo-habba, or Sippara, and the wall of Dair, another Babylonian ancient site (which I believe to be the other Sippara of the moon goddess), about three miles to the east of the last-named place. These were made differently from the hard bricks, as they were merely the common sun-dried bricks baked in an oven; but the others, which are as hard as rock, contained some other ingredients, including bitumen and lime.†

It is a remarkable fact that all the country around Babylon, especially near the ruins, is impregnated with nitre; and after a

* Herodotus, I, 179.

† In the construction of their buildings of sun-dried bricks, the Babylonians used matting between layers varying from four to ten courses; for what purpose this was done it is impossible to tell. Through the length of time they have been built in the walls, the matting has decomposed, and now only a white substance, like French plaster, about an eighth of an inch thick, is seen between the courses. In Assyrian erections no such material was used, but in some buildings matting was laid under the pavement between the burnt bricks, and the bitumen used to keep the damp out.

heavy shower of rain, followed by hot sun, some parts of the land look quite white; and I have very often seen saltpeter as thick as a penny on the ground. When this saliniferous substance appears in hard ground, it becomes slimy and slippery; but if it oozes through soft earth it renders it very heavy, both for man and beast, to walk on. The existence of nitre, so common in the ancient site of Babylon, proves that débris of kiln-burnt bricks must be buried under ground in large quantity to cause such a change in the alluvial soil. Had it not been for my scruple not to waste public money on such an object, which is of no material benefit to the British Museum, I should certainly have gone about differently to discover some clue to the positions of the important parts of the old city.

Having reached Southern Mesopotamia at a time when the heat of the weather makes it almost impossible for carrying on extensive explorations in Babylonia; and as I had other works to attend to in Assyria and Armenia, I hastened to Mossul by way of Karkook and Arweel (ancient Arbela) on the eastern side of the Tigris, after having made proper arrangements for the continuation, on a small scale, of our researches at Babylon and Birs Nimroud.

I was fortunate enough to have a kind and hospitable friend at the time at Baghdad, in the person of Colonel Miles, who was then acting as Her Majesty's representative at that place. Nothing could surpass his warm-hearted attention for the comfort of his guests. It was not only of infinite pleasure to any traveler to have him as a host, but his genuine thoughtfulness made his guests feel quite at home under his roof.

After having spent a very pleasant week with him, while my servants and the muleteer were preparing for the journey, I left Baghdad on the 9th June, 1880, traveling either at night or very early in the morning soon after midnight, resting during the day, in consequence of the great heat which prevails in those regions at that time of the year. I reached Mossul in fourteen days after having broken my journey at Karkook for one day, for the purpose of seeing the governor-general, who was staying there on account of the chronic disorder of the Hammawand Koords. The road to Karkook from Ssalhheya was so infested with them that the governor of the last-named place found it necessary to send a formidable escort with me for fear of an attack.

CHAPTER XIX.

OWING to the famine which prevailed in the Pashalics of Baghdad and Mossul, for more than a year, a dreadful epidemic of a most malignant type, called "black fever," had appeared in those parts, which killed its victims by the thousand after a short illness. At Karkook and its neighborhood especially, the scourge had been most severe. In the town itself the fever had carried off so many of its inhabitants that hundreds of houses and shops were left without owners, and the burial of paupers had cost the Turkish Government 375,000 piasters for shrouds, being at the rate of thirty piasters, or five shillings, a head.* In the time of the famine all those who could not find sustenance in the provinces took refuge at Karkook; and so, when the epidemic appeared, it carried off these poor wretches by the scores.

While I was halting at Ssalhheya, where the epidemic was raging, about sixty miles to the southeast of Karkook, I saw a number of men being carried in a state of unconsciousness, some in a dying condition, and others just as they were attacked in the bazaar. I was myself located at the telegraph office, which was recommended to me by my escort as being the cleanest place in the town, and where I should find comfortable accommodation and a hearty reception by the chief of the station. On arriving there, I found that my host was one of the victims who had been attacked with the prevailing malady, as were also the rest of his family, and was just getting over the worst part of the ailment. Though he was too unwell to attend to me personally, he gave directions that I should have the best room in the house, and two others were apportioned to my followers. My cook, whether from fear or from bilious derangement, was reported to me to be "suffering," which report certainly made me anxious, as I was afraid that if the epidemic broke out amongst my followers, there was no knowing what the end of it would be. Happily, a harmless laugh at his timidity, with a strong dose of sedlitz powder, put him right again, and soon afterwards he was able to go about his work and cook

* In Mohammedan countries all expenses attending the burial of paupers are defrayed by the State; and a most wise provision it is.

my dinner. The fact was, the heat of the morning sun and the news of so many deaths from the black fever at that place had upset him altogether, and he thought, of course, that he was going to fall a victim to the distemper.

It was no wonder that the sickness at Salhheya was so virulent, for the water the natives were drinking was a filthy concoction of mud, putrid vegetation, dead animals, and refuse that was thrown out of the houses! Those who could afford it, sent and fetched themselves drinking water from the spring outside the town, as I did; but the majority contented themselves with the impure water that was got out of the stagnant rivulet in the town.

I was in hopes that, on reaching Mossul from Baghdad, I should be able to resume our explorations at Nebes Yonis through the assistance of Mr. Goschen, the British ambassador at Constantinople; but, unfortunately, the opposition arrayed against us was too great to be overcome by His Excellency, when the affair of Dalcino had stamped out the little love the Turks entertained for us. Promises were made and broken, pleas were set up and vanished, and an attempt to stir up a religious crusade against the sacrilege of our explorations in the "holy place" failed, and still I was left in a state of uncertainty for more than a month without even having the comforting feeling that the representatives of England at the Turkish capital had done their best to restore to the British Museum their rightful privilege. I say rightful, because we relied on the integrity and justice of His Imperial Majesty, who had already granted us a royal license to excavate in the Pashalic of Mossul without let or hindrance under certain restrictions, which I never failed to respect. Having most important work to conduct at Wan, I could not wait any longer at Mossul, but started northward, after having made proper arrangements for carrying on the excavations in my absence by my nephew, Mr. Nimroud Rassam, in case the Porte withdrew their objection to our explorations at Nebes Yonis. As usual, I left a few men at Koyunjik to search for inscribed objects in the palace of Sennacherib, where my nephew was still finding remnants of the library of that monarch. He had already secured a good collection of different antiquities from the chambers which he had excavated, amongst which he found some inscribed terra-cotta cylinders, and a Grecian statuette of coarse stone, on which was inscribed in plain Greek characters the name of "Diogenes."

As I had a good deal to do at Koyunjik, and the weather was too hot for me to go backwards and forwards to Mossul, I removed to the former place a few days before I started for Wan, and soon after midnight, on the 15th of July, I resumed my northward journey, and reached the Chaldean village of Tel-iskikif with my escort in about four hours and a half. As we had to wait for the luggage, I occupied myself in making short visits to the priests of the village, and as soon as the muleteers passed, I hurried on to our resting-place, Hattara, a Yezedee village, which we reached in two hours, but the luggage did not arrive till half an hour after us.

We left Hattara on the 16th, at midnight, and as soon as it was daylight I sent on the luggage to Dehok, and I, with my escort, went on to a ruined village to examine some artificial mounds which had been reported to me to contain relics of the past. I was greatly disappointed to find, on reaching the place, that the two mounds were not artificial, and the little earth that covered them was an accumulation of refuse from the village. As soon as I was satisfied that there was nothing there worth any consideration, I hastened on to Dehok, which I reached in an hour's ride. I was taken by my escort to the castle, where I was welcomed by the governor, Mosstafa Effendi, who entertained me most hospitably. We had some fine grapes for the first time in that part of the world then, but at Baghdad they had them earlier. When I was halting at Jodaida, a village about six hours' journey from Baghdad, its chief presented me with some grapes that grew in the neighborhood in the beginning of June.

Dehok was considered in the days of Koordish ascendancy one of their great strongholds, as it is situated at the mouth of a deep valley, one of the entrances of that part of Koordistan, and Assyrian mountains. It overlooks three valleys, and the scenery from the top of the castle is magnificent.

We left Dehok the next morning at 1.30, and went on until we reached some clumps of trees in a delightful valley called "Gulley Goondka," near the village of Bagairee, where we halted at 9.30 A. M. As I wished to rest the next day (Sunday) in a nice Chaldean village, called Dawooddia, we left again at 1.30 P. M.; but on reaching that place, at 4.30, we found it almost deserted, owing to the late famine; so we had to push on to Dehay, another Chaldean village up on the hill, about an hour and a half

further. There I was received very hospitably by the chief, named Ieshu, through whose management and liberality he had saved his community from starvation. Even with all his care seven lives were lost for want of proper nourishment.

The village is delightfully situated at the foot of a picturesque mountain, and has a fine extensive view of the valley of Immaddia. The inhabitants of the village are Chaldean Nestorians, while the natives of Dawooddia were Chaldean Catholics. The chief of the former is also a Roman Catholic, though all his family, except his wife, were Nestorians. The reason he changed his religion was, because he had fallen in love with a handsome Chaldean Catholic damsel of Dawooddia, who would not marry him until he embraced her faith. He had two very handsome daughters from a former marriage, who administered to my wants; one was very fair with golden hair, and the other dark—a most extraordinary contrast. A brother of theirs, a handsome young man, named Barkho, who lived in another place on account of the unhappy religious division in his family, came while I was there, and he was the one who gave me the history of the marriage, and hoped that his father would retract before his death. The abhorrence of the pictures and crucifixes by the Nestorians is very great; and as for the wine being forbidden in the Lord's Supper to the laity, it is considered the greatest heresy in the world.

He related to me a distressing account of the misery the famine had created all over the country, and showed me a vineyard well worth fifty pounds which was sold for a mere trifle, and he assured me that if any man had gone to that country for speculation in the time of the famine he might have purchased any land he liked for one-hundredth its value.

I spent a most pleasant Lord's-day at that village, and all my followers were glad to have a little rest. Our animals also enjoyed their grazing down the valley, which they certainly deserved, as they had had two days' long journey, and the way before us was far from smooth.

Having been forewarned of the difficult passes that lay in our way, we did not start as early as on former occasions, but began to move at 3.45 A. M. My host and his son accompanied me through the gorge, and as the ascent was rather rough and steep, they had to take two other men with them to assist our muleteers in getting my things through. They had to unload some of the

animals and carry the luggage on their shoulders and backs. After we had ascended a very high mountain, we began to descend into a most picturesque valley, with the river Khaboor * winding about amongst luxuriant swards and cultivations. The chief of my escort met with a bad fall as we were descending a precipitous declivity, which might have ended fatally. As he was leading his horse down a slippery path, his animal slipped and dragged him headlong about thirty yards to the brink of the river. How both escaped a serious hurt was a wonder. My horse also slipped as I was leading him through the rocks, but he recovered his footing in a marvelous manner. We reached a place called Chellug at ten A. M., and halted under some huge mulberry-trees.

There were two villages down in the valley; one inhabited by Koords, and the other by Nestorians; but I was advised to go to neither, as both were reported to me to be dirty and unfit for my occupation. Soon after we encamped, the chief of the Moslem village, a descendant of the prophet Mohammed, came to offer me his services, and left his daughter-in-law to attend to the wants of the cook in fetching him wood, water, and milk; and she also baked bread for us. A boy from the same village climbed up the largest mulberry-tree, which was overstocked with fruit, and shook us down showers of luscious white mulberries, of which my followers partook more than was good for them. We were advised not to sleep in the mulberry grove at night on account of the mosquitoes; but, though we went out to an open ground, we did not altogether escape them.

We started the next morning at three o'clock, and reached the Nestorian village of Gairamoos at one P. M. We had a most fatiguing journey that day from the roughness of the path and the lofty ascents and descents we had to go through. The way was so bad that I myself had to go on foot most of the time we were traveling. The heat down in the valleys was most stifling, and certainly of all the bad roads I have been through, whether in Koordistan, Armenia, or Abyssinia, I never saw worse than those between Chellug and Gairamoos. On reaching the place, however, the freshness of the gardens, by which the village was surrounded,

* It is very curious that there should be two rivers of the same name so near each other, one falling into the Euphrates, and this latter into the Tigris.

and the pleasant prospect of water running in different directions, soon made me forget the intricate defiles I had had to pass through. Gairamoos is a very important place, and the Nestorians who inhabit it seemed to be well-to-do. I was received there by the chief priest of the village, who had a nice house; and both he and his wife were extremely attentive; but the presence of the former was rather intrusive, as he would not leave me a minute alone. He was constantly receiving visitors, who talked about trifling matters, and did not allow me a few moments to take a little rest. I have no doubt my kind host meant it well, but I wished him and his friends some distance away all the while. I had a delightful bath in the cold and clear stream which was running down from the snow-clad summits some two or three miles away. The heat in the valley in the daytime was most oppressive, almost as hot as it is in the plains of Mesopotamia, though the mountains around were covered with perpetual snow. The mosquitoes were also troublesome in the evening, but on moving to an open space I was not bothered much by them.

Our baggage animals were so knocked up the day we reached Gairamoos, from the difficult and precipitous defiles, that I was afraid, if I moved the next morning, some of the poor beasts would be done up. I was told that the next stage would be, if possible, worse than that of the day before, as we had to ascend high mountains about four thousand feet above Gairamoos, or about double that height above the level of the sea; so I deemed it advisable to remain at Gairamoos the whole of the next day, which resolve pleased every one, especially the muleteers. The night was delightful, and the breeze which came down the mountain cooled the atmosphere to such a degree as to bring down the thermometer to 65 degrees.

We started at 3.45 A. M., July 22d, and as I was told that in some parts of the difficult ascent we should be obliged to unload the heavy baggage and have it transported on the backs of men, I engaged four Nestorians for the purpose. It took us an hour in going up to the pass, which I found, according to my aneroid barometer, to be 7,500 feet high. We then descended to a small plateau in the valley of "Ain-hwarta,"* where we gave our animals a rest of about three hours. There was an encampment of Nes-

* Two Chaldean words, which mean "White Spring."

torian shepherds of Hairamoon a short distance from us, where we obtained some rich milk and cream. A small ravine near us was full of snow; and as the bottom part had melted away, it formed an artificial cave, which looked quite tempting to take shelter in from the heat of the sun. I went, therefore, and sat in it for a few minutes to enjoy what I thought a great luxury; but I was soon obliged to leave it, as I felt quite chilled and almost began to shiver.

We resumed our journey soon after eleven o'clock, and, after having descended about half an hour longer, we reached Ainhwarta, from which that valley takes its name. The spring itself is high above the path, but the stream which runs down from it alongside of the road was so cold that it made one's teeth chatter to drink it. We found there a large number of women from Hairamoon, who had just milked their ewes, and both they and their men complained of the oppression of the Koords, who tyrannized over them, for only the day before some men took by force four of their sheep. What we gained in altitude after leaving Gairamoos that morning, we lost in descending the valley in the afternoon. My horse slipped in going through a rugged pass, and threw me on my back; but, thank God, I was not much hurt. Whether from resting in the snow cavity, or from the oppressive heat in the bottom of the rocky valley, or from both combined, I felt far from well in the evening. Abd-al-Maseeh, my cook, had also a fall; but he escaped serious hurt.

At the latter part of our journey my luggage and followers had to pass under a snow arch, about five hundred yards long, which was rather dangerous, as part of it had fallen in; but my Nestorian guide took me across it above the gorge, to save me from getting wet. The snow was melting from the heat of the weather, and the water was dropping down in heavy showers. We reached a kind of crater called "Ishgulla," where we halted at three o'clock P. M. for the night. I never saw in all my travels such magnificent and gigantic mountain passes as those we passed near the end of our journey that afternoon. In one place we came to a valley with rocks standing quite perpendicular about five hundred feet high, and the pass was so narrow and abrupt that we did not see the opening until we came to the turning. The rent in the rock looked as if it had been artificially cut through into a narrow

passage just wide enough to enable caravans to pass. The sight was truly magnificent.

We left our camping-ground at Ishgulla at 3.45 A. M., and, having ascended for an hour and a half another high mountain, we came to the gorge of Gulla-hespa, where we gave our animals about half an hour's rest, and then continued our journey and reached a Koordish shepherd's camp at Zarzee at 10.45 A. M., where we halted near a spring. The chief of that Koordish clan was most civil, and provided me with everything I wanted without much ado. His people were living in huts made of rough circular stones, and covered over with brushwood and straw; but the majority had no roofs at all, and, in case of unexpected summer showers, they covered them with temporary awnings. As far as I was concerned, however, I was provided with a small tent rigged with carpets by the chief himself. That tribe did not belong to the nomad Koords, but, being peasants who live in villages, they merely leave their hovels in the summer for the sake of finding pasture for their flocks. I had to go on foot on that day and the day before more than half of the journey, as the ascents and descents were not only dangerous to ride through, but I felt it would be cruelty to the horse to keep constantly on his back, when in some places the poor animals could scarcely thread their way through the slippery and rugged paths without stumbling, even though they carried nothing.

We moved from Zarzee at three A. M. the next day, and as soon as we left the rugged huts we began to ascend again until we reached another pass, which took us nearly one hour and a quarter to accomplish. My barometer marked an altitude of 7,500 feet at that pass, and the view from it was most grand. We had then to descend a short distance, and ascend again to another pass about 500 feet higher. From there we could see the Tearee Mountains, inhabited by the Nestorians, the white peaks of which give a superb aspect to the magnificent scenery around. We then began to descend again until we reached the camp of the Pairooza shepherds pitched in a small crater; and after having passed it, we came to another encampment belonging to a branch of the Artooshee nomad Koords, at a place called Chilla-mishk, whose chief, Tayib Agha, received me very civilly. I had intended to push on to Farasheen; but our animals were so knocked up after a most

tedious journey of ten hours that I did not think it prudent to proceed any further on that day, but halted at Chilla-mishk at four o'clock P. M. We lost at least one hour and a half on the way by halting at different grazing grounds. We passed on that day a large number of snow patches and most rich pastures, with plenty of cold, clear water running in all directions. Out of the ten hours traveling on that day, I had to walk at least five; and considering that my back was still painful from the effect of the late fall, I did not quite enjoy the abrupt ups and downs on foot for such a length of time. It was not only dangerous, but almost impossible, to ride through some of the defiles when there was scarcely room for a pedestrian, much less a horseman. All the Artooshees were most attentive, and one man made haste and pitched me a black tent in a pleasant spot on the bank of a copious rivulet, and provided me with everything I wanted. The Koords are certainly most civil and courteous when they like, and I never in all my travels amongst them met with anything but politeness.

Sunday, the 25th July, being the Lord's-day, I remained stationary at Chilla-mishk, to afford both man and beast a little rest. I did not feel quite well, partly from a pain in my back, and partly from a chill I caught. It got extremely cold at night.

Before I left Mossul, the Pasha telegraphed to the governor-general of Wan to send me an escort to Lewin to relieve that of Mossul; and as I found, on arriving at Chilla-mishk, that it would be out of my way to go thither, to say nothing about the bad roads we should have to traverse, I deemed it advisable to send for them to come to me. My messengers returned the next day, and brought me a letter from the governor of Lewin, in which he informed me that no escort had arrived for me from Wan, and he apologized for not being able to send me any men himself, because the few he had for state purposes were all out on duty. I was compelled, therefore, to take my Mossul Dhabtia with me to Wan.

We left Chilla-mishk at 4.15 A. M., and reached the headquarters of the Artooshee Koords at Zoozark at twelve noon. The chief of all the tribe, named Hajjee Agha, a very handsome young man, received me most courteously in his large tent on my arriving; but in order to make me feel more comfortable he had a separate

tent pitched for me and my followers adjoining his. He immediately had a sheep slaughtered, and insisted upon having it dressed in his own kitchen for my table. He had a conference with me at night about the state of affairs between the Nestorians and his own people, and desired me very much to try and make peace between himself and the chiefs of the Nestorian community, in order that thenceforward both nationalities might live on amicable terms. I told him I was sorry I could not interfere in the matter, as my mission was not political; but I promised to speak to Her Majesty's consul at Wan, in whose jurisdiction both the Nestorians and the Artooshees were, and I was certain that he would do his best to bring about a good understanding between them. Hajee Agha informed me that the consul was at Kochannis, about eight hours' journey from his camp, where he had gone to visit Mar Shimoon, the patriarch of the (so-called) Nestorians. I therefore wrote to Captain Clayton about the matter, and also addressed letters to the patriarch and to Mullik * Daniel,—the former being the spiritual, and the latter the temporal head of the Tearees,—in which I advised them to come to terms with their hereditary enemies. Mar Shimoon wrote to say that he was quite willing to do as I counseled; but the latter, though he did not refuse to negotiate, thought that no good would result from it, on account of the bitter enmity which existed between the Artooshees and the Tearees. The fact was, the patriarch and Mullik Daniel were not on good terms with each other; and as the latter did not like to meet the former, it was quite impossible to do anything.†

We left Zoozark the next morning about four o'clock, and after an hour's ride we entered Armenia. At 6.30 A. M. we passed an Armenian village called Skoonis, whose chief invited me to stop to breakfast. On accepting his hospitality, I found there was no bread to be had in the place, and that the natives had not tasted any for months in consequence of the late famine. As the break-

* Mullik means King in Chaldean.

† Captain Clayton also did his best to establish friendship between the Nestorians and Artooshees, but could not prevail upon the chiefs of the former to meet those of the latter; so the negotiation came to an untimely end. I was extremely sorry for this, as I was in hopes that, if those two nationalities patched up their quarrels, both would benefit by the establishment of peace.

fast consisted of fried eggs, cheese, and curdled milk, which I could not eat without that commodity, I ordered a halt and got my servants to provide some bread for the chief's family and myself.

Just as we all had our breakfast and resumed our march, a mounted Dhabtia came galloping to inform me that Captain Clayton was coming to see me. At this intimation I ordered another halt, and in about half an hour he made his appearance. As a matter of course, our meeting was most cordial. He was returning from his visit to Mar Shimoon, intending to proceed with me to Wan; but when I informed him of the wishes of the chief of the Artooshees, he changed his mind and resolved to go and see Hajee Agha.

It appeared that the escort which was sent to meet me at Lewin from Wan had reached that place soon after the departure of my messengers, and without waiting they pushed on to join me at the camp of Hajee Agha; but finding that I had started for Wan they followed me to my next halting-place. In the meantime they had met Captain Clayton, who was also proceeding to Wan, to whom they imparted the news of my movements; hence our meeting. I found that Captain Clayton had not received my letter, which I had sent him from the Artooshees' camp, as he had left Kochannis two days before the arrival of my messenger. After we had some tea together, and spent about two hours chatting about different matters, he started for the camp of the Artooshees, and I resumed my journey northward.

Soon after we started the sky was overcast with thick clouds, and as there was every indication of a downpour, I took two men of my escort, and hurried on to the camp of a sub-tribe of the Artooshees, at a place called Kharaba-dar, where we had intended to halt for the night. Most stupidly my guides lost their way, and after having gone about three miles out of the right road, they discovered their mistake. We no sooner began to retrace our steps than it began to rain, and if it had not been for the umbrella I always carried for protection from the sun, I should have been drenched to the skin. When I found that we had lost our way, I began to feel anxious about my luggage, because I was afraid that if my followers reached the place of rendezvous, and found that I had not arrived, they would take it into their head that I had gone on to the next stage, and follow me thither. In that case they would not arrive there till late at night, and some of

the animals might have been disabled. I therefore lost no time in dispatching one of my Mossul escort to the high hill overlooking the valley, where the camp of the Artooshee was located, to see if they were near. As soon as he reached the top of the eminence, he found the cavalcade had passed the camp where I had intended to remain for the night, and were hurrying on to the next halting-place; so he galloped towards them, and beckoned to them to return. Had he followed the path round the hill in retracing our steps, instead of going over it, we should certainly have missed them; and, considering the wet weather and the bad road; we should all have been in a very unpleasant plight. Even by halting before sunset, it took my followers all the evening to dry up their things; for they were all soaking from head to foot. We had some difficulty to obtain proper fuel to make a good fire there, consequently we had to leave a great number of articles to dry by the next day's sun. No one ever thought that we should be overtaken by such heavy rain at that time of the year, July; and that was the reason why we were not prepared for the emergency.

I found, on arriving at Kharaba-dar at 3.30 P. M., that the chief of the clan was away, but his son received me very hospitably, and left at my disposal the largest part of his father's grand black tent. As a matter of course, as soon as I arrived the female members of the family began to make themselves generally useful, and two of them were most inquisitive, prying into everything I had about me. I was fortunately located in the center of the tent, far away from the slush and bad smells which surrounded it. As usual, a sheep was slaughtered for my kitchen as soon as I arrived, though I begged my young host not to bother himself about it. All kinds of mattresses and coverlets covered with silk, and also carpets, were offered me for my comfort, and I begged to be excused, as I said I had everything I wanted with me. The Koords are very particular in having a good supply of bedding, clean and comfortable, very unlike the Arabs, who do not trouble themselves about bed furniture, as theirs generally consists of matting and carpets. Their greatest chiefs might sport one or two mattresses, and sometimes a cushion, and these are for the use of their distinguished guests, who might be in want of such luxuries in their travels.

We did not leave Kharaba-dar till 4.45 the next morning, as

everything was wet, and the weather cold. The thermometer actually fell at night to 41 degrees. After a ride of four and a half hours, we passed Akcha-Kalaasee, or Kassir, whereto the luggage was proceeding the day before. We went on until we reached the Koordish village of Goosnee at 1.30 P. M. My intention was to go on to another Armenian village about two hours further towards Wan, but I had to consider the baggage animals; and so we halted there for the night under some poplar trees outside the village, as the huts of the peasants were far from clean and swarming with fleas. The villagers seemed poverty-stricken, and the chief told me that his people were in great distress in consequence of the late famine, but formerly they were very prosperous. They had lost about fifty persons from starvation.

It is worthy of note that with all the complaints of the Christian communities in Koordistan, Armenia, and Asia Minor, about the exaction and oppression of their Moslem neighbors, in the majority of cases the former always seem to be in better circumstances and thrift than the latter. It may be that the Christians are more industrious and painstaking in their avocations than the Mohammedans, and are generally more protected by their feudal chiefs and Turkish governors from public oppression and tyranny. Moreover, the latter labor under great disadvantage through the affliction of conscription, as I knew of some Moslem villages, especially in the time of war, when all the young men were taken as recruits or for the reserve force, and only females and crippled old men were left to till the ground and attend to the harvest.

July 29th, we left Goosnee at three A. M., and after having passed a number of villages, my escort and I reached the outside part of Wan in about six hours. As Captain Clayton was kind enough to invite me to take up my quarters at his house in the suburbs of Wan, I did not enter the town, which was about three miles off.

I had written to Captain Clayton before I left Mossul, to inform him of my intention to visit Wan to see about our explorations there. He had consequently given orders to his servant, whom he had left to take care of the consulate, to provide me with quarters, and I need not say that such hospitality to a traveler, especially in a place where no hotels or lodging-houses are to be found, is not only a great boon, but a real luxury; the more so



SITE OF AN ANCIENT ARMENIAN TEMPLE FOUND IN THE MOUND OF TOPRAE-KALAA, NEAR VAN.

when it is enhanced by a hearty welcome. He was good enough to allow me to make the consulate my headquarters all the time I remained at Wan; and with the exception of three occasions, when duty called him away, we were always together. He accorded me every act of kindness and assistance, both in my official and private concerns.

As soon as I arrived, I was visited by a number of official and other acquaintances; and in the afternoon I called on my American friends, Dr. Reynolds and Messrs. Scott and Barnham, of the American Board of Missions, and their families. I was sorry to find that the latter had been suffering from the prevailing black fever.

On a former visit, in October, 1877, I noticed an artificial mound on the top of a long promontory overlooking the valley and Lake of Wan, just above the Armenian Church, called "Derey-Killisa,"* which looked not unlike those found in Assyria; but as I was then traveling on a political mission, and had not obtained a firman to enable me to examine it for the British Museum, I asked Dr. Reynolds if he would be so good as to act for us in the event of our obtaining the requisite authority from the Porte for excavating in the Province of Wan. He kindly promised to do what he could for us as soon as he received my instructions. Soon afterwards I obtained, through the influence of Sir Henry Layard, the necessary permit, and I lost no time in having an official intimation sent to the Wan authorities of the concession, which enabled Dr. Reynolds to excavate in the locality I had pointed out to him. At that time there was no British consul at Wan; but as soon as an officer was appointed, he, in conjunction with Dr. Reynolds, carried on the needful explorations together.

As I had anticipated, they discovered most interesting objects in the mound, the choicest of which consisted of shields embossed with figures of lions, bulls, and other ornamentations, all beautifully executed. There were also ivory figures and an arm of a chair, or throne, in Mosaic workmanship. The shields were inscribed with arrow-headed characters, showing that they belonged to the reign of Rusas, son of Erimenas (B. C. 645).

Unfortunately, most of the copper or bronze objects were so corroded that they fell to pieces as soon as they were exposed

* Two Turkish words which mean "The valley church."

to the air. They came upon the remains of what seemed to be a temple built of well-polished black basalt slabs, of the same style as scores of them which were to be seen scattered about in the valley below; and I have no doubt that they were all taken out from the same ruin. Not a sign of inscription could be found, either on the stones above or on those below, to give any clue as to the origin of the building.

I found, on arriving at Wan, that the excavations had been stopped, owing to the illness of Dr. Reynolds and the unavoidable absence of Captain Clayton on duty. I forthwith took steps to resume the explorations on a large scale, as I was pressed for time on account of my researches in Assyria and Babylonia. The mound, being narrow and long, I tried it in three different places by digging right through it, to see if I could hit upon any ancient structure; but, though I penetrated into it from side to side by tunneling, I could find no indication of any building, but only discovered other shields, some bronze bull's-heads, and other small objects. On the southern outskirts of the mound we found the remains of a tessellated pavement of three chambers; but there was not a stone to be seen of the walls. The whole mound seemed to consist of nothing but the débris of some ancient building, with an abundant quantity of charcoal mixed up with the rubbish, which showed that the palace, or temple, or whatever it might have been, had undergone a tremendous conflagration. The only remains that existed, were the base of the temple at the eastern limit of the mound, with a large platform in front of it paved with limestone.* We also found on the northern side of the platform a large number of curiously cut stones of black basalt, all of the same style and pattern, heaped one upon the other, which looked to me to represent monumental slabs. I did not think it would be worth the expense to send one of them to the British Museum, especially as they were very bulky and had no inscription on them. We also found a prettily designed laver, or font, made of the same kind of stone.

I tried also another mound called Chooroovans, about six miles to the east of Wan, because I had seen some inscribed stone pillars in an Armenian house, which I was told had been found in that locality; but I saw nothing to encourage me to carry on more than

* See Plan.



SHIELDS AND OTHER OBJECTS FOUND IN THE MOUND OF TOPRAE-KALAA, NEAR VAN.

three or four days' operations in it. I asked Captain Clayton, however, to try it once more after my departure, because when I was there I had some difficulty in finding workmen, on account of the harvest. Fragments of inscribed black basalt slabs were to be seen in different houses and churches, built in walls or thrown about; but I found only one perfect, good specimen at a place called Karakhan, about forty miles to the northeast of Wan, which I could have sent to England but for fear of the expense of transporting it about two hundred and fifty miles by land. It was a black basalt slab, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 12 inches deep, with 28 lines of arrow-headed characters on it. This slab belonged to no one, as it was lying in the rubbish outside the village, but the majority of the inscribed fragments were built in broken down walls. I asked two Armenians to let me extract three pieces which I took a fancy to, but they would not let me do so, though I promised to repair the walls to their satisfaction. A Turkoman native of Wan, however, behaved differently when I went to see an inscribed slab in his house. It was reported to me one day that a Moslem of Wan possessed an inscribed stone, so I lost no time in calling on him, and asking him to allow me to copy it. He expressed great surprise at my request, and said, "Do you think that I am so mean as to give you the trouble to copy the stone, when you can have it altogether?" and suiting his word to his resolve, he instantly ordered one of his servants to carry it to my house. He insisted upon my breakfasting with him and spending the day in his garden; but I begged to be excused, as I had a pressing engagement in the town, which I could not put off. He was very much pleased when I told him afterwards that I was going to send it to England, to be placed in the National Museum.

There are a large number of ancient sites in the Pashalic of Wan, which ought to be thoroughly explored; the most important, I think, are the ruins near the village of Tirmait, about fifteen miles to the southeast of Moosh; and also at the mound of Choor-oovans, which I have already mentioned.

All the inscriptions on the rocks, either at Wan or in its neighborhood, have been copied by British or German travelers; but I feel confident that there are a large number of other inscriptions scattered in different parts of the Pashalic of Wan, especially around the lake, which have not yet been seen by any Europeans.

I had casts taken of some which came under my notice, but I had no time to go about in search of others. At the monastery of Saint Gregorius, called by the Armenians Kirikor, I found the top of an inscribed obelisk built in the altar, of which I took a squeeze, and also of an inscription built in a wall, and of others I found in the village of Sirka. In the latter place an inscribed slab had been broken in three pieces, and used as door-posts of the church.

I have already touched on my former visit to Wan, upon the educational enterprises amongst the Armenians of that place, and the peculiar seclusion of their wives; but although it is not quite three years since I was there, many old-fashioned habits and ceremonies had been abolished, or were replaced by more civilized practices through the spread of enlightenment by the American Board of Missions or other European element. Some families had gone as far as to break through the rude custom of excluding women from social intercourse with the male sex. Madame Komsaragan, the wife of the Russian consul at Wan, was also doing her best to get the ladies of that place to conform to European habits, and had so far succeeded as to induce some Armenian young ladies to go out riding with her. M. and Madame Komsaragan were Armenians themselves, but being natives of Russian Armenia and not of Turkey, they have been Europeanized in every meaning of the word. It shows how quickly the habits and customs of a nation can be changed under the influence of Christianity and civilization; and if the Ottoman Government would only learn by experience, what advantages she would gain by introducing proper reforms and honestly carrying them out!

During my visit to Wan in the summer of 1880, a Turkish commission was busily engaged in establishing reforms in Armenia; but I believe no good was gained by it, and its Constitution only entailed an extra burden on the public exchequer, which could ill afford such an extraordinary expenditure. All branches of the public service, including the army, were in arrears of pay; and while the soldiery and police were in distress, the members of the commission were drawing their pay regularly. The commission was headed by two able men. The chief was Yoseph Pasha, a Turk, who was a general favorite, and his assistant, named Sarkees Pasha, was an Armenian not very much liked, especially by his nationality. There was also there then a young Turkish officer

of the name of Assim Bey, who held the position of "Inspector of Courts of Justice." * He was a thorough European in dress and habit, and, withal, a very excellent man; but, unfortunately, he was too young and inexperienced for his position; at all events that was the opinion held of his acquirements by his elders.

* This was a temporary appointment at the time when the Porte promised to establish reforms in Turkey; but what benefit the country derived from the duty performed by such inspectors no one was able to make out.

CHAPTER XX.

As the autumn season was now setting in, and other duties were awaiting me in Assyria and Babylonia, I wound up my affairs in the beginning of September, and left two gangs of workmen with an overseer to continue the excavations at Tooprae-Kalaa, under the superintendence of Captain Clayton, who kindly undertook the management of the researches for the Trustees of the British Museum after my departure. I deemed it advisable to continue the excavations at that mound for the remainder of the autumn, as I had still entertained great hopes that some important relics might be found amongst the rubbish.

After having settled everything in connection with the expedition to Wan, and engaged a competent muleteer to take me to Mossul, I started southward at noon on Friday, the 10th of September. I selected a new route for my journey to the valley of the Tigris on this occasion, by way of Bitlis, Saart, and Jazeerah, especially as it was shorter and easier than the last one I traversed. We reached Ishkhan-Koyee, an Armenian village, in five hours. The luggage came nearly an hour after me, because there was a good deal of delay on the way, on account of one of the animals having got lame from a kick by a horse. I had some difficulty, on arriving, to find proper lodgings, but two of the principal men who had fine houses there invited me to their habitations on seeing that I was in want of clean quarters. I, of course, accepted the first offer, and was not a little surprised to see a well-appointed dwelling, very unlike the generality of rural abodes, and the women dressed in finery like the ladies of great towns. My host, who was named Miksee Yoanis, knew a little Arabic, as he had traveled in Palestine, and had the privilege of visiting the Holy Sepulcher, which entitled him to assume the name of Miksee.* There was so much time wasted the next morning in arranging the baggage that we did not start till six o'clock. Our laden animals went so

* Miksee is a corruption of Makkdasee, from the Arabic word Kkidis, which means holy,—the name by which Jerusalem is called in Biblical lands. Those of the Christians who perform the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher, annex to their names, consequent upon that religious observance, Miksee, Makkdasee, or Hajjee, and are distin-

slowly that I had to halt on the way several times to allow the servants to overtake me. My first intention was to push on to Navartas, but as we had to ascend a high mountain before we got to it, and my muleteer told me that his animals could not reach the top on that day from fatigue, we were obliged to turn up the valley, about a mile out of the way, and halt at the Armenian village of Anzak at four P. M. on Saturday, September 11th. The chief received me very courteously, and selected for me the cleanest dwelling to rest at; but as I found even the best house was rather stuffy and smelling strongly like a cow's habitation, I preferred taking up my quarters in the open space outside the door.

As I was rather uncomfortable there from not having proper accommodation, I deemed it advisable to go on to the next village, and though it was Sunday, we started at 11.45 A. M., and reached the Armenian village of Gollee at five o'clock. There I was met by a very intelligent Armenian priest of Wan, who had come out thither to establish proper schools in the district. He went about with me to look out for suitable quarters, and at last I was obliged to take my rest in the passage of a house, as it was far from tempting to remain inside any of the Armenian dwellings. As it grew somewhat chilly at night, the owner of the house hung some carpets at the entrance to keep me warm.

We left Gollee at 4.45 A. M. the following morning, and reached the Armenian village of Oortab at 2.30 P. M. I had some difficulty there to get quarters for the escort, as none of the inhabitants would receive them into their dwellings. After no end of remonstrance I managed to get them a room, through the assistance of the priest of the village. He apologized for the misbehavior of the peasants and their lazy chief, and did the service for me himself. I had intended to go on to Tirmait from thence to examine some inscriptions which were there, but as I was told that I should lose at least four days by going thither, I resolved to proceed straight to Bitlis, and leave the copying of the inscrip-

guished by having one of their arms, or both, tattooed with sacred representations, such as crucifix, cross, or the likeness of the Virgin. Properly speaking, the word Hajjee is only applied to a Mohammedan pilgrim to Mecca, but amongst those who do not understand Arabic, even Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulcher are called by that name.

tions to Captain Clayton, as I had asked him, before I left Wan, to try and visit that place.

I started the next morning for Bitlis, which place I reached in about four hours and a half. I went direct to the house of my former host, Awidees Effendi, the leading Armenian gentleman there, to whom I had telegraphed my approach. When I arrived he was just leaving the house on pressing duty to the Serai, or Government House, where he had important business to transact in connection with sending a force to chastise the Rushkootan Koords, who had again been giving a good deal of trouble by their plundering propensities; but he left his brother to see to my comfort, and begged me to make myself at home in his absence. After bathing and partaking of breakfast, which was prepared for me by the family of my host, I paid Major Norton a visit. This gentleman had been retained there in the honorary command of the Bitlis gendarmes. His position was neither lucrative nor pleasant, as he was looked upon with jealousy, and had nothing in common with his superiors or inferiors.

My host returned home late in the afternoon, and, according to his former habits, we did not begin dinner till nine o'clock, as he spent nearly two hours sipping Arakkee, or raisin spirit.* Major Norton and his dragoman dined with us. As soon as dinner was over and the usual black coffee handed round, my host retired to bed, but I remained some time with Major Norton.

On Wednesday, the 15th, the luggage started at 9.30 A. M., but I did not leave till noon, as I had to wait for Major Norton, who offered to ride with me part of the way. Both he and his dragoman accompanied me as far as "Daliklee Dash," or the "Bored Rock," which was said to have been tunneled through by Semiramis to save her troops the fatigue of descending to the valley of Saart over the rugged defiles that intervened between that city and Bitlis.† It is certainly a most remarkable piece of engineer-

* It is the common habit of the Christian communities in Biblical lands to take some spirits, or liquor, before dinner, which they think sharpens their appetite!

† The Armenians of Wan possess different legends about that renowned Assyrian, or Chaldean, queen, one of which was that, to avoid the burning heat of Nineveh and Babylon in summer, she used to resort to Wan, and spend that season in the delightful clime of the lake.

ing; and whether Semiramis, or any other ancient monarch, was the projector of the scientific cutting, it reflects great credit on the skill of the originator. There is a little spring running just above the archway, and the effect of the water rolling down the rock was very pretty. It took me about an hour and a half to reach it from the house of Evidees Effendi. After having parted with Major Norton at Daliklee Dash, I continued my journey as far as the ruined khan, called Dookhan, which place we reached at 5.15 P. M. Although the luggage left Wan two hours and a half before me, it did not reach our halting-place till six P. M., or three quarters of an hour after I did. The muleteer's excuse was that the road was very rough and slippery, and as the greater part of it contained steep defiles he was afraid to hurry on the animals. We had intended to go up to the Koordish village of Sheenee for the night; but as I found the road to it was both rugged and steep, and would take us about an hour out of our way, I deemed it prudent to remain at the ruined khan instead, and had my camp pitched on the bank of the Bitlis River. I had to send, however, to the village for fodder for our animals, where I secured also the services of two Koords to keep watch, as my muleteers were afraid that, being in a deserted place which was reputed to be a great haunt for robbers, we might lose some of our animals during the night. The fact was, the muleteers did not care to keep watch themselves, and dreaded the attack of desperate Koordish thieves during their slumbers.

We left Dookhan at 5.15 A. M., on Thursday; and although I was told that the distance to Saart was only eight hours' journey, we did not reach that town till 4.30 P. M., but the luggage was actually more than twelve hours in coming. I went direct to the hospitable house of my friend, Khoaja Jabboor Aabboush, the leading Chaldean gentleman of Saart, and he, with his usual courtesy, received me as his honored guest with all my followers. As soon as I arrived, the governor of the place, with all the chief officials and residents, came to see me. The next day my host and I dined with the Pasha.

On Saturday, September 18th, the luggage started for the valley of the Tigris at 9.30 A. M., but as I wished to pay a flying visit to Mar Petros, the Chaldean bishop of Saart, at the monastery of Mar Yakoob, or St. James, situated about three miles to the northwest of the town, I repaired thither and spent about half an hour

with him. I left the monastery at noon with Khoaja Hannah, the brother of my Saart host, who accompanied me to the monastery as a guide, and soon afterwards I found I had to descend an almost perpendicular declivity to the river called Boohtan, the greater part of which I had to traverse on foot and lead my horse.* It took us an hour to reach the bottom of the valley, where I found my followers awaiting me to ford the river together. They had to take an easier descent to the southeast, though somewhat longer, as it would have been quite impossible for any heavily-laden animal to go through the difficult goat's-track which I and my escort traversed. My companion and I halted a little while on the bank of the clear stream for refreshments, after which we parted, he returning home to Saart, and I, with my followers, went on for two hours longer to the ruined stone bridge, and forded the river a little above it. The river was about two hundred feet wide in that part; and its depth scarcely touched the girths of the largest horse; but the bottom was so full of large, smooth boulders, or pebbles, that the heavily-laden animals kept slipping over them. I was glad when all got safely over, as I fully expected that part of the luggage would get wet, even if we escaped serious mishap. There must have been a very fine bridge there at the time when that country was properly governed, and the state of that ruin, with a hundred others, reminds one of the decay of the Turk. After having rearranged our luggage, and seen every one safely out of the river, we went on to the Koordish village of Motad, which we reached at four o'clock in the afternoon. I had intended to halt there, and rest the whole of Sunday; but there were no clean quarters in the place, so I went on to another Koordish village two miles further, called Bolak, where I was informed by a traveling merchant of Mossul, whom I met at Motad, I should find comfortable quarters. I was certainly not deceived, as I found superior accommodation in the house of the chief of the village, named Shaikh Soofee, who, with his wife and daughter, received me most civilly and attended to my wants. The sand-flies were very troublesome in the evening, and my host and his wife offered

* It is also called Saart River, because it runs through that district. It joins the river Tigris about eighteen miles lower down, and, in my opinion, though it is called a branch of the Tigris, it is not inferior in size to it, notwithstanding the Tigris comes down from a greater distance.

me their raised platform in the open air, where they assured me I should be rid of the pest; but I thanked them for their civility, and told them that I could never think of dispossessing them of their comfortable quarters.

On Sunday, 19th September, we were all very glad to rest at Bolak. I had passed a very restless night in consequence of the closeness of the weather and the stings of the sand-flies. A mule load of two large baskets of beautiful grapes were brought to the village in the course of the day, and I bought a large quantity for my followers, who enjoyed the treat.

We started the next morning at two o'clock, and had a very pleasant journey in bright moonlight. The Saart River joins the Tigris six miles below Bolak, and we traveled along it till eight o'clock, when we left it to the right, and followed the road leading to the hills on the left. I was told that part of the river was teeming with trout, though not a single fish of that kind is to be seen below Jazeerah. After having spent about an hour on the way for refreshment, I reached Findik at 11.30 A. M. The inhabitants of that village consisted chiefly of Koords, and the remainder were Christians of the Armenian and Jacobite persuasion. I took up my residence at the house of the Koordish chief, who, with his family, received me in a most friendly way. As it was rather close at night, I slept in the open air on the terrace.

We resumed our journey the next morning at 1.30, and reached Jazeerah in nine hours' ride. As this town is situated on the right side of the Tigris, we had to cross a bridge of boats to get to it. My host of Saart having telegraphed to his son, who was sojourning at Jazeerah, asking him to secure me proper quarters, I found, on arriving there, that Khoaja Petros, the leading Christian of the place, had prepared a room for my reception in his house, and as soon as I arrived he came out to receive me. It was still very hot at Jazeerah, but I slept out in the veranda, which was very pleasant.*

* Jazeerah is an Arabic word for an Island. The Arabs called it Jazeerat-bin-Omar, or the Island of the Son of Omar, to distinguish it from Al-jazeerah, which the Arabs apply to Mesopotamia. It is said that formerly the town of Jazeerah was surrounded by water; but now the ditch that incloses its western limit is so choked up with rubbish that, even when the Tigris is at its highest, it does not encircle it.

When I was at Wan, I was told by Bahree Bey, son of the late notorious Bedr-Khan-Beg, the hereditary chief of that country, called Boohtan, that there were ancient bas-reliefs in a cave at the village of Shakh, about ten miles to the east of Jazeerah; and so, instead of marching direct to Mossul after having recrossed the Tigris, the next day at 1.30 P. M. I went on thither to see if they were of Assyrian origin. My escort and I hurried on to that place, which we reached in three hours' quick ride, after having crossed very rough mountains and dales. Bahree Bey was good enough to give me a letter of introduction to a relative of his who resided at Shakh, whom he asked to receive me, and point out to me the sculptures he spoke of; but, unfortunately, I found, on arriving there, that the Koordish chief was away. However, a lady of wealth and rank, the widow of the late Ahmed Bey, the hereditary Koordish prince of that district, invited me to her commodious house outside the village, and left at my disposal the reception-room as long as I remained there. I was glad to accept her proffered hospitality, because the houses, or huts, that belonged to the other Christian or Koordish inhabitants were anything but tempting for a man who cared for cleanliness and comfort. As soon as I arrived, my hostess sent me an abundance of delicious grapes, honey-comb, and curdled milk.

The inhabitants of the important village of Shakh are Koords and Nestorians, and both denominations seemed miserably poor. In days gone by, the latter were very much oppressed by the former, but now both are fleeced equally by their Turkish rulers. The village is situated in the most picturesque valley in that part of Koordistan, and if it had been properly governed and managed it would be a most delightful spot to spend the summer in. It is surrounded with orchards, and a plentiful supply of water runs in all directions.*

The next morning I repaired to the cave mentioned by Bahree Bey on the other side of the ravine, a distance of about four hundred yards, accompanied by guides, both Koords and Nestorians; but I found no trace of Assyrian bas-reliefs, only an altar hewn out of the rock. My guides had not heard of any such sculptures,

* There is a deep ravine to the southeast of the town, which I had to cross on a bridge to go to the cave; in the bottom of it flowed a copious stream.

but they told me that there was a chair, or throne, of Kaisar-Room (Caesar of the Greeks) on the mountain above Shakh, and also some engravings on the top of the mountain, which they said had been there from remote antiquity. The chair of Kaisar-Room turned out to be a natural formation in a rock about eight hundred feet above the village. It looked as if it had been purposely hewn for an altar by the ancients, in the shape of a square slab placed on the top of a short natural column. The sculptures, which were about 1,500 feet above the valley, I found to be tablets of an Assyrian king, but both the bas-reliefs and the inscriptions were so much defaced that the paper squeezes I made of them were almost unintelligible. I wished very much that I had had an Assyrian scholar with me, who could have copied the arrow-headed characters, which might have proved of great value as an addition to Assyrian history.

I found it most difficult to reach these Assyrian tablets, because the chronicler had chosen that spot for the purpose of preserving it from destruction. They are in quite an out-of-the-way place, and it requires an expert guide to direct a visitor to them, the acclivity being both difficult and intricate.

On returning to my quarters I found that my hostess had been taken ill, and I was to go and see her. She was suffering from headache and indigestion. I told her I was not a doctor, but recommended her some pyretic saline, which seemed to do her good. I had also to attend her son, who was suffering from fever. It is a curious fact that all travelers are expected to cure diseases in those countries, because they say they come from the "land of wisdom and culture," and though I am quite ignorant of the art of medicine, I have done more wonders with my Holloway's pills, emetics, pyretic saline, and chlorodyne, than many professed native doctors!

It is extraordinary to state that the delegates of the Roman Church have not succeeded in converting the Nestorians of Shakh to their dogmas, though so near a Turkish town, where the former possess so much power under the protection of the French Government. The reason of this is, I suppose, the fear of Koordish interference, though the Nestorians of Shakh told me that the Chaldean Catholics of Jazeerah, who were formerly their co-religionists, had always tried, through their influence with the local authorities, to bully them into submission to the Pope.

To avoid the heat of the day I dined early, and, after having had a few hours' sleep in the evening, got up to prepare for starting soon after ten o'clock. By 11.30 P. M. we were off again, and went on until we reached the Yezeedee village of Dairaboon at nine A. M. Like most places in Turkey, it had dwindled down to less than half its former size since I visited it with Sir Henry Layard in 1850. At first the chief offered me a hut near the threshing-floor, occupied during the summer by the villagers; but it was so surrounded by every conceivable kind of dirt that every time a gust of wind blew I was covered over by an accumulation of filth; so I had, to my great annoyance, to move into the village, where I made myself as comfortable as I could. But as soon as the sun was down I moved to a tobacco-field, where I had my dinner and slept a few hours before starting. We left Dairaboon at midnight, and reached Semail at 11.45 A. M.; but the muleteers did not arrive till two hours after me, which made their march that day nearly fourteen hours. On my arrival at Semail I went to my former host's house, where I was welcomed as usual. I was somewhat staggered to hear there that the Bedouin Shammer Arabs were plundering all over the country and committing ravages right and left, and I was told that there was every fear of our encountering them on the way after leaving Semail. As I had always been accustomed to false alarms, and I never allowed rumors of the kind to interfere with my movements, I did not hesitate to leave at the time I appointed; so I had my dinner early and started at 11.15 P. M., after I had had a few hours' sleep. On occasions of unsafety I never separated from the luggage, lest we should come in contact with marauders. I generally rode up to the highest hill or eminence, and scanned the country all round, and instructed my followers and escort not to show any fight in case they encountered suddenly any plundering party, but to say to whom the property belonged. Happily, we met no one, whether friend or foe, and after six and a half hours' ride we reached Babneet, situated on the left bank of the Tigris. Our direct route to Mossul was via Tel-Addas; but as I had to see an ancient mound which was reported to me to exist at the Yezeedee village of Jaggan, I had to go out of my way to do so. I did not stay there, but went to the Turcoman's hamlet of Babneet to spend Sunday, the latter being much more clean and comfortable than the former. As soon as we came within a short distance of the cultivated

country, I sent the luggage direct to Babneet, and one of my escort and I galloped on to Jaggan and inspected the mound. I found it was a natural hillock; but it being situated on the bank of the Tigris, and the overflow having cut away one part of it, made it appear, to an inexperienced eye, as if it was artificial.

At the village of Babneet I was the guest of its Moslem chief, Iesa (Jesus), who left at my disposal the nicest room in the house, and, of course, my escort and followers were also accommodated with apartments. His conduct towards us all was most pleasing. I had again a few hours' sleep in the evening, and resumed our journey at 11.15 P. M., and my host, Iesa, and a friend of his accompanied me for about three hours on the way, to show me the proper path, as the night was very dark.

We reached Koyunjik, opposite Mossul, at seven A. M., on Monday, the 27th of September. I first visited the excavations, and found the gangs hard at work. With the exception of inscribed terra-cotta tablets, nothing had been discovered worth mentioning. I then crossed the Tigris on the bridge of boats to Mossul, and as soon as I took up my quarters at my uncle's house, a large number of friends and acquaintances, both Europeans and natives, came to see me. In the evening I dined at the British consulate with Mr. and Mrs. Russell, who, I was sorry to find, had been ailing all the summer, but they were then getting stronger. It was still very hot at Mossul, and it was not to be wondered at that those not accustomed to the long hot season of that part of Mesopotamia soon begin to suffer in health, if they do not take proper precaution day and night,—that is to say, to keep out of the sun during the day, and avoid getting a chill at night.

The Mossul climate is very peculiar, unlike that of Baghdad and other towns in Southern and Northern Mesopotamia. Though the days from June to September are extremely hot, yet the nights are generally cool, when the northerly breeze blows, as it comes down from the Assyrian or Koordistan mountains, where perpetual snow exists. The months of August, September, and October are considered the most unhealthy season, and the reason of this is supposed to be the abundance of fruit and raw vegetables that are eaten. The worst are raw cucumbers and melons, on which most of the poorer classes feed. When I arrived at Mossul that autumn the cucumbers were selling for a penny a dozen, melons a penny the six pounds, grapes two pounds for a penny, and other fruits

and vegetables were sold at the same proportionate price. Fortunately, the common fever of the country, as I have already mentioned, is intermittent, which, though very troublesome and weakening, is not considered dangerous.

Soon after my return to Mossul, I received the new firman to enable me to carry on the researches in Assyria and Babylonia for a further term of two years; but I did not hear a word, bad or good, from our ambassador about the excavations at Nebee Yonis. Although the royal license was forwarded to me by Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry Layard had secured its grant before he left Constantinople, through imperial favor. I found, on examining it, that it differed in some clauses from the former, not that the change did me any harm, but had I not had the confidence of the authorities my work might have been hampered by it. For the better success of our operations, the first firman was made in the name of Her Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, and I represented him in carrying on the researches; but the second firman was made in my name only. Then, in the former I was recommended to the good offices of the local authorities, who were ordered to render me every assistance in their power to make my task easy; in the latter that clause was struck out. Thirdly, in the old one it was decreed that, in case of necessity, the firman would be renewed at the end of the term; but in the new that favorable allusion was struck out. Last, but not least, though the term of the last decree was for two years, nevertheless, because it was notified therein that the period of two years was to take effect "from the date thereof," and that date was purposely antedated to 16th August, instead of 15th October, which was the day of termination of the other firman, we lost by that stratagem just two months. I have not been able to find out whose fault it was that we were cajoled in that way. It could not have been done through the cognizance of Mr. Goschen, as I do not suppose that he was either consulted about it, or that he took the trouble to examine it. I have no doubt that the dragoman who had charge of its execution must have either winked at the mistake, or never cared to read the draught of the document before it was submitted to His Imperial Majesty's approval.

With regard to the renewal of our excavations at Nebee Yonis I was left in suspense for months, and after my return to Mossul from Wan, I was daily awaiting intelligence from Constantinople

about it. I fully expected that if Mr. Goschen had found that it was quite impossible to move the Porte to cancel its arbitrary prohibition regarding my digging in that mound, he would have sent me a line or telegram to say so, and I should have known what to do, and not have remained in a state of uncertainty day after day, when I was anxious to go down to Baghdad to see about our other researches in Babylonia. I was advised by the governor of Mossul to postpone my departure twice, as he hoped that the Minister of Public Instruction might relent, and allow me to go on with my work in that proscribed part of Nineveh. I had already purchased three spots to dig at, and an unlimited number of the inhabitants were ready to sell me their houses for the same purpose, if I chose to buy them. After having waited in vain, impatiently, for a month and a half for good tidings from the Turkish capital, I was obliged to abandon my longing desire to excavate once more the domain of Esarhaddon, and go down to Baghdad sadly disappointed.

As usual, I gave my nephew, Mr. Nimroud Rassam, the necessary instructions with respect to our researches in Nineveh and other parts of Assyria, which the Trustees of the British Museum wished to continue. While I was waiting for news about our excavations at Nebes Yonis, I employed myself in searching for other ancient sites in the neighborhood of Mossul, but with the exception of an underground building, which I discovered in a mound situated in the Zaweya,* skirted by the Tigris, about forty miles to the southeast of Mossul, we found nothing tempting to warrant me to continue the excavations in those parts. From all I could make out of the architecture of the ruin at Zaweya, it seemed to me of the Sassanian period; but I found below the mound a buttress of hewn stone built very neatly to prevent the encroachment of the river, showing that it was not erected by uncivilized hands.

I left Mossul for Baghdad by raft, on Thursday, the 11th of November, and reached Baghdad in seven days by floating and rowing. For eight months in the year, from July to February, the Tigris gets very shallow, owing to its branches being exhausted during the summer by irrigation purposes, and at the end of autumn snow begins to fall, and the former accumulation ceases to

* "Corner" (of land).

melt; otherwise I ought to have reached Baghdad in three or four days, as I always traveled day and night. I also lost nearly a day in examining the different excavations I was carrying on along both sides of the Tigris within sixty miles of Mossul.

I was fortunate to find, on arriving at Baghdad, that Abd-ar-Rahman Pasha was the wallee, or governor-general; he was one of the best and most honest rulers the Porte ever employed. He was formerly acting as governor-general at Baghdad, from whence he had been sent to Diarbekir in the time of the Turko-Russian War of 1877-78.

After having spent about ten days at Baghdad, in settling my accounts with the agents and examining and packing different antiquities for dispatch to England, I started for Babylon on the 29th November. As usual, I halted at Mahmoodia for the night, as it was only fifteen miles from Baghdad, and contained better accommodation than either Khan-al-Haswa or Khan-al-Mahweel. On reaching the place I found it overcrowded with Persian pilgrims, who were going to Carballa, and whether at the Khan, the huts of the inhabitants, or public thoroughfares, they were crammed full of men, women, and children, with their beasts of burden and luggage. I was fortunate enough to find a house where the pilgrims had not been admitted, as the landlord was away; so I prevailed upon his wife to take me in, and I was not a little cheered when the husband came home at night and found no fault, but, on the contrary, he attended to my wants in a most pleasing manner.

We left for Babylon early the next morning, and reached Khan-al-Haswa in three hours' ride. I spent there about half an hour for breakfast, provided for me by the villagers, consisting of a dispatch cock, eggs, butter, and new baked bread. The most wonderful part of preparing the breakfast was the quick way the fowl was killed, cleaned, and roasted. No sooner was the order given than a rush was made at the fowls which were hovering about the village; and by the time I dismounted and had taken a seat outside the khan, the bird was not only killed and stripped of its feathers, but it was actually grilling on a brisk wood fire. In the meantime, the man who provided coffee at the khan brought his coffee-pot out to me, with some cups and a nargeela, or water-pipe, to while away the time. My personal escort and I, with Dawood Toma, the head overseer of our researches in Babylon, who had

gone to Baghdad to meet me, hurried on to Khan-al-Mahweel, hoping to reach Babylon before dark. As soon as I arrived at that place in five hours' quick march, I sent on Dawood to Jimjima, to prepare a place for me to rest at, as I did not intend to go into Hillah until the next day.* I had to wait for a long time at Khan-al-Mahweel for the luggage, as I did not like to go to Babylon without it, for fear of some mishap. As soon as it arrived, I started with my escort for Jimjima, which place we reached in three hours' ride. We had scarcely ridden half an hour when the sky began to be overcast with thick clouds, and after having gone on an hour longer, thunder and lightning commenced, and the latter became so vivid that, though the night was extremely dark, we could see our way quite clearly by the light of the bright flashes. When we passed the mound of Babel, and got within the ruins of Babylon, it became somewhat unsafe for us to hurry on, on account of the number of ditches and holes which intervened between us. Had it not been for the constant flashes of lightning, which kept us from falling headlong into the pits, I do not know what we should have done, especially as we had lost the right path, and had to push on anyhow to get under shelter. The thunder and lightning became more constant and alarming when we neared our halting-place; and no sooner had I dismounted at the overseer's quarters than rain and hail began to pour down in torrents. The latter fell so thickly that the whole country was covered with it in a short space of time. Some of the hailstones were as big as large walnuts, and we were told, the next day, that a good deal of damage was caused by the storm. Of course, all the hail melted as soon as the sun rose, but it was very curious to see parts of smooth, sandy ground burrowed by the huge hailstones, and looking as if a shower of metal balls had fallen from the sky and dented the soil, nearly half an inch, like a bagatelle board!

Early the next day I went with Dawood Toma over the different works, and examined the localities where collections of unbaked clay tablets had been discovered, and was glad to find that important relics had crowned our labors. I found, to my great vexation, that a large number of the records had crumbled to pieces

* As I found it more convenient for the head overseer to live near our most important excavations at Babylon, I prevailed upon the chief of the place to let him have part of his house, which he made his headquarters.

as soon as they were removed, as they were found in damp soil impregnated with nitre. Had I had an Assyrian copyist with me we might have preserved, at all events, the history of the documents, though part of the originals would have been lost.

As soon as I returned to Jimjima, and had my breakfast, I rode into Hillah, and took up my quarters at the house of my old friend, Khoaja Menahim Daniel, of Baghdad, who was kind enough to lend me his country house again to use as my headquarters, while I was superintending the researches in Babylon and Birs Nimroud.

Having interchanged official and friendly visits with the civil and military authorities at Hillah, I rode out to Birs Nimroud, and examined the works there. I took up my quarters at the house of Shaikh Jaafar, my Birs Nimroud overseer, and chief of the Gowams, or guardians of the sanctum of Ibraheem-al-Khaleel; as I wished to remain at Birs Nimroud for a few days to superintend the excavations in person, and to make a plan of the newly-discovered ruins near the tower. While I was in that neighborhood, I visited different mounds, both in the vicinity of Hillah and Birs Nimroud, for the purpose of examining them for future operations; but I failed to find any spot to tempt me to try.

After having spent about three weeks at Hillah, Birs Nimroud, and Jimjima, I proceeded northward to see the other ancient mounds which were reported to me to be of immense size. I first visited the mound of what the Arabs call Tel-Ibraheem, situated about fifteen miles to the northeast of Hillah. I have not the least doubt that from its situation and important position between Babylon, Ctesiphon, and Seleucia, it marks the seat of ancient Cuthah. It is an enormously large mound, about three thousand feet in circumference, and two hundred and eighty feet high; and to the west of it, and almost adjoining it, there is another small mound, on which the sanctuary of Ibraheem—Abraham—is erected. Had I had any workmen at hand, I would have certainly placed a few gangs to try it for two or three weeks; but it was so far from any inhabited place, and so difficult to induce my Arabs to work without any protection, that I could not possibly examine it just then; but I resolved to return to it as soon as I was able to go and superintend the work myself, when I could obtain as many laborers as I liked without any difficulty. There was another drawback to the carrying on of explorations

there, the want of water; for there was no supply to be had for nearly ten miles, either from the Mahaweel Canal to the south, or the Tigris to the east.

Afterwards I repaired to Mahmoodia, to examine the numerous mounds that were in that neighborhood, about fifteen miles to the west of Baghdad. I went direct to the residence of Hommadee, a former host, who was extremely attentive when I was his guest the year before. He was away attending his sheep, but his family received me with their usual hospitality, and the favorite wife left at my disposal her own chamber, the best in the house, which I made my headquarters all the time I was in that neighborhood. I took with me an Arab overseer from Babylon with a few laborers, as I knew it would be difficult to obtain workmen at Mahmoodia. The natives of that place cared more about serving the Persians and other pilgrims, who were constantly passing and repassing, than coming to work for me for three or four piasters (about six pence) per day. Thus I was independent of the inhabitants of the Mahmoodia district for a time. The mounds in which we began to excavate happened, however, to be on the track of the pilgrims; and as there were always no lack of loiterers who accompany that religious cavalcade from Baghdad, my overseer, who possessed great tact in gaining the confidence of all those with whom he came in contact, soon managed to augment his gangs from the wayfarers; and what was more extraordinary, they were engaged for less than what we paid our Babylonian workmen.

I had been, for some time past, puzzling my head as to the position of the renowned ancient city of Sippara, mentioned in Holy Writ as Sepharvaim, and as I could not agree with the opinion of former travelers as to the localities they accorded to it, I was bent upon visiting every mound in the neighborhood, and seeing if I could not hit upon the exact site to the north of Babylon. First, I thought that Tel-Ibraheem might have been the ancient city, but I had to abandon that idea, being unable to fix upon another spot for the important city of Cuthah. My friends at Baghdad thought that it might be identified with the mound of Shaishabar, about eighteen miles to the southwest of that city, and about three miles to the southeast of Mahmoodia; but as soon as I visited the spot and examined the country around it, I dismissed that suggestion from my mind. So little did I think of the importance of that mound that I would not waste even a day's labor upon it.

As for the notion that Moseyib, or Imseyib, indicated the site of Sippara determined upon by modern geographers, I gave no heed to it; because there was no mound of any magnitude near it to entitle it to such a distinction. I therefore resolved to look for other sites further north for the object in view. I placed different gangs to search three spots near the village of Mahmoodia, and I employed myself daily in visiting other localities to the east and northeast of Shaishabar; but I saw nothing to satisfy me. In two of the ruins I examined near Mahmoodia I found traces of brick walls; but from the nature of the building and the material used, I was convinced that they belonged to the Parthian, and not to the Babylonian epoch. I had therefore to abandon them for other more desirable sites. I had also heard of three other mounds to the north and northeast of Mahmoodia, called Aboo-Habba, Dair, and Hargawee, which I had intended to examine as soon as I could afford the time. One day, on returning to my host's house at Mahmoodia, his brother, Mohammed, showed me a fragment of kiln-burnt brick with a few arrow-headed characters on it, which he said he had picked up at the ruins of Dair when he was returning from a wedding to which he had been invited. I no sooner saw the relic than I began to long for a visit to the spot, and I lost no time the next day in riding to it. It happened then, that the Euphrates had overflowed its banks, and the Mahmoodia Canal, which is generally dry nine months in the year, was running and inundating the land between Dair and the village of Mahmoodia; the consequence was we had to go a round-about way to reach that place. We had first to pass the Sanctuary of Seyid Abdallah, the reputed saint of that country, situated about six miles to the northwest of Mahmoodia; and we then veered to the right and proceeded to Dair in an easterly direction. In about half an hour's ride further, we came to an inclosure of what seemed to me an artificial mound, and on ascending it I asked my guide if that was the ruin in which he had picked up the inscribed brick. He replied in the negative, but said that we were then at Aboo-Habba, and Dair was about an hour further on.* I could scarcely

* It is very difficult in Babylonia to distinguish from a distance an artificial mound from the huge embankment of the numerous canals that intersect the country everywhere; and this is the reason why I did not take much notice of the sites of Aboo-Habba and Dair, when I used to pass them on my way between Baghdad and Hillah.

believe my eyes on looking down and finding everything under my horse's feet indicating a ruin of an ancient city; and if I had had any workmen at hand I would have then and there placed two or three gangs to try the spot. I was then standing near a small pyramid situated at the westerly limit of the mound, which I was told contained a golden model of the ark in which Noah and his family were saved from the Deluge, and that the second father of mankind had it buried there as a memorial of the event. On asking how it was that no one had dug out that valuable relic for so long, I was confidently assured that no one dared to do so, for fear of awful consequences. I found, on examining the extent of the ruin, that it was of immense size, though not so high as either Tel-Ibraheem, Babel, or Ibraheem-al-Khaleel. It was surrounded by a wall on all sides excepting the western, where the pyramid, or cone, is situated. On the north and northeast sides, the wall is almost perfect, but on the east and southeast it is not very conspicuous. The inclosure contained an area of about 3,500 square yards; and, although on the east and southeast sides the mound almost adjoins the wall, yet on the northern side there is a large space, which must have been used as a courtyard for domestic purposes. After having satisfied myself that it was of the utmost importance to hasten back to it for the purpose of a tentative examination, I went on with my guide to Dair, which we reached in half an hour's galloping. After seeing the magnitude of Aboo-Habba, Dair seemed most insignificant, though the walls which surrounded it were most imposing, and belonged, without any doubt, to the old Babylonian period. Notwithstanding the mound within had also a primitive appearance, I did not think much of it; and on digging in it for a few days afterwards, I found I was not mistaken in my conjecture; for we found no trace of any important building, but only discovered a few inscribed bricks with the name of Nebuchadnezzar on them, the same as thousands which were found afterwards at Aboo-Habba.

We are informed by Assyrian and Grecian historians that there were two Sipparas in Babylonia, one for the worship of the sun, and the other for the worship of the moon; and as the records I discovered at Aboo-Habba represent the latter ruin as the Sippara of the sun, I have not the least doubt that Dair contained the temple of the moon goddess; but whether it was very small and its ruins are still underground, or that it was altogether de-

stroyed, is more than I can venture to suggest for the present. The reason which prompted me to this assumption was the fact that the two Sipparas, according to history, were divided by a river; and as there is no other important site near Aboo-Habba, excepting Dair, the latter is unquestionably the ruin of the temple of the moon; and the river or nahr * alluded to was the Nahr-Malka which skirted them, the former being on the right bank, and the latter on the left. The nahr could not have meant the Euphrates, because Aboo-Habba is at least four miles in a direct line from it, and there is no mound of any magnitude on its western bank which could have contained Sippara of the moon goddess.

On returning to Seyid Abdallah, I inquired if any laborers could be found to excavate for me at Aboo-Habba. Some said they could not work if I paid them a majeedea (four shillings) a day; others asked such enormous wages that it was quite impossible for me to pay them, not that I could not afford to employ a few workmen on a high scale of pay for a short time, but I was obliged to keep to a certain standard for fear of the demand for higher wages in other quarters. When such difficulties arose, I used to send to my other excavations for a few men to commence with, and allowed them extra pay for what I called "special service." Those men were not only useful in emergent cases, but showed new hands the way the excavations were to be conducted. Very often the old hands were promoted to higher grades of service as diggers and basket-fillers, and sometimes, when they proved very faithful and honest, I raised them as assistant overseers, giving according to their status better pay. Whenever I went to a fresh place for the object of digging, I was invariably asked more than double the pay I was able or willing to give, as the Arabs have an absurd idea that the English are made of money, and have the art of turning dust into gold! On this occasion, when I wanted a few men to begin digging at Aboo-Habba, naturally I lost no time in ordering Seyid Ahmed, my Mahmoodia overseer, to proceed with his laborers to that mound. I also sent to Babylon for two more gangs to commence the explorations I was longing for. Being anxious that no misunderstandings or complications should occur in consequence of the jealousy of the Arabs in the vicinity of Aboo-Habba, I moved

* Nahr in the Semitic languages means either canal or river.

my headquarters to Seyid Abdallah to superintend the explorations in person. No sooner the neighboring Arabs saw that I was able to obtain the laborers required without difficulty than they came to me by hundreds, offering to work for less than I had intended to give them at first; because a great number said that they were starving, and they only wanted to earn enough to feed their families on bread.

There was no one residing at the mound of Aboo-Habba; but within a mile and a half to the southwest there was a mausoleum of the patron saint of the neighboring Arabs, already alluded to, called Seyid Abdallah, near which the guardian of the sanctuary and his near relatives dwelt. I had my camp pitched near his; and to make him take an interest in our excavations, I appointed him sub-overseer, and offered his brothers, most brave fellows, and other connections, good berths, which they accepted willingly.

There being no village nor Arab camp in the neighborhood of Dair nearer than Seyid Abdallah, I had to send workmen thither from the latter place, headed by one of the brothers of the chief guardian, with experienced Babylonian diggers; but that was only for a short time, as I soon found that it was useless to spend much time and money just then for expectations which might never be realized, when I had a good deal to do elsewhere.

At Aboo-Habba, the first day I commenced my explorations near the pyramid, the workmen came upon pieces of inscribed terra-cottas, which seemed to me to belong to a Babylonian cylinder with fragments of inscribed bricks and bitumen, all of which indicated a good prospect of coming upon an ancient building. I was not left long to earn the reward of my labor, because two or three days later one of the gangs came upon the wall of a chamber, and on examination I found that it belonged to the old Babylonian style of architecture. This success encouraged me to prosecute the research with diligent perseverance; and, a few days afterwards, the other workmen came upon other buildings in different parts of the mound. This piece of good luck made me carry on the work with redoubled energy, and very soon afterwards we came upon a chamber paved with asphalt, which proved to contain the history of the new city which I had discovered. Theretofore all pavements in the Assyrian and Babylonian structures were found to be either of stone, marble, or baked brick; consequently that novel discovery made me rather curious to find out why asphalt

was adopted in this instance. I therefore lost no time in having the asphalt pavement broken into and examined, and to the surprise of the workmen, and to my not a little delight, an inscribed earthenware casket, with a lid, was discovered in the southeastern corner of the chamber, about three feet below the surface. Inside it we found a stone tablet, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 7 inches wide, inscribed minutely on both sides with a small bas-relief on the top of the obverse, representing a deity, which has since been identified by Assyrian scholars with the sun-god. Above it were two figures holding an emblem of the sun resting on an altar before him, and three other figures approaching the deity with devout reverence. The foremost figures, one leading the other by the arm, seemed to be dressed in the same style; but the hindmost was going forward in the act of supplication, with his arms raised.* There were, with this tablet, two earthenware molds representing the bas-relief alluded to, which seemed as if they were made for the purpose of casting in metal those mystic figures for religious purposes. The tablet was in two large and six small pieces, but otherwise it was complete. It must have been broken formerly into four pieces, and joined at the time with four iron pivots, which have been eaten by corrosion. In a room adjoining the one in which the tablet was discovered, we found two barrel-shaped, inscribed terra-cotta cylinders, containing a record of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and a curiously-hewn stone symbol, about nine inches long, grooved in four divisions, ending on the top in the shape of a cross. The former were covered with fine arrow-headed characters, and looked as fresh as if they were newly baked; and the latter was inscribed with archaic characters. These inscriptions record the history of the place, and have established the identity of the ruin with Sippara of the Sun-god and Sepharvaim of the Bible.

I have been puzzled to account for the novelty of burying the coffer deep in asphalt pavement; because the very fact of seeing strange flooring would be likely to tempt those who search for treasure or other valuable property to break through it as I did.

The discovery of the ruin at Aboo-Habba was most fortunate,

* It was very remarkable that we found in our diggings there some trunks of statuettes in marble dressed in the same style, but they were all without hands, feet, or heads.



STONE TABLET DESCRIBING THE RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN-GOD AT SIPPARA BY NABU-APAL-IDDIN, KING OF BABYLON (ABOUT 900 B. C.) THE ILLUSTRATION AT THE TOP REPRESENTS THE SUN-GOD SEATED IN A SHRINE, IN FRONT OF WHICH IS THE SUN DISK UPON AN ALTAR.

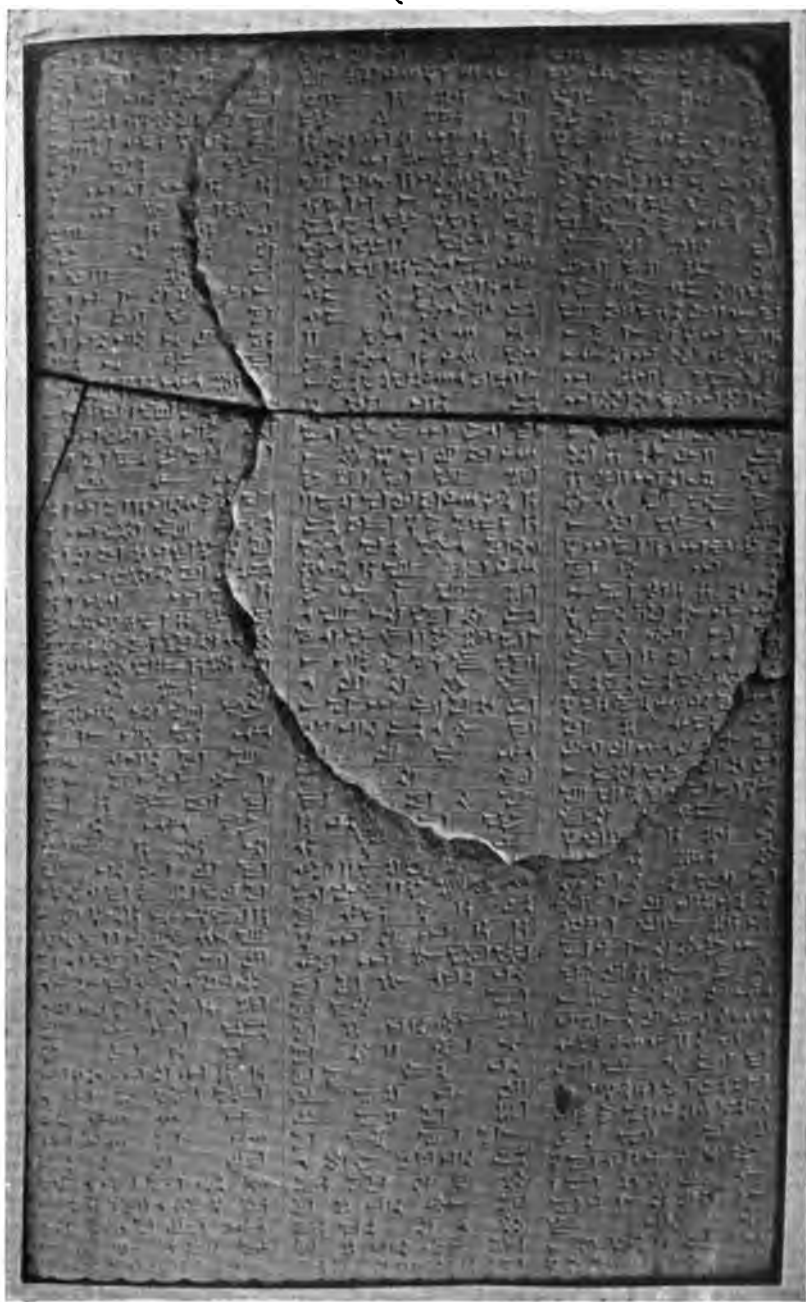
as it has set at rest the long disputed spot of ancient Sippara, which was imagined by different savants to be in other localities in Babylonia on the bank of the Euphrates. We are now certain of its exact position being on the great historical canal of Babylonia, called Nahr-Malka, or the royal river.* Though Aboo-Habba is not more than four miles in direct line from the Euphrates, the source of Nahr-Malka is nearly twenty miles higher up the river, and flows to the city of Sippara in a southeasterly direction. This canal was the wonder of the age when the Babylonian kingdom was in its greatest prosperity, as it must have been about one hundred and fifty miles in length, and bridged over in many places. Xenophon records that the Greek auxiliaries had to cross it on bridges made of palm-trees when they were retreating northwards after the death of Cyrus. It used to run from the Euphrates to Sippara, where it divided, the main body passing Dair and running in a southeasterly direction on the Tigris side of Mesopotamia as far as Shat-al-hai, passing within three miles of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. The other part took a more southerly course nearer the Euphrates, and passed the mound of Tel-Ibraheem,—the site of ancient Cuthah. The remains of the former is now called Yosephia, and the latter Habl-Ibraheem, or the rope of Abraham, from the resemblance of it to a rope, as it winds on through the plain between Aboo-Habba and Tel-Ibraheem. Both these canals are crossed by wayfarers who travel between Baghdad and Hillah, and between the former place and Moseyib on the way to Carballa.

It is most interesting to examine this canal all the way between the Euphrates and the Tigris, as it shows the magnitude of the Babylonian agricultural industry in days gone by, when it irrigated hundreds of miles of rich alluvial soil. The remains of countless large and small water-courses, which intersect the country fed by those two branches of Nahr-Malka, are plainly seen even now. Vestiges of prodigious basins are also visible, wherein a surplus supply must have been kept for any emergency, especially when the water in the Euphrates falls low in summer.

* In Aramaic, or what is now called Chaldean language, spoken by the Nestorians of Koordistan and the Chaldeans of Assyria, Nahr means river or canal, and Malka means king or royal.

CHAPTER XXI.

As soon as the discovery of Sippara was noised about, jealousies began to take hold of the minds of the officials and of those Europeans who could not endure any success crowning British enterprises. I was told one day that the chief of the Tappo, or superintendent of the crown lands, had threatened to stop my excavations at Aboo-Habba, and that he intended to proceed thither the next day and arrest every workman he found on the spot. Consequently, a great number were afraid to go to work; and to encourage them to do so, and to be on the spot in case the chief of the Tappo kept his threat, I repaired thither soon after breakfast. I had not to wait long before the looked-for officer made his appearance with about twenty mounted followers, armed to the teeth. They immediately surrounded the chamber where the bulk of the men were working, and the chief began to abuse them for daring to excavate in a mound which belonged to legal owners, and ordered them to leave the trenches immediately. I was at the time superintending the work in person, so I told him that he had no business to speak to the men, who were only carrying out my orders, and if he had anything to say he had better address himself to me. He replied that the land belonged partly to natives of Baghdad, and partly to the State, and that I had no right to excavate there without the agreement of the one, and the sanction of the other. I then said that I would not have dug there if I had not had an imperial license, and if there were any proprietors who disapproved of my action, I was ready to meet their objections. I said, furthermore, that if he thought that I was not doing right, he could lay the case before the Baghdad authorities, to whom I held myself responsible. Two of his followers, who were chiefs of Arab clans inhabiting the district of Mahmoodia, intervened, and said that my name was well-known all over the country, and my explorations in different parts of the Baghdad Pashalic were not conducted at night or in secret, and begged the officer to leave me alone, and refer the matter to the higher authority. This advice seemed to have a great effect upon him, and when he heard afterwards that



REVERSE OF THE INSCRIPTION OF NABU-APAL-IDDIN RELATING TO THE WORSHIP
OF THE SUN-GOD AT SIPPARA, CONTAINING LISTS OF THE KING'S GIFTS,
AND SETTING FORTH RULES CONCERNING PRIESTLY VESTMENTS.

I possessed, besides the firman, a Beewirdee * (passport) from the governor-general of Baghdad, authorizing me to excavate anywhere I liked in that province in accordance with the imperial decree, he came to apologize for what he had done. After this we became staunch friends, and he subsequently never lost an opportunity of showing his civility and attention in all my concerns. But my Baghdad evil-eyed men were not disposed to let me go on with my researches without further trouble; because some one had mischievously caused my discoveries at Aboo-Habba to be mentioned in the Baghdad Arabic newspaper, called "Zowra," and magnified them to a most prodigious extent. It was said in the article that the antiquities I had unearthed were "of greater value than gold, and more precious than gems!" This bit of news roused the cupidity of the part-owners of the mound, and the ire of the envious, which nigh lost us those valuable relics, and stopped me from going on with my excavations. I had, of course, a number of friends, who reported to me everything that took place; and I was therefore anxious to have the inscribed stone tablet, the two cylinders, and other objects packed and sent away from Baghdad as soon as possible. For fear of the risk of sending them without having them copied, I had them photographed by a French gentleman named M. Mougel, engineer in the employ of the Government of Baghdad, who kindly undertook the task for me for nothing. This event alone trebly magnified their value, because the very fact of having them photographed enhanced their worth in the eyes of our adversaries. The part-owners of Aboo-Habba took it into their heads to sue me formally before a court of justice, or lay their complaint before the governor-general. Fortunately, the morning they wished to do so they met two of my friends, one of them practicing as an advocate, who dissuaded them against taking that rash step, and advised them to come to me instead, telling them at the same time that they would gain more by an interview with me than by all the litigations in the world. This was fortunate; because, on one of them coming to see me, I explained to him our respective positions with regard to the exact locality where I was carrying on my exploration; and, although when he came to see me he was riding the high horse, he soon

* A local passport, more for official recommendation than for a free passage.

found that it would be to his advantage to come to amicable terms with me, by consenting to leave the settlement of the matter to arbitration. After we had agreed as to the individuals who should act as arbitrators, he left, seemingly quite satisfied.

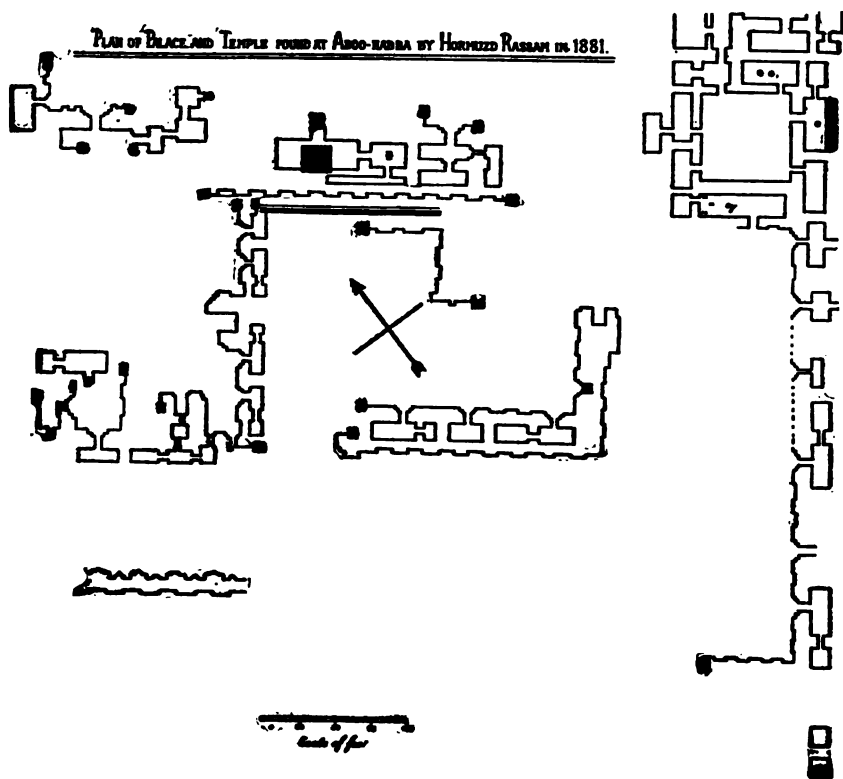
I found out afterwards that half of the Mahmoodia district had been ceded for cultivation to a Baghdad Moslem nobleman, the father of the present owners, about sixty years before, by one of the governors-general, for services they had rendered to the State, and that the other half had been lately purchased by the Sultan from his own private purse, the same as he had done in other parts of the Baghdad Pashalic. But the mound of Aboo-Habba being so high above the alluvial soil of Mahmoodia, it was not capable of cultivation; consequently, in accordance with the Tappo rules, it was considered waste land. However, sooner than have any further dispute, I agreed to subsidize them, and they accorded me the right of digging there as long as I wished.

In the course of three months we discovered in different chambers a large number of inscribed clay tablets; but, unfortunately, they were not baked as those found in Assyria; and the clay of which they were made had become so friable that as soon as they were exposed to the air they crumbled to pieces. I found that the only way to preserve them was to have them baked, which we did with success; but I regret to say a great number were destroyed by the removal, as they were heaped up one upon another, and stuck together.

In the room next to that which was paved with asphalt we came upon a solid platform, built most securely of kiln-burnt bricks and bitumen. It was twenty feet square and twenty-five feet high, facing the entrance of the asphalted room. I had the platform partially broken into and examined, in the hope of discovering some ancient record buried in it; but there was no sign of any object of interest found. It was so hard to break that different workmen had to take the task by turns, and even then very little progress was shown after the day's labor. The consequence was, I had to give up the attempt for a time. The stopping of our work at Aboo-Habba abruptly debarred me from making a thorough examination of what I think was an altar; and it is to be hoped that on a future occasion we shall have the chance of digging it all out, and seeing whether there is any record buried in it.

The style of the architecture of Aboo-Habba differed from that

found in other parts of Babylonia and Assyria; and from what I could make out it seemed to me that Sippara of the Sun-god was divided into two distinct buildings; one for religious purposes, and the other for a habitation for priests and royalty. Each block of buildings was surrounded by a breastwork, faced in some parts with kiln-burnt bricks to make the structure more secure. Both the temple and its environs must have been inhabited at different epochs by people of distinct ideas, because the height of the original chambers and halls was twenty-five feet; but subsequent occupiers



of the place seemed to have had them filled up with débris up to half the depth, and repaved the chambers to make them appear as if they were originally built as low as I found them. It was in this manner that I found the room in which the asphalt pavement was discovered.

The mound of Aboo-Habba, in which the building of Sippara

was discovered, is about 1,300 feet long by 400 feet wide, containing, according to my reckoning, at least three hundred chambers and halls; of these I have only been able to dig out about one hundred and thirty, and there is no knowing when we shall be allowed to excavate the remainder, seeing that our work was put a stop to by the Ottoman Government most abruptly.

Sippara has now been satisfactorily identified with the city of Sepharvaim, mentioned in the Old Testament in five different places. In the seventeenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings it is said: "And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel." Then in the eighteenth chapter of the same book, Rabshakeh, in his boastful address to the Jews at Jerusalem about the victories gained by his master, Sennacherib, said: "Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?" The city of Sepharvaim has also been famous as being the oldest city known amongst the ancients; and Chaldean and Grecian historians state that many centuries before the Christian era, this was the place where the second father of mankind buried the antediluvian records. He was known to the Greek and Chaldean historians as "Xisuthrus;" and as this name has no affinity in either sound or meaning to the word Noah, some writers have considered the entire Chaldean account of the Deluge a mere fable. But now the buried records of the past reveal the mystery. The cuneiform inscriptions tell us that God had destroyed all life by a great flood, on account of the wickedness of the human race, and had saved a good man, whom the Assyrians called "Khasis-Adra,"* which words mean "he who escaped the flood." It seems that Abydenus, the Greek historian, who chronicled the legend of the Deluge from Berosus, about 268 B. C., corrupted this word into "Xisuthrus;" and what makes it still very unlike the Semitic sound is the form

* Professor R. W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., however gives the following opinion about this name, as follows: "The meaning of this name is still doubtful. Haupt thinks it means 'the Very Pious;' it is, however, more probably 'the Very Wise.'" In the Assyrian Deluge story (line 195) it is written *Atra-Chasis*. In the reversed form here given by Mr. Rassam, viz., *Chasis-Atra*, it is probably the origin of the Greek *Xisuthros* (*Ξισυθρος*). It may be well to say that this is not the name of the hero of the Deluge, but only

of the Greek termination. It is the same as many Hebrew words whose sounds have been changed in Greek or English, such as Eliseus, Jesus, and Cephas, which are in the original Elisha, Yeshua, Capa.

While the excavations were being carried on at Aboo-Habba, I managed to take some workmen to try the mound called by the Arabs "Tel-Ibraheem," which I have already mentioned. As I said before, my reason for leaving it untried so long was its isolated position, and the want of water supply for the workmen. I at last prevailed upon a number of my laborers at Babylon and Birs Nimroud to accompany me thither with their wives and children for three or four weeks, and I assisted them with the expense of the transport, and allowed them extra pay for the special service. Some of the women I employed as water-carriers for the workmen, and others I set apart to collect fuel. It was a very pretty sight to see the cavalcade marching through the plains of Babylonia with the men armed in the usual way, and singing their favorite war and love songs. Most fortunately, when the time came that I could go there and superintend the work in person, the Tigris rose unusually high, and inundated the country to within two miles of the mound, which enabled us to have a regular supply of water as long as we were working there. I, of course, did not care to drink it, as it looked anything but tempting; so once a week I sent and got some water for myself and followers from the Mahaweel-Euphrates Canal, about six miles to the southwest. I found an old well there which had been filled up with sand; and as I thought that it might be of use in case I found it necessary to prolong our stay, I had it cleared out; but it proved to be somewhat brackish, and the workmen and their families preferred going a great distance and fetching muddy water from the pools left by the overflow of the Tigris, rather than drinking what they called "saltish water." We were able, however, to use it for cooking and washing purposes.

an epithet applied to him. Elsewhere in the Deluge story he is called by his name. Unfortunately, the reading of the first syllable of the name is uncertain. It is variously read *Clit-napishtim*, *Um-napishtim*, *Par-napishtim*, etc. Lately Hommel has proposed to read *Nukh-napishtim*. In this form it would accurately represent, in its first syllable, the Biblical name Noah. This is, however, exceedingly doubtful, though the suggestion is keen and attractive. See Hommel's paper in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1892-93, p. 243.

The first thing I did, on arriving there, was to repair the tumbled-down mausoleum of Abraham, and have it thoroughly cleaned of the refuse which had been accumulating for years. This renovation not only raised me in the estimation of the Arab devotees, but proved a boon to those workmen and their families who did not possess proper shelter from the storms which soon afterwards came on us with great fury, as they were able to take refuge in the sanctuary.*

I was very much tried while there by the constant sandstorms that blew in the daytime. On several occasions the dust was so thick that I could not see the tents of my followers, and dared not go out; and at one time the atmosphere was so dense with it that our water-carriers lost their way, and could not find the mound until the storm subsided, though they were not more than half a mile away from it. I had to sit for hours with my eyes and mouth closed, without attempting to stir; and, as for eating or drinking, no one could venture to open his mouth for fear of its being filled with the dust that was blowing about. The poor workmen had a sorry time of it, on account of the sand which filled the air, especially when they were digging in soft soil; but as I had in the first instance opened a number of tunnels, they were able to take shelter in them when the storm was at its highest. The men certainly labored with all their might during the four weeks we were there; and it was an astounding fact that two gangs of seven men each cleared out a ditch about twelve feet square by twenty-five feet deep, and penetrated underground through four or five chambers to the extent of at least sixty feet in a little more than three weeks; carrying out the *débris* and piling it up to the height of twenty feet.

In the several trenches and tunnels I found very little of ancient remains to warrant me remaining there more than a month;

* An Arab historian, named "Ibu Athir," mentions that the Arabian general, "Saad," after he had captured Cuthah in the sixteenth year of the Hejira, and was advancing to Ctesiphon, offered up prayers at the shrine of Ibraheem-al-Khaleel. It has been supposed that the shrine alluded to was that near Birs Nimroud, but this could not be; because, after taking Cuthah and marching to Ctesiphon in a northeasterly direction, he would not have gone backwards about fifty miles to the southwest to visit it, when there was another sanctuary of Abraham at Cuthah. Al-khaleel, which means "the friend," in Arabic, is always applied by the Arabs to Abraham.

during which time we discovered a few inscribed clay tablets and earthenware bowls, with Hebrew and Aramaic characters written on them. In one part of the mound where the workmen showed extraordinary energy, after having dug down about twenty feet below the surface, we came upon an ancient edifice, the walls of which looked quite fresh, as if the builder had just finished plastering them. The style of this building in every way resembled the new structure I discovered at the mound of Ibraheem-al-Khaleel,—that is to say, the walls were new, without the least sign of their having been roofed over, and the earth with which they were filled was pure soil, quite clear of any kind of débris. It was very tantalizing to dig into those neat little chambers, and find nothing to repay me for my trouble, and it was quite a mystery to me how nearly twenty feet of earth had accumulated on the top of them without any other story having existed above them as in the ruins in Assyria and Babylonia.

As I said before, Tel-Ibraheem is an enormous mound; and, although I had no less than twenty tunnels and trenches opened in it, there were no indications whatever in them to give me any hope of discovering Babylonian remains. It is true there were kiln-burnt bricks in the diggings, like those usually found in Babylonia, with the name of Nebuchadnezzar on them; nevertheless, I do not think that those belonged to any particular building, but they might have been taken there from another place. I am, therefore, led to believe that that site could not have been of much importance in the early Babylonian monarchy; but in a later period it must have been a very flourishing city, as there were unmistakable exterior remains extending for miles around, which showed that the town and its surroundings were thickly inhabited after the destruction of Babylon. Had my firman been renewed, I would have tried other spots in the mound, with the hope of finding inscriptions or other relics indicating the history of the place.

After I abandoned Tel-Ibraheem, I tried other mounds to the southeast, where there was a nest of them, but to little or no purpose. Notwithstanding if I had gone to that neighborhood again, I would have tried them once more for at least one or two months, when I should be able to judge definitely as to their importance. My present opinion is that they were used as outposts for the defense of the east side of Babylon.

During that spring a kind of plague, or a very malignant black fever, broke out at Nijjif, which carried off hundreds of the poor Arabs in that district; and as the authorities established a quarantine on the high road between Baghdad, Hillah, and at Khan-al-Mahweel, a large number of the nomad Arabs and others who wished to evade it used to come round via Tel-Ibraheem, and break the monotony of our solitude. They afforded me an opportunity to obtain from them sheep and oxen, with an unlimited supply of butter, milk, and labban.

It was absurd to establish a quarantine at such a distance as Khan-al-Mahweel and Mahaweel, when it was utterly impossible to keep a strict surveillance over the wandering Arabs, who could easily cross Mesopotamia from Hillah to the Tigris. As they are expert swimmers, they could have easily crossed that river and the Euphrates, and entered Baghdad to the east of it. I was told that not a few of the Arabs actually swam through the Mahaweel Canal between the Khan and the Euphrates at night, when their spies reported to them that the banks were clear of the guard on the watch. The quarantine, properly speaking, ought to have been localized in cordon round Nijjif, or any place where the epidemic was raging.

It is no wonder that every now and then malignant diseases break out at Nijjif to the south of Birs Nimroud, when it is considered that every year hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of dead bodies of the Persian and Arab Sheea sect of Moslems are taken there for interment. In the majority of cases interment is too long delayed; and as the Arabs are not very particular as to the depth of the graves and how they are closed, one can imagine how great the stench is in the extensive burial-ground after heavy rains, followed by a hot sun.

Not caring to have ten or fifteen days of quarantine if I visited our works at Babylon, I did not venture thither after I went to Tel-Ibraheem. Nor would it have been right to evade the restrictions by moving from mound to mound to the southeast of Mahaweel, and give the Hillah and Baghdad authorities cause to find fault with me, though we were visited every day by Arabs who, most probably, came from the infected region, seeing that the nomad tribes were always on the move in the spring season in search of pasture.

As the grant for that year had nearly expired, and it was

necessary for me to go to Constantinople to see what could be done about the excavations at Nebee Yonis and the renewal of my firman, I intrusted the overseers, as usual, with the work to be carried on in my absence, both at Babylon and Aboo-Habba, under the general control of Her Majesty's consul-general at Baghdad.*

I started for the Mediterranean along the Euphrates at six A. M. on Tuesday, the 3d of May, 1881. The weather was beginning to get somewhat oppressive in the daytime. In consequence of the overflow of the river, which filled a large number of muddy canals on the way, we had to make a detour to reach our first halting-place, Imhaireeja. It took us eight hours and a half to make the journey from Aboo-Habba, which I had to visit for the last time that morning; whereas, if we could have gone straight on, we would have reached it easily in seven. Harraj, my Arab overseer at Aboo-Habba, accompanied me as a guide the first two stages, and to his surprise he found an aunt of his in the Arab camp, and so I had my tent pitched near hers. Another relative of his supplied me with milk, butter, and labban; and his daughters attended to the kitchen requirements. We were very much troubled with mosquitoes at that encampment on the border of a great swamp, caused by the overflow of the Euphrates. Imhaireeja is on the highway to Baghdad from Saglaweya, on the border of which we found some tents to receive the harem of the governor-general of Baghdad.

We started for Saglaweya at five A. M., and reached that place at eleven o'clock. Though I visited the ruins of Felujah on my way, and lost more than half an hour in going over it, the luggage did not arrive till an hour after me. I found no sign of ancient remains amongst its numerous ruins; but everything indicated a late Arab occupation.

On arriving at Saglaweya we had to ride about a mile through a swamp, from which arose noxious vapors, before we could reach the ferry-boat. There was only one vessel to take passengers across; whereas, it required at least three to do the work properly, as the traffic was very great between the right and left banks of the Euphrates in those parts. I found the boat was just starting with the British overland camel mail, on its way from Baghdad

* Whenever I left the excavations in charge of native superintendents, I kept myself in constant communication with them, and instructed them from time to time what to do.

to Damascus. As I wanted the whole boat to myself, and the luggage had not arrived, I asked the master to make haste and return to me, which he did in time to take us all comfortably across without any mishap, though the luggage had to be carried by the boatmen to and from the vessel for at least twenty yards, as the water on both sides of the river was very shallow and muddy. It took us nearly three hours from the time the animals were unloaded and reloaded, and my surprise was that none of our luggage was disarranged through the rough way it was hustled into the boat and landed. I myself had a narrow escape of being precipitated into the muddy river when I was carried from the boat to land, on account of the numerous puddles along the banks.

There was a talk that the Baghdad authorities were contemplating building a permanent bridge there, which I was certain they would never undertake for want of funds. A bridge of boats could easily be erected with very little cost; but, unfortunately, the Ottoman Government lacks both funds and energy for such a purpose. Who could ever believe that an important place like Baghdad, the first city in Asiatic Turkey, has to depend upon a bridge of boats, which is taken down whenever high winds from southeast or northwest spring up, and that the inhabitants on both sides of the river have to cross in wicker circular boats, which are sometimes dangerous in case of a storm! There are many European capitalists ready to undertake the building of a suspension bridge, if the Ottoman Government would only encourage them to do so; but, for some reason or other, such improvements are not consonant to Turkish ideas. No one need be surprised at this, when it is considered that even the great capital of Turkey, one of the greatest cities of Europe, has no proper bridge to boast of, and the only existing one is composed of rickety boats. In this case also, I feel persuaded that the Porte has only to show an inclination for the erection of a suspension bridge, and it would have more than a dozen contractors willing to undertake it.

My escort was changed at Saglaweya, and I also sent back Harraj to Aboo-Habba. As we were all very tired after crossing the Euphrates, I only traveled for three quarters of an hour, and had my camp pitched at a place called Tirba, near some cultivated fields along the sandy bank of a clear stream running from the river. The mosquitoes were very troublesome again there, and to my not a little alarm, I learned at Saglaweya that I must make up my

mind to be pestered with those insects all along the Euphrates at that time of the year, and I was also horrified to learn that there had been a quarantine established somewhere on my way to Aleppo, in consequence of the plague which had appeared at Nijjif. I had hoped that after I left Baghdad I should hear no more of it; but I was doomed to be disappointed.

On Thursday, May 5th, we left Tirba at 4.30 A. M., and reached Diban at 6.30, where I alighted and spent about half an hour at a peasant's farm-yard in partaking of breakfast. I was supplied there with delicious butter, milk, and labban. I then resumed my journey; and after traveling about two hours we reached two old canals, which had been filled by the rise of the river; one of which we had great difficulty in crossing, as it was deep and muddy. We were obliged to unload the animals, and send the luggage across on men's shoulders. Fortunately, we met a number of Arabs, who assisted us; two of whom carried me over without any discomfort. After having lost about an hour in crossing we resumed our journey, and reached Ramadee at 12.30 P. M. Not wishing to remain at that place, I called at the Government House for change of the escort; but found the Kayim-Makkam was away, and his *locum tenens*, the Kadhee, fast asleep. One of the clerks, however, acted for him, and we were able to resume our journey after half an hour's delay. When we had traveled about a mile, I learned that there was no Arab encampment nearer than two hours away, and in consequence of the rise of the river we should be obliged to make a long detour round a creek, which would occasion us unnecessary fatigue; so I resolved upon encamping for the night near some Arab tents at Talaa, on the bank of a large canal, called Azeezzia, about three miles from Ramadee.

We left Talaa at four o'clock the next morning, and, after having spent on the way about half an hour in breakfasting, I reached the town of Hheet at two P. M. I went direct to Government House, and found my friend, Hameed Effendi, the Moodeer, still governor of the place, but on half pay, on account of the poverty of the imperial exchequer. His salary had been reduced from 900 to 450 piasters, equal to about £4 sterling; a sum, he said, which was scarcely enough to pay for his food. He told me that he had twice asked to be relieved; but he was not listened to, and he did not know what to do.

Having already given in these pages an account of my journey

between Hheet and Aleppo, I shall not repeat the story of my travels over the same route; but merely state the suffering I underwent during my incarceration at Al-boo-ka-mal for a week, in consequence of the plague in Babylonia. Why the Aleppo authorities fixed upon that abominable place for establishing a quarantine of fifteen days to afflict unfortunate wayfarers, when there was no symptom of any epidemic within two hundred miles, or fifteen days' journey, from the infected spot, is more than I can tell, unless it was for the mere fact that Al-boo-ka-mal was the first station in the Aleppo Pashalic, as Al-Kayim, twenty miles southward, was the first in that of Baghdad. With the exception of the high road through those stations, the nomad Arabs were going backwards and forwards from one province to the other, without approaching Al-Kayim or Al-boo-ka-mal; and if I had chosen, I could have passed the latter place ten miles higher up, and traveled through the Inizza tribes to Aleppo, without going to Maskana; but, as I said before, it would not have been proper for me to evade the imposed restrictions, though foolish, and get myself into trouble with the authorities.

So far as the governor of the place and the quarantine officials were concerned, I am indebted to them for every act of kindness and attention; and if it were not for the torture of the mosquitoes day and night, I would have looked on my incarceration amongst them as days of pleasure; for they did everything they could to make my imprisonment pleasant. They were so good as to shorten my term of quarantine, as they found that I had gone there straight from Baghdad, and had been traveling for more than a fortnight without having had any contact with persons from the infected region.

With regard to the plague of the mosquitoes, I feel quite reluctant to describe faithfully the acute pain they inflicted upon man and beast, as I fear that what I am going to relate would be looked upon by those who never experienced such tortures, as quite incredible. From the time we left Aana, the virulence of those insects began to increase, and the night I slept at Al-Kayim they convinced me of their unmistakable venom. When I arrived there from Baghdad, I intended to encamp on the green bank of the Euphrates; but the governor dissuaded me from doing so, as he said that as soon as the sun began to set, and the little breeze that was then blowing died out, I should be tormented with mosquitoes.

So I had my tent pitched on the top of the hill overlooking the Euphrates valley, not far from the Government House. At sunset the Moodeer came to dine with me, and we had scarcely begun to eat, when, as the wind lulled, the mosquitoes came in thick swarms just like a sand-storm, and attacked us right and left. They were so troublesome and stung so ferociously, that I was obliged to wear gloves, and covered my face and neck with a handkerchief to protect myself from their sting; but it was of no use, as they managed to find their way to my flesh to suck my blood. As for eating our dinner with comfort it was quite impossible, though we had no less than four men fanning us with all their might. We bore that torture in the best way we could until a breeze sprang up again, when every mosquito vanished as it came, in an instant. Indeed, when they begin their assault a kind of whiz is heard; but on the approach of any breeze, they vanish instantaneously. It was anything but consoling to me to be told by the governor of Al-Kayim that the swarms of mosquitoes which attacked us the evening I was there, were nothing in comparison to what I should find at Al-boo-ka-mal; and his statement proved unhappily but too true.

The quarantine authorities apportioned me a clean and high piece of ground on the bank of the river, where, if there was the least breeze, I should get it. The first night I was there, the groaning of the camels and the kicking and rolling in the sand of the mules and horses from the attacks of the myriads of mosquitoes was heart-rending. We tried smoke and huge fires to drive the pest away, but without any effect. There were some poor Arabs there in quarantine, who did everything they could to quiet their camels, but found it a hard task, though they kindled two or three heaps of rubbish to create smoke. The poor beasts were tied by the legs to prevent them from running away in a fit of frenzy, and it was a pitiful sight to see all the animals in the morning covered over with blood. Very often before I could kill or drive mosquitoes off my hands or face they sucked blood enough to disable them from flying away easily. As soon as I was settled in my quarantine quarters, I had a bag made to cover my head, with merely two holes to see through; but this contrivance did not afford me any protection, for some of them found their way to my skin in a most wonderful manner. I had also a bag made of a sheet, which I got into at night, and a mosquito curtain to go over my

head; and, although, when I went to bed, my servant placed the curtain over me, and tucked it under the bed all round, while two others tried their best to drive away the insects by means of large fans, in less than ten minutes a large number of them crept in, magic-like. I had, of course, great difficulty in washing and bathing; and whenever I wished to perform the latter task, I used to wait for a breeze to spring up, and then hurried through my ablutions in the best way I could. Once I was thoroughly cheated; for just as I began to bathe the wind lulled, and my tormentors attacked me furiously. I feared at the time that I should meet with the same fate as overtook some poor Arabs who died in the tamarisk cover on the opposite bank of the river; but my servant was ready to succor me, and I was able to dress quickly, without being overbled by those horrid irritators.

There is a tamarisk thicket on the left bank of the Euphrates, extending for miles above Aana, from where the Arabs cut wood for the last-named town and other places below it; and I was told it sometimes happened that one or two men, who were left without proper protection against the attack of those ravenous insects, were bled to death. I was often reminded, on the occasions of my torture, of the plague of flies and lice in Egypt. No one can realize the awful Divine visitation on the disobedient and obstinate Pharaoh and his people, without undergoing my experience of the plague of Al-boo-ka-mal.

As regards the existence of the myriads and myriads of mosquitoes that infest the banks of the Euphrates in spring, from Aana to Maskana, especially between Al-kayim and Salkheya, there is no doubt they are bred in the numerous ponds and pools in the valley of the Euphrates, which become filled in spring by the overflow of the river, and the water which is left to stagnate helps to germinate the eggs deposited there the year before.

Those who lived in rooms where smoke could be confined, were able to be, for a time, free of the mosquito torment, and, properly speaking, it was the duty of the quarantine authorities, when they wished to establish their temporary jail, to have erected proper quarters for the unfortunate victims, who were forced to be detained by them in that dreadful spot. However, all is well that ends well, and I had the satisfaction of leaving the place without having lost my temper, and keeping on friendly terms with

every one; nor was I and my party, thank God! any the worse for our incarceration.

The doctor and the inspector of the quarantine, who were returning to Aleppo, accompanied me to Maskana. We had a very pleasant journey together, and as they wanted to remain at that place two or three days longer to transact some official business with the quarantine authorities there, I parted with them with every friendly feeling and good-will, reaching Aleppo, as usual, in two days. I found my friend, Mr. Henderson, was away; but his first dragoon, Mr. Dermakar, received me in the consulate, as he said that Mr. Henderson had left orders that I should be accommodated with quarters if I arrived at Aleppo in his absence. I staid there four days, and then journeyed the usual way to Alexandretta, and thence embarked for Constantinople in one of the French Messageries steamers.

After spending seventeen days at the Turkish capital unprofitably, trying to enlist the sympathy and friendly consideration of the British and Ottoman authorities, I had to leave for England, sadly disappointed at the result of my mission. Lord Dufferin, who was then Her Majesty's representative at the Sublime Porte, did his best to assist me in my endeavors to prevail upon the Minister of Public Instructions to reconsider his refusal to allow us to complete the digging out of the remainder of the antiquities which I had already discovered. As I said before, we had a great enemy at that time at the head of the Ministry of Public Instructions, and no entreaty or argument would make him change his mind, or even give heed to my explanations.

As soon as the Trustees were able to obtain more funds to continuing our researches in Babylonia and Assyria, I left London for Southern Mesopotamia again on the 7th of March, 1882. I followed the same route via Calais, Marseilles, Alexandretta, Aleppo, Maskana, Hheet, and Saglaweya, reaching Baghdad on the 21st of the following month, after having rested in different places on the way for about ten days.

Our excavations at Aboo-Habba were carried on without any interruption for eighteen months altogether, during which time we must have discovered between sixty and seventy thousand inscribed clay tablets, a large number of which fell to pieces before we could have them baked. We found there what are called boun-

dary-stones, containing mystic representations, some of a hideous type. We also discovered about three dozen different shaped terracotta cylinders, minutely inscribed with other interesting objects.

Before I started on my homeward journey, ten months before, I prevailed upon the guardians of the mausoleum of Seyid Abd-allah to allow me to repair the outer wall of the sanctuary, which had fallen to decay, and to build one or two rooms at the entrance, for the occupation of my head overseer, and for storing the antiquities which might be discovered. Up to that time we were all living in tents, and found it very unsafe and inconvenient to take care of our collections, though I had made secure boxes for them. All the Arabs in the neighborhood lived in tents, and there was no village nearer than Mahmoodia, a distance of about six miles. I had intended, at first, to have two or three huts built on the mound; but as none of the Arabs liked to move their tents thither, and created all kinds of difficulties on account of its isolation, I fixed upon Seyid Abd-allah as our permanent headquarters.

It is generally supposed that the Moslems are jealous of Christians entering their mosques; but my experience has been quite the contrary in all Mohammedan countries, excepting amongst the fanatical Sheeas. My Arab friends of Seyid Abd-allah not only raised no objection to establishing my headquarters in their holy inclosure, but they actually declared that I respected their place of worship more than many careless Mohammedans. My followers and I occupied it for more than a year, and never on any single occasion were we troubled with the visits of the devotees, who came on a pilgrimage by hundreds. No one ever looked on us with dislike, though they knew quite well that I and three of my followers were Christians. On the day of the commemoration of the death of Seyid Abd-allah, crowds of Arabs, with their wives and children, used to flock to the place with lambs and other thank-offerings, which the guardians of the mosque appropriated. Some of them came from a great distance, and slept in the inner courtyard; but we were not inconvenienced by them. I only enforced the rule which I established as soon as I occupied the entrance to the mausoleum, that no animals were to be located within the inner courtyard, and this resolution was very much applauded by all the Moslems.

To please my Arab friends and those who came from a distance on a pilgrimage to the shrine of their venerated saint, I had

a well dug out and properly built within the inclosure of the mosque, which rejoiced every one, especially the female sex, as they could then water their animals and use it for their domestic purposes, without walking for two miles to fetch their supply from a ditch below Aboo-Habba.* The men also who visited the shrine for devotional purposes were delighted with it, as they could then perform their religious ablutions, which were many, to their heart's content, without the trouble of going to the pond, or exhausting the women's stock. I, of course, could not use the water, excepting for bathing and the general washing of my establishment; nor could I be tempted to use the water of the pond even for washing purposes, on account of its pollution; for, nine months in the year, it is anything but fresh. It was quite enough for me, the first time I visited it, to see women washing their dirty clothes in it, and all the animals of the place getting into it to drink, and stirring up the stagnant mud which existed around it. For my own drinking and that of my immediate followers, I had water fetched from the Euphrates, and filtered it in Baghdad porous jars; and it was most amusing to see my Arab visitors smack their lips on drinking it.

We found at Aboo-Habba an exquisitely-built well, faced with hard kiln-burnt bricks, molded purposely to fit each other in a circular form. I had this cleared out in the hope of finding its water more palatable for the workmen than that of the pond; but unfortunately, it was a little brackish, and the Arabs turned up their noses at it, and said they preferred drinking the sweet water of the spring!

It must not be thought that I was left altogether in peace after I disposed of the misunderstanding which took place between me, the overseer of the crown lands, and the part-owner of Aboo-Habba; but, on the contrary, on the eve of closing my excavations at Sippara, another bugbear presented itself to me from quite an unexpected quarter, which seemed more formidable; but happily ended in smoke. It appeared that the imperial trustees, who had

* There is there an extraordinary deep pond, which the Arabs call *Ain* (Arabic, spring), whose supply is never exhausted, not even in times of drought, though all the Arabs in the neighborhood draw their water from it. My workmen also drank from it when the Mahmoodia Canal ceased running on the fall of the Euphrates. When the canal overflows, the pond is refilled to the brim from the inundation caused therefrom.

the management of the Sultan's private domains, became possessed with a sudden alarm in consequence of my successes at Aboo-Habba. One night, after I had gone to bed, a number of horsemen, headed by the agent of His Majesty's landed estate (who was also sub-governor of the district of Mahmoodia), took me by surprise; and on inquiring what was the matter, the latter showed me a letter which he had received from the royal trustees, wherein he was asked to find out by whose authority I was carrying on excavations at Aboo-Habba. They ordered him at the same time not to allow any one to dig in royal lands without their special consent; but, fortunately, there was no mention made that my excavations were to be stopped. Consequently, the late intrusion of the Mahmoodia authorities did not keep me awake the remainder of the night, especially as the officer communicated his message in the most courteous manner. He asked me, however, to try and obtain the sanction of the royal trustees for the continuation of my researches, in order that he might not get into trouble himself. On this account I had to write to the governor-general of Baghdad about the matter, as my firman was addressed to him. He replied that he could not interfere in the affairs of the royal commissioners, and referred me to them for settlement, which, he said, could only be done by satisfying them. I was in a quandary how to construe this problem, because it was easy to satisfy a needy landlord with a few piasters; but when it came to the task of gratifying the wishes of royalty, it was another thing; but, fortunately for me, for some reason or other, I was not put to the unpleasant trial of wrangling with an influential body on such a delicate matter, and went on digging for nearly two months afterwards, until our explorations came to an end. In the first instance the trustees could not meet for a long time, on account of sickness amongst their members; and when they ultimately did so, they deemed it prudent to keep quiet for a few days longer, as they knew that all our operations would die a natural death by the expiration of my firman. I was therefore left in peace until I closed my excavations at the end of July, 1882. Since then we have been building hope upon hope, with the result of utter failure, to obtain the renewal of our firman.

As for the governor-general of Baghdad, who was, I believe, actuated by the feeling engendered at the office of Public Instructions at the Turkish capital, he thought he would catch me transgressing the limit of my firman by watching the day, and even the

hour, of the limitation of the permit. Having had knowledge of his intention, I gave express orders to the overseers of my different operations, both in Assyria and Babylonia, to close the work the day before the actual limit, in order that there might be no mistake in the reckoning of the lunar month.* Actually after being so cautious, and I took care to give an early warning to the imperial delegate, of the day of closing my researches, obstacles were created in the dispatch of the last batch of antiquities, which I was anxious to forward before leaving the country. When the remainder of the collection was packed and ready to be embarked on board the Tigris steamer proceeding to Basra, I was told that the authorities deemed it necessary, before they could allow it to leave the country, to communicate with the Hillah officials, to find out if my explorations ceased within the prescribed time. Of course the delegate did not hesitate to inform the proper authorities that we had stopped work the day before I was obliged to do so, which circumstance no one could dispute, seeing that there were between two and three hundred Arabs who could vouch for the fact. After this the governor-general thought it clever to raise an objection to the antiquities leaving Turkey after the expiration of the term of my firman, as their dispatch, he argued, ought to have been simultaneous with the stoppage of the work. I had to point out the folly of such an obstruction; for, I said, for that matter I might not have been allowed to pack and dispatch the relics which I had discovered four months before; as it happened that when I was in Assyria I could not forward sometimes certain antiquities to Eng-

*The firmans are always dated according to the Mohammedan months, which are lunar. Every month must follow the beginning and ending of Ramadhan, when the Moslems keep a strict fast, and neither the commencement of the fast nor its conclusion can be reckoned lawful, unless the new moon be seen by two creditable witnesses. In case of cloudy weather, when the appearance of the new moon is uncertain, they limit the fast to thirty days; but if the sky be clear, in every Mohammedan town or city a large number of devotees, with powerful eyesight, keep a sharp lookout for the new moon after they have fasted twenty-eight days; and as soon as two men of good report get a glimpse of the crescent they go before the Kadhee of the place, and swear, in his presence, that they have seen the new moon. This done, that dignitary proclaims the end of Ramadhan—that is to say, the month of fasting—by means of a salute from a gun or by beating of drums.

land for five or six months, until I took them to Alexandretta myself, to embark with me in a homeward-bound steamer.

With all the minor annoyances and childish obstructions thrown in my way from time to time, mostly through ill-designed intrigues, I can not but acknowledge that, with unfeigned sincerity, generally speaking, the Ottomans are good-natured, courteous, and obliging; and, as far as I am concerned, I owe all officials my gratitude and cherish for them a most friendly feeling; and, though sometimes I was bothered in connection with my explorations, I, nevertheless, in the majority of cases, received from them most unremitting kindness and help in all my undertakings.

After our works were closed I remained at Baghdad nearly three months, waiting for good news from Constantinople; but as soon as it was proved to me that there was no chance of our ambassador obtaining the renewal of our firman, I left Baghdad once more for home on the 22d October, 1882. This time I proceeded to England by a different route, dispensing altogether with horse-riding, which was quite a luxury after the roughing I had had in the previous journeys to and from the Mediterranean.

First, I went down to Basra in one of Messrs. Lynch's river steamers, and reached that port, after a few strandings, in three days. There I engaged my passage to Egypt in a large vessel called the "Bussorah," proceeding direct to London via the Suez Canal. I found, to my great disappointment, that the steamer was waiting for cargo which had been promised by different merchants, and there was no knowing when she would start. Fortunately for me, I found Major Mockler (now colonel and consul-general at Baghdad), an old Aden friend, acting as British Political Agent at Basra, who was kind enough to afford me his hospitality during my stay there. Had it not been for his friendly attention, I should have found my waiting there for a fortnight rather wearisome.

At last we started on the 11th of November, and after touching at Bushire and Muscat, we reached Suez on the morning of the 4th of December. As I had heard that Lord Dufferin was in Egypt, and I wished to have an interview with him, I left the "Bussorah" to proceed to London through the Suez Canal, with my luggage on board, and landed and went on to Cairo. After having staid five days there, I started for Alexandria, where I took my passage for Marseilles in the French Messageries steamer "Said,"

and sailed thence on the 12th December. We touched at Naples on the 16th; but as they had established there a quarantine against Egypt, we could not land; so, after having exchanged mails and taken on board some provisions, we resumed our voyage, and reached Marseilles on the morning of the 18th. There we had twenty-four hours' quarantine in a snug little harbor of Frioul, where we found other vessels from different parts of Syria and Egypt undergoing the same purification! As soon as I landed, the next morning, I took train for Paris, and thence to happy home, via Calais and Dover, and reached Charing Cross at 5.40 A. M. on Wednesday, the 20th of December, 1882.

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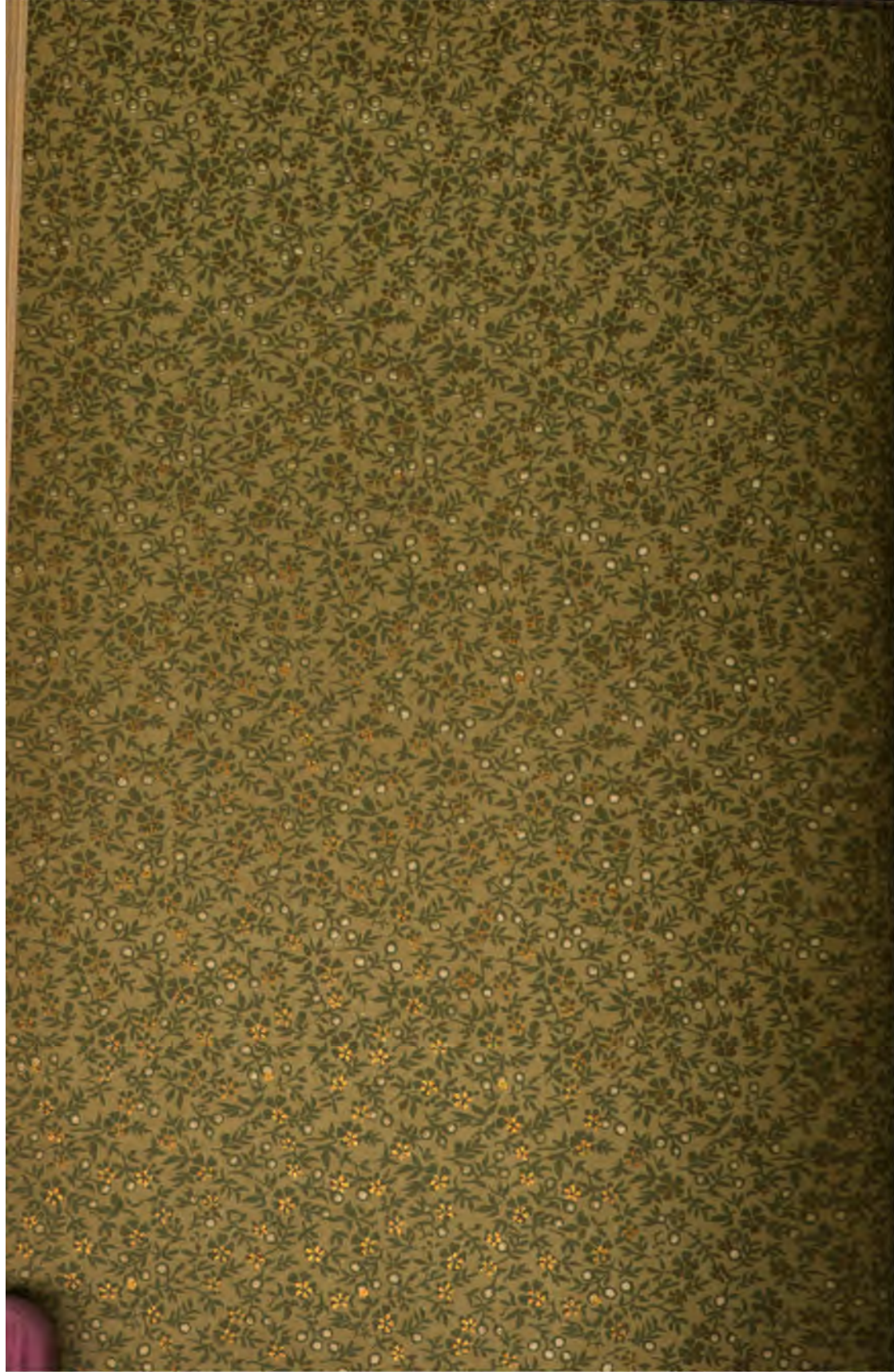
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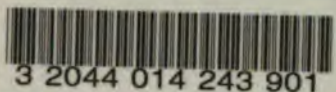
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