A CENTURY OF EXPLORATION AT NINEVEH

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BY

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TO

SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, KT.,

M.A., Litt. D., D. Litt., D. Lit., F.S.A.,

WHO ALSO

EXCAVATED AT NINEVEH.

PREFACE.

THIS little book has been written for two reasons. First, with the great revival of interest which has been steadily springing up in the recovery of the history of mankind, it has been obvious that Nineveh, a city of prime importance in the history of the ancient world, and one in which the discoveries made have been so definitely English, calls for a description of the excavations which have been carried on there over a period of nearly ninety years. We propose herein to describe the explorations on the site of Kouyunjik which may be said to have begun with Rich at the beginning of last century, and, after the first attempts by Botta, led to the successive excavations for the British Museum by Layard, Ross, Loftus, Rassam, George Smith, Budge, King, and ourselves.

From these excavations have resulted the discovery of the S.W. palace of Sennacherib, the N. palace of Ashurbanipal, a new building or palace of Sennacherib on the N.E. side of the Mound above the Khosr, the Temple of Nabu on the Central Ridge, and the first two chambers of a palace of Ashur-nasirpal.

The second reason is still more important. If the excavations which have lately again been started at Nineveh are to be continued, funds are necessary, and it is in the hope that, if the needs and expectations of future campaigns for digging the earth of Kouyunjik are clearly put before

Englishmen, someone may be found who will help forward the work financially. A season's exploration at Kouyunjik costs approximately a thousand pounds all told, and though archaeologists are notoriously of the family of the Daughters of the Horseleech, Nineveh is not yet by any means a squeezed lemon, and no site in Iraq can claim to be of more importance.

A mound that is half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, and rises to the height of a hundred feet, affords ample scope for many score years of exploration. The mathematical mind of Felix Jones led him ingeniously to calculate, rather on the lines of Lewis Carroll with his whimsy of seven maids and seven mops, that the mound of Kouyunjik contained 14,500,000 tons of earth, and the smaller mound of Nebi Yunus 6,500,000, and that if 1000 men shifted 120,000 tons each year, it would take 124 and 54 years respectively to clear the two. As excavators on Kouyunjik do not usually employ so many as a thousand men at a time, Jones' estimate of years would have to be multiplied by three or four, which would obviously be a Gargantuan programme. But even if this were practicable, it does not recommend itself as likely to repay the labour. From the results of King's excavations it would appear that much of the great mound of Kouyunjik was laid out in parks and gardens; much also of the later Assyrian level was devastated by builders in search of architectural plunder, and it is equally probable that each Assyrian king treated his predecessors in much the same cavalier way.

Very much, however, remains to be done. Neither Sennacherib's palace, nor that of Ashurbanipal is completely cleared, although their extent

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is fairly well known: the Temple of Ishtar, with the adjacent Temple of Kidmuri and the Temple-tower, has, we think, been partly located, but only a portion excavated; and consequently, as this is the chief building in Nineveh, going back long before we have any record of a palace, with its very goddess Nina giving her name to the ancient site, there can be no doubt about the supreme interest of excavations at this spot.

But, above all, the first and most exciting building to excavate is the ninth-century palace which we came on in the last week of the 1927-28 season, touching only the outer fringe. The walls of burnt brick were standing three feet high at some 26 feet depth, and bricks bearing the name of the two Kings who last occupied it, built it, or restored it—Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser—were still in place in the walls. Near one of the walls was a large limestone slab inscribed with a long text of Tukulti-Ninurta, the king preceding them; and from near or in the wall came a large piece of a minutely written cuneiform tablet of about this same date, giving early historical matter written in a semi-poetic style, of great interest and beauty. More than this, we had found in the soil near the palace inscriptions which had come from the palace of Tiglath-Pileser (*c.* 1100 B.C.), and Adad-Nirari (*c.* 911-891 B.C.), both of which are pointers to the existence of an earlier palace which may perhaps lie beneath this one of Ashurnasirpal. Nay, further, it is permissible to infer that bas-reliefs will be found similar to that broken but beautiful sculpture of this latter king which we had found in pieces about the adjacent temple, apparently taken by a later king from the palace, and re-used with a dedication to Nabu on

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the back, much in the ancient Egyptian manner. Finally, if we add that the present conditions are peculiarly advantageous to the excavator, the country being secure and the digger being given a fair share of his results, it will be seen that here is a combination of opportunities not often vouchsafed in archaeology.

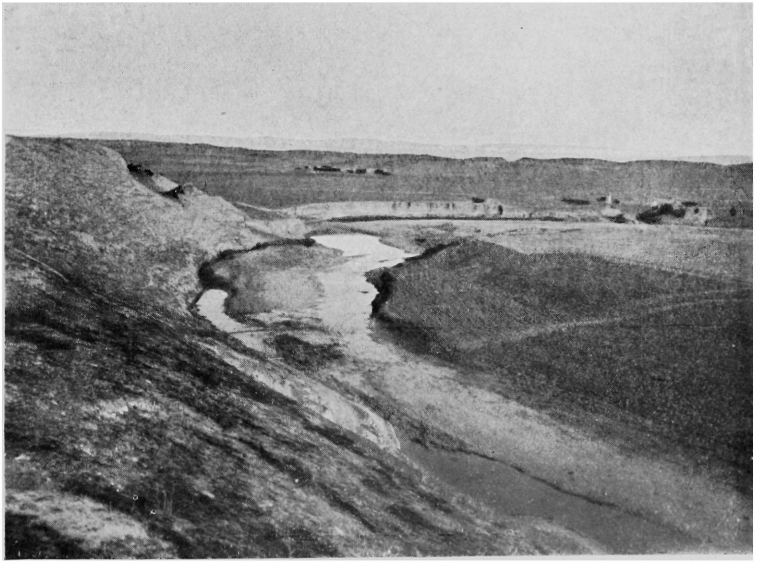
In this book the description of all that resulted from our work on the expedition of 1927-28 has been our joint share. This may explain a little variation in the personal pronouns in the account of the preceding excavations, when only one of us was concerned. We owe our gratitude to Mr. H. C. Beck, F.S.A., for his notes on some of the beads, and also to Mr. L. S. Dudley Buxton, F.S.A., for his information about the Assyrian skull which we found.

Our best thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for all the opportunities they have afforded us for utilizing the results of the various excavations, and to Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., the Director of the British Museum, for his very active interest in the work: to the Society of Antiquaries for the many courtesies they have extended to this popular account, particularly in allowing us to draw on our fuller statement on the excavations on the Temple of Nabu, which, we hope, will appear in *Archaeologia*: to the Royal Scottish Geographical Society for their loan of two blocks of photographs taken twenty years ago: and to Dr. H. R. Hall, the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum, Mr. Sidney Smith, and Mr. C. J. Gadd for much help.

R.C.T.
R.W.H.

BOARS HILL, OXFORD.
January, 1929.

KOUYUNJIK, THE LARGER MOUND OF NINEVEH.



THE KHOSR FROM KOUYUNJIK.

some layers of red clay which were very thick, and had become as indurated as burnt brick, but there was not the least appearance of reeds or straw ever having been used."

He and his party went to "Thisbe's well," the name they had settled to call the spring of Damlamajeh, between the inner and the outer ramparts on the eastern side, when two days later one of the party amused himself by cutting their names on its walls, including that of Mary Rich[1].

To the great Oriental knowledge of Rich, to his power of observation, and not least, to his capacity for making a good map, Assyriology properly owes its beginnings. His plan of the ruins of Nineveh is admirable, and was superseded only by that larger one of Felix Jones. But he did not confine himself merely to mapping ruins: it was he who drew the first good map of the course of the Tigris from Mosul to within twenty miles of Baghdad, as well as another of much of the Euphrates. By his death at 34, in 1821, all too early, science lost a most gifted explorer, and England a very gallant gentleman who gave his life helping the people of Isfahan to overcome the plague of cholera which had swept down on them. Like another great English Orientalist, George Smith, he lies buried in the East which he loved so well.

We can now come to one of those Englishmen of the nineteenth century, who by their perseverance and energy in discovery rank with the Elizabethan explorers.

[1] "Some traveller in after times, when our remembrance has long been swept away by the torrent of time, and the meanest of man's works only remain, may wonder, on reading the name of Mary Rich, who the adventurous female was who had visited the ruins of Nineveh."

Austen Henry Layard was born in Paris in 1817, and, while yet a boy, was put into a solicitor's office in London, where the drudgery of six long years was to culminate in a decision to seek a career out of England. For long he had desired to travel in the East, which was still but little known, and he determined to go to Ceylon to follow the legal profession there. But in order the better to indulge his taste for adventure, he and a kindred spirit, Edward Ledwich Mitford, mapped out an ambitious programme of travelling to Ceylon by Europe, Central Asia, and India. Like every prudent traveller, he learnt something of the languages of the countries in his route, took lessons in the use of the sextant and the elements of trigonometry, picked up a smattering of surgery and medicine, and even had lessons in bird-stuffing.

It was on the 10th of April, 1840, that Layard and his friend reached Mosul, and the next dozen years were to mark one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Eastern archaeology. Layard was to dig out palaces at Calah and Nineveh, Botta was to discover the royal buildings of Sargon at Khorsabad, and Rawlinson[1] and Hincks were to unravel the cryptograph of the cuneiform writing. There have been other noteworthy exploits in ancient exploration: Champollion and Young solved the enigma of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, Schliemann was to excavate Troy, Arthur Evans was to reveal the palace of Minos to an unsuspecting world; but it is doubtful if any of these can quite equal the combined triumphs of the early Assyriologists

[1] Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., G.C.B.

of the middle of last century, who not only uncovered palace after palace, but solved the riddle of the cuneiform on their walls.

It was not Nineveh, however, which was to attract Layard's serious attention. It is true that he had examined the ruins on the east bank of the Tigris "which have been generally believed to be the remains of Nineveh," but it was really the long mound of Nimrud, with its very definite pyramid of earth at one end, which he had marked during a ride to Qal'ah Sherghat. Twice in the April of that year he visited Nimrud, the second time on his way down to Baghdad on a raft, and with his curiosity piqued, and then finally excited to high pitch, he formed the ambitious design of thoroughly examining these ruins some day, but for the present his work demanded his presence elsewhere Circumstances presently happily compelled him to relinquish the career he had mapped out for himself for a more congenial one, but it was not for two years that he was able to revisit Nimrud, and even then he was without time or funds to begin his digging.

By this time a brilliant young Frenchman, M. Emil Botta, who was the French Consul at Mosul, was already making small tentative excavations in Kouyunjik, the larger mound opposite the town. Duty had called Layard away from these parts, but he could still write to M. Botta encouraging him in his research, which was proving disappointingly unsuccessful. Kouyunjik has always been a hard and jealous mistress, withholding her favours from those who seek them too lightly, however generous she may be with her *largesse* to others. M. Botta, never successful here, after three months' digging

had the good fortune to hear of antiquities in the mound of Khorsabad some five hours ride to the N.E. of Mosul, on the little river Khosr, taking its name from the village which was built on part of it. Thither Botta sent a few workmen to dig, but without any very sanguine hopes of success. There was some opposition from the inhabitants, who appear to have been of a suspicious and curmudgeonly nature, but in the end the newcomers were permitted to sink a well in the mound, and herein they found a wall of sculptured slabs. The French explorer was told the good tidings and went off at once to see; and, directing a wider trench to be dug, discovered a chamber covered with sculptures portraying battles, sieges and similar events.

This was the first discovery *in situ* of Assyrian remains by a scientific expedition, and it was a *sursum corda* to the imaginative Frenchman, who transferred his main operations to Khorsabad, and with the liberal aid of the French Academy set himself to work systematically on the site. But complete success came only after persistent countering of those everlasting annoyances which obstructed the explorer at that period: now it would be the *fellahin* of the village, unwilling to sell him their houses which were built on the spot which he wished to excavate: now it would be the cunning and jealous governor of Mosul, who pretended that the excavator was searching for treasure, or worse, was wishing to build a fort in order to take the country *vi et armis*. But in spite of all opposition, his energy brought his excavations to a successful, if temporary, conclusion. His excavations revealed that Sargon, king of Assyria (721-705 B.C.), after

having resided at various sites—Ashur, Calah, and even perhaps Nineveh, where he had rebuilt the Temple of Nabu—decided to build his own palace away from the old haunts of the kings of Assyria. The flat lands of the great river are well enough for defensive purposes, and in the cooler weather; but the summer with its appalling heat suggests that a country resort in the foot-hills is far more inviting. So he chose a site underneath the Maklub hills amid olives, figs, and other fruit; laid out the site of his new city roughly in the form of a rectangle two thousand yards square, and orientated the corners to the cardinal points as had been done with his Temple of Nabu at Nineveh.

This was the city, and especially the palace, which the gifted Frenchman excavated. The magnificent frontage with its winged bulls, the sculptures which revealed the details of Assyrian warfare, customs, daily life, the smaller relics which shewed so great an artistic capacity, burst on a surprised France which was not slow to give the fortunate explorer his due *accolade*.

It was Botta's success, of which Layard speaks with all the generous appreciation of an equal master craftsman, which turned the scale in the Englishman's favour. Hitherto none in England had cared to risk large sums in an attempt to explore unknown mounds so far distant. The Assyrians had always been held up to execration; not only were they stigmatized by classical writers as effete, debauched, and incapable Orientals, but also were reckoned, in the curious eschatological assessment of the time, as a "wicked" people of vaguely infidel views. Botta's discoveries, while throwing a new light on

the jingo sneers of classic authors, which was not a little upsetting to those who had acquired at school a Graeco-Latin outlook *de haut en bas* on the East, had the opportune result of stimulating, on religious (if ephemeral) grounds, an interest in this people mentioned in the Old Testament.

Sir Stratford Canning, whose name as a liberal minded and enlightened statesman must always be remembered in Assyriology, was at once moved to offer financial help to Layard, to pay "the expense of excavations in Assyria, in the hope that, should success attend the attempt, means would be found to carry it out on an adequate scale." With only £120 in his pocket for the excavations Layard was at last able to set off exultant from Constantinople to Mosul, taking good care to conceal his real object, lest he meet with the same opposition as Botta. Riding post, he did the journey as hard as man could go, covering the distance from Samsun to Mosul in twelve days towards the end of October, 1845. Once there, with the proper ingenuity of one well acquainted with the East, he gave out that he was going down to Nimrud to hunt wild boar, embarked on the 8th of November on a *kelek* (the native raft built on inflated skins) and, with a British merchant, Mr. Ross, a most perfect travelling companion by Layard's account, who was afterwards to carry on excavations in his absence, floated down the Tigris, bound, did he but know it, for one of the greatest archaeological ventures of the century. In five hours he reached his goal, the great mound of Nimrud.

Nimrud, the ancient Calah, lies on the left bank of the Tigris, about a day's caravan ride

below Mosul. It was now more than five years since he had first seen the great mound, and had formulated ideas, hopes, intentions for its future exploration, and had described it from earlier notes thus: "From the summit of an artificial eminence we looked down upon a broad plain, separated from us by the river. A line of lofty mounds bounded it to the east and one of a pyramidical form rose high above the rest. Beyond it could be faintly traced the waters of the Zab. Its position rendered its identification easy. This was the pyramid which Xenophon had described, and near which the ten thousand had encamped: the ruins around it were those which the Greek general saw twenty-two centuries before, and which even then were the remains of an *ancient* city. . . . . A long line of consecutive narrow mounds, still retaining the appearance of walls or ramparts, stretched from its base, and formed a vast quadrangle."

Now after five years of waiting, he was back again with enough funds to start digging, on the threshold of adventure. He landed from his raft and walked to the little village by the mound. Here he passed the night in the miserable hovel of an Arab named Awad, who belonged to a tribe which had been plundered by the Pasha of Mosul. Like every other stranger who has ventured to accept such hospitality, he was kept awake partly by his company; the intermittent utterances of one's host's endless banalities, mingled with the sudden outbursts of flame from the fire which is sporadically fed, are the inevitable lot of such a guest. Added to this were the teeming anticipations of an active mind, which was now about to attain its desire.

"Hopes, long cherished, were now to be realised, or were to end in disappointment. Visions of palaces underground, of gigantic monsters, of sculptured figures, and endless inscriptions, floated before me. After forming plan after plan for removing the earth, and extricating these treasures, I fancied myself wandering in a maze of chambers from which I could find no outlet. Then again, all was reburied, and I was standing on the grass-covered mound. Exhausted, I was at length sinking into sleep, when hearing the voice of Awad, I rose from my carpet, and joined him outside the hovel. The day already dawned; he had returned with six Arabs, who agreed for a small sum to work under my direction."

It was now no green-carpeted pleasaunce, but a dusty, dry-burnt mound, in which he sought to dig his first trench. Potsherds and bricks inscribed in cuneiform lay everywhere, and it was with joy that he found the first fragment of a bas-relief. But, better still, a piece of wrought alabaster slab still shewed above the soil, and here it was that the first trench in English excavations was dug. Layard set his men to work, and in a short time laid bare the upper part of a large slab in place. This was followed by a second, and finally, by the end of the morning, the explorer had discovered thirteen altogether, and, on digging down the face of these stones, he found them inscribed with cuneiform. This ultimately proved to be the first chamber of the great North-West Palace. On the same day he opened a trench at the S.W. corner of the mound.

For the next few days there was no exciting result, and no sculptures rewarded his vigour, but he began to find some of the celebrated Nimrud

ivories, one of them carved with the figure of a man in a long robe, carrying the Egyptian *crux ansata*, and another of a crouching sphinx, as well as fragments of inscribed bricks, and more inscriptions.

With the firstfruits of his foresight thus attained, it was wise to go back to Mosul to acquaint the Pasha with the object of his researches, and so, says he, early in the morning of the 14th he started, doing the distance in about three hours. He was right: reports of the treasure found had of course reached Mosul by now, but, as the Pasha had not as yet made any open objection, Layard set about hiring fresh men in Mosul, sending out agents to several mounds in the neighbourhood, and returning himself again to Nimrud on the 19th. But still nothing but these slabs turned up as he went on: he was now working on the South West corner, where a wall of slabs had been discovered, and he was following up this scent. It must be remembered that the discoveries of sculptures made by Botta at Khorsabad dominated the minds of all diggers of this first period, just as tablets have done subsequently; bas-reliefs were for long the pot of gold beneath the rainbow to every explorer. But Layard, following an excellent rule in all digging, would not give up a good clue merely because money was being spent without immediate reward. It is the next stroke of the pick which will make the digger's reputation.

Then at last came success. On the afternoon of the 28th of November, the picks uncovered the top of the first bas-relief of Nimrud. In the middle of the clearance a violent shower of rain pelted down, but his Arabs, fired by his eagerness, were not

deterred: like all Arabs of the country, once they understand what the quarry is, nothing will stay them in their pursuit. By degrees four magnificent bas-reliefs were laid bare to their excited gaze.

Hardly had he made this discovery than there came the Pasha's order to cease excavating. It was the usual Turkish irritation, fostered by some element in Mosul to which Layard darkly alludes ("I learnt with regret from what quarter the opposition to my proceedings chiefly came."). Ostensibly the trouble was that the Englishman was digging into Mohammedan graves; actually no graves had been disturbed, but that is of slight matter when Pashas are determined to stop what they do not understand, and the Turk had decided to interrupt the excavations. Layard, disgusted, but perfectly capable of dealing with the situation, rode back to Mosul, interviewed the Governor, accepted his ruling, but begged that the Pasha's Cawass might be sent back to Nimrud with him, as he wished at all events to draw the sculptures. Within a short time he with his Cawass was back at Nimrud. The ingenuous Englishman found little difficulty in inducing the Cawass to countenance the employment of a few workmen to *guard* the sculptures; the italics are his, and no further apostrophic gilding of the lily of inducement is needed. Equally he wished to ascertain "the existence of graves" and so rode to the ruins next day, where one Daoud Agha, the chief of the irregular police on the spot, whom Layard, always genial, had made his friend, divulged that he had received orders to *make* graves—"We have destroyed more real tombs of the true Believers," said he," in making sham ones, than you could

have defiled between the Zab and Selamiyah." Truly Mesopotamia was ever a land of comic opera—at all events until the gunpowder begins to go off.

Then Layard, having settled all matters to the satisfaction of everybody on the spot, "continued to employ a few men to open trenches by way of experiment," in which insignificant work, which lasted apparently more than a fortnight, he discovered—(*a*) the lower part of several gigantic figures: (*b*) a crouching lion in basalt: (*c*) a pair of gigantic winged bulls, fourteen feet long: (*d*) a pair of small winged lions; (*e*) a bas-relief, representing a human figure, nine feet high. It is an old and excellent course of action in the East always to remember the personal element.

With the anticipation of having to close down his work in the immediate future he covered up these sculptures, of which he had cleared only the upper part. He did not forget that if excavations were ever to be begun again, the "graves" would be the first obstacle in his path, and therefore he "came to an understanding" with Daoud Agha, and not only were the tombs which had been made by the Pasha's orders cleared away, but also certain others "more genuine, which had since been found." Even these latter he was able to explain away when he returned to dig in earnest, by saying that they could not be the bodies of true believers, because they were not turned towards Mecca. He notified Sir Stratford Canning of his discoveries, and set off to Baghdad to consult about the future with Major Rawlinson, who was then British Resident there, and so we may now leave the excavations at Nimrud which had provided the firstfruits of English diggings in Meso-

potamia, and were to lead to greater discoveries at the mound of Kouyunijk.

Kouyunjik, as we have said, had already been tried by M. Botta, the French Consul at Mosul, but he had been content with digging pits or wells a few feet deep, and by now, disgusted with his lack of success, he had practically abandoned it in favour of Khorsabad, although still claiming the ruins as French property. But Layard, convinced that so large a mound could not be ignored, tried his luck here also in the summer of the same year in which he had begun his work on Nimrud. The Southern corner had caught his eye as a probable place to start, for it was higher here than anywhere else, except in the central dorsal ridge, and so, with Botta still digging in another part, Layard set a few men to work at this spot.

But Kouyunjik is a mound which has been covered with the *débris* of builders of all periods, and Layard and Botta, like all others who have dug there, had to learn that Assyrian remains here do not often lie near the surface, as they do in so many other mounds. The Englishman became impatient all too soon at the stinginess of Fortune, who had been so quick to give generous results at Nimrud. He found, it is true, a few fragments of sculptures, and bricks which "bore the name of the same king," doubtless harbingers from Sennacherib's palace, with its seventy or eighty chambers lying, had he but known it, beneath his very picks, but success was not yet to be vouchsafed him. He ceased work after a month, returning for a short period to Nimrud.

But the summer made the rough, exposed life at Nimrud intolerable, and again Layard came

north to the *serdabs* of Mosul, those cool, sunken recesses whither the wise withdraw themselves towards noon each day. Again he tried his luck in Nineveh, but now not the mound of Kouyunjik: this time he followed the trail supplied by Rich, putting his picks into one of the encircling ramparts. Rich had spoken of a bas-relief found "in one of the mounds forming the large quadrangle in which are included Nebbi Yunus and Kouyunjik." Accordingly, taking the advice of an aged stonecutter, who had been one of the active agents in the destruction of this slab, he opened the gate which has since been identified as the Nergal Gate in the N.W. wall, and here found the remains of two winged figures, the first sculpture of note to be found by an archaeologist in Nineveh. These actually remained *in situ* until 1905, but, thanks to the destructive hand of the inevitable lime-burner, now exist no longer.

His excavations again seem to have been dropped and left in abeyance until May of next year, when he had finished his work at Nimrud, and again determined to resume work on the southern portion of the mound of Kouyunjik. His sanguine nature still led him to believe in "sculptures," in spite of the lack of success which both he and the French Consul had experienced, and fortune was now to smile on him. Several days had elapsed since his fresh start, and still nothing was discovered except calcined alabaster fragments, but enough says he, to encourage him "to persevere in the examination of this part of the ruins." He was within a few feet of the goal.

Sculptures at last! Two Arab amazons raced down to the Tigris bank, blew up a couple of goat-

skins with their panting breath, and swam the river to be the first to receive the *bisharah*, or reward for good tidings from the Beg. A few moments later, and in rushed the overseer Toma Shishman, Thomas the Fat, who had run hot foot across the bridge of boats, but had been beaten at the post by these two Arab wenches; breathless in his haste, and reft of his *bakshish*. Layard at once mounted and rode to the mound, to find that this, the first slab of Sennacherib's palace, calcined as it was, stood at the edge of the deep ravine which runs far into the side of the mound.

Here was the great palace of Sennacherib, built by that king on the site of an old one, which he had pulled down, so that, phoenix-like, the new building should rise all glorious on the ruins of the old. Proud was the king of his masonry, nor does he stint his own vainglory, writing his satisfaction in cuneiform on his prisms for all to read, and the curious may see them exhibited in the British Museum, just as the king would have wished it himself: "An inscription with my name writ (thereon) within it I placed: in days to come among the kings, my sons, whose name Ashur and Ishtar shall name for the rule of land and people, when that palace shall have become old and ruined, may a future prince restore its ruins, find the inscription with my name writ (thereon), anoint it with oil, pour a libation upon it, and restore it to its place. (Then) shall Ashur and Ishtar hear his prayers. (But) he who destroys my inscription and my name may Ashur, the great lord, the father of the gods, treat him as a foe, deprive him of sceptre and throne, and overwhelm his rule."

Again the same methodical clearance of the sculptures. Within the month nine chambers were explored, but unhappily, like so much of Nineveh, the palace had been destroyed by fire; still, there were very many of the slabs in good enough condition to send home. Even in those early days Layard had learnt enough of what could be gleaned of the Assyrian language to know that the builder of this palace was the son of the builder of Khorsabad. But there was more than mere sculptures to come in the future, for he had begun to find "small oblong tablets of dark unbaked clay having a cuneiform inscription over the sides." They were the first indication of the great Royal Library.

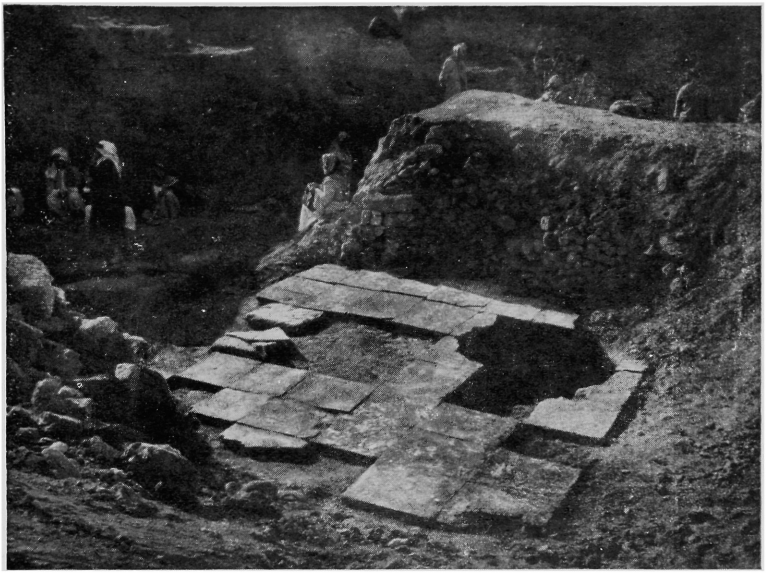
The palace as we now know it, including the new bull entrance discovered by King fifty years later on the S.W. front, measures approximately 650 by 630 feet at its greatest lengths each way. The system of its ground-plan, like most large Assyrian buildings, is the same as will be found in any hot country in the east, with large courts surrounded by chambers, which not only allows of the lighting of rooms from the inside and so does away with the risk of outside windows, but is also cool in the summer. Sennacherib has given a long description not only of his building of his palace, but also of his renovation of Nineveh itself and construction of the defences. (*See Plan III*).

But by now the first chapter in the long history of excavations was coming to an end. "My labours," says Layard, in his second volume of *Nineveh and its Remains*, "had now drawn to a close." In less than a year and a half, although grieviously hampered by lack of funds, but never disheartened; impeded

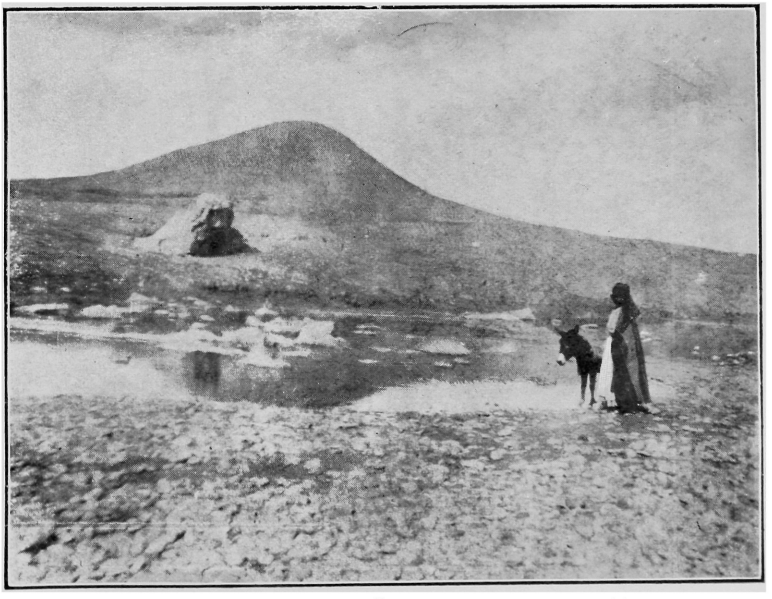
by local officials, but never thrown off his balance by them; in a climate of extremes, from the frost and snow of winter to 115° in the shade in summer, he had revivified the dead past of a country of which the ancient peoples had been lost to all knowledge. The torch which he, Botta, Rawlinson and Hincks fired in these years has burnt steadily with ever-increasing flame until the light which Assyriology has thrown on the ancient world has outblazed that of the sister branches of archaeology. Layard set forth from Mosul for England on June 24th, 1847, leaving his friend Mr. Ross, to carry on the excavations at Kouyunjik on a small scale.

But, as it turned out, happily 1847 was not to see the end of Layard's work, for two years later, at the instance of the British Government, he was again on the old trail in Kouyunjik. Mr. Ross had been successful in finding several more sculptured chambers, and had ultimately quitted Mosul, leaving a few men in the employ of Mr. Rassam, the British Vice-Consul, still with Thomas the Fat as overseer, more to maintain "squatter's rights" than to make serious discoveries. With his usual energy Layard set afoot the new diggings, collecting as many of the old workmen as he could. It was to be a still more wonderful year, for it was the year of the discovery of the Royal Library, now one of the greatest treasures of the British Museum.

As has already been mentioned, stray cuneiform tablets of clay had already been found in the palace, but Layard naturally had no suspicion of what was to come. But two chambers, XL and XLI on his plan, began to yield these tablets in plenty, tablet after tablet, all broken, it is true, but filling the



SARGON'S PAVEMENT IN THE TEMPLE OF NABU, 1927-28 (p. 74).



GATE OF NINLIL AND INNER RAMPART, SHOWING MASONRY ACROSS KHOSR, 1905 (p. 128).

floor to a height of a foot or more. Here, in subterranean passages which were dug along the face of the sculptures after the fashion of those days, when the digger worked his way mole-like underground, lay much of the famous Kouyunjik Library, records, decrees, lists of gods, grammatical lists, sacred days, as Layard describes them. "A large collection," says he, "is already deposited in the British Museum . . . . But years must elapse before the innumerable fragments can be put together." Kouyunjik in the future was to become inseparably associated with tablets, and it was only a year or so later that Rassam, clearing out a chamber in the northern palace, lighted on with equal good fortune and equal unexpectedness a similar find of these beautiful things. Among them was one which, twenty years later under the eyes of that master of cuneiform, George Smith, was to rouse to the highest pitch the excitement of the scientific and literary world, from keenest critic to most ardent champion of the Old Testament—the Deluge Tablet, containing the story of the Ark and the Flood.

By the end of November the four sides of the great hall marked VI on Layard's plan had been cleared, a magnificent courtyard measuring 124 by 90 feet. In the centre of each was a grand entrance guarded by colossal human-headed bulls, flanked on each side by a winged giant, and two smaller figures one above the other. To the S.W. of this court and reached by a narrow vestibule was a long chamber (No. XLIX on Layard's plan) 218 by 25 feet, wherein Sennacherib had lined the walls with the sculptured story of his adornment of Nineveh and the building of his palace. Here is drawn the mound of Nineveh,

with its encircling waters, where a busy crowd of toiling captives sweat in his *corvée*, under the eyes of the royal guard who are gorgeous in their panoply of shields, spears and crested helms. Some are dragging a colossal half-hewn bull on its sledge: others are heaping still higher the mound of Kouyunjik: in the far distance tower the woody slopes of the mountains, and over all is written in the arrow-headed character "Sennacherib, king of the universe, King of Assyria: white limestone, which at the command of the god was discovered in the land of Baladai, for the work on my palace, the people of hostile towns and the men of hidden mountains, conquered by my hands, quarried with picks (and) mattocks of iron, [and] I made it into colossal bulls for my palace-gates."

On the great bulls were long cuneiform inscriptions, and Layard's copy of them, when deciphered in 1851 by Rawlinson and Hincks, the two great *savants* at that time of Assyrian cuneiform, proved to be the annals of six years of the reign of Sennacherib. It is rare that literary science is able to go thus hand in hand with the open-air energy of the digger: Assyria had the advantage over the excavations at Carchemish, where the Hittite hieroglyphs were still an unsolved riddle.

Again, a little later, another chamber, No. XXXVI, was cleared containing the pictured shambles of Sennacherib's siege of Lachish. Before the eyes of the king, who sits on his throne, the whole bloodthirsty panorama is unrolled: the citadel, thronged with archers, slingers and spearmen is resisting with all possible vigour the Assyrian attack which begins with volleys of arrows from the

archers ringing the city about, behind whom come the slingers with their longer range. With the advance of the penthouses up the prepared ramps the attack develops, and the defenders shower down arrows and stones, trying to set light to these relentless engines with their flaming torches, countered by men on them extinguishing the tongues of fire with ladles of water. Above the king is the inscription "Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, sate on a chair; the spoil of Lachish passed before him." Layard's pride is pardonable when he says "Little doubt, I trust, can now exist in the minds of my readers as to the identification of the builder of the palace of Kouyunjik, with the Sennacherib of Scripture."

With one more quotation we may conclude the account of his excavation at Kouyunjik. His other explorations as well as his extraordinary travels, for which his capacity for observation and apt description fitted him so well, have no place here. Happy indeed was it that the palace of Sennacherib was discovered by the energy and enthusiasm of a man so devoted to the task he had set himself: "In this magnificent edifice I had opened no less than seventy-one halls, chambers, and passages, whose walls, almost without exception, had been panelled with slabs of sculptured alabaster recording the wars, the triumphs, and the great deeds of the Assyrian king. By a rough calculation, about 9,880 feet, or nearly two miles, of bas-reliefs, with twenty-seven portals, formed by colossal winged bulls and lion-sphinxes, were uncovered in that part alone of the building explored during my researches.

The greatest length of the excavations was about 720 feet, the greatest breadth about 600 feet. The pavement of the chambers was from 20 to 35 feet below the surface of the mound."

CHAPTER II.

The Later Excavators.

LAYARD'S active work in excavation was now to come to an end. On the 28th of April, 1851, he bid a last farewell to his faithful Arab friends, "and with a heavy heart turned from the ruins of ancient Nineveh." He had done his work: the British Public had been stirred to enthusiasm over the discoveries, chiefly perhaps, over those "oiled and curled Assyrian bulls," of which their poet spoke, as the representative symbols of Assyrian art. Much, of course, of the interest taken in Assyrian history was due to its connection with the Old Testament. Contemporary pictures of kings, hitherto only names, were to be seen on the new sculptures in the British Museum. But one cannot help thinking that these enormous Assyrian bulls had something very much in common with the ponderous, conservative philosophy of the Mid-Victorian period, with its unshakable faith in this best of all possible worlds, with its definite social castes duly prescribed by the Catechism, all doubtless to be maintained *in saecula saeculorum*. The "Great Exhibition" of 1851 came opportunely to spread the knowledge of these wonders, and a contemporary poet burst into song with a refrain in the irritating form so popular at that time, the first verse ending "a winged beast from Nineveh." Even in schools the "Discoveries at Nineveh" were the theme for prizes in Latin verse. Nineveh, in point of fact,

was now no longer a waste, and its ruins over which the Hebrew prophet had so exulted were known to far more inhabitants of the globe in the middle of last century than was the teeming, living city itself in the very heyday of its imperial dominance.

Layard, weakened by fever, although still a young man not yet thirty-five, relinquished his explorations just at the time when Rawlinson was bringing out his second brilliant Memoir on the Behistun Inscription, dealing with the Babylonian version of Darius' bilingual inscription carved on the great rock. Indeed, as we have said, Layard had already learnt from Rawlinson's work how to recognize some of the kings' names on bricks in his palaces, an indication of his readiness to keep abreast, so far as he could, of the scientific demands of his work. With his retirement from the field, it was obvious that Rawlinson, who was at Baghdad as British Resident, was the proper man to be in control of future researches. It should not be forgotten that at the time when these discoveries were being made in Turkey, we had but lately been the ally of that country against Russia, a fact which the Turk did not begin to forget, so far as making generous concessions in antiquities lay, for many years, and the time was advantageous for carrying on the work. But clearly the British Resident at Baghdad could hardly spare the time to do more than control the excavations in a general way, and it was necessary to have someone in charge in the field. The choice fell on Hormuzd Rassam, a native of Mosul and a man of great energy, who had been Layard's right-hand man in many an excavation in the past, serving him faithfully and cleverly.

The Trustees of the British Museum therefore invited him to undertake this work. He began operations at Kouyunjik in 1852, finding, on his arrival in Mosul, that the Turks had been carrying on some trivial excavations in the mound of Nebi Yunus, that cynosure which cannot be dug on account of the Mosque of Jonah on the top. One of the inhabitants had by chance discovered a human-headed bull, and when this reached the ears of the Governor of Mosul, he decided that the Imperial exchequer ought to be enriched by the fabulous gold, which, as everyone knows, always lies buried near ancient remains. For the next eight months or so a gang of Arab convicts was kept at work in a treasure hunt round the bull.

Kouyunjik, the great mound, was still to be Rassam's chief site, but difficulties had arisen. The South-western palace had been partly cleared by Layard; no other building had been discovered in the rest of the mound, and so, in the meanwhile, Rawlinson had given leave to M. Place, then French Consul in Mosul, to try in the northern half. M. Place was dilatory about undertaking excavations in a part which had been practically relinquished, but Rassam was more sanguine. As soon as he was able, he placed workmen to dig at a spot as near as possible to the limit of the French ground, and at the same time busied himself with removing the sculptures of the Siege of Lachish for the Museum.

Now follows an interesting interlude in the excavations. Rassam set his men to dig about 200 feet N.E. of Sennacherib's palace, and began to discover fragments of sculptures, painted bricks, and pots. The finds appeared to be so good that

his ditch "grew to be nearly 300 feet in circumference," and the depth 40 feet from the surface. As the men dug lower, the more perfect were the sculptures; eight were found, resembling the sculptures of Nimrud, "two representing the king sitting in a hand chariot drawn by two officers and two eunuchs . . . three containing warriors . . . 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." Rassam says that the site was supposed by some to be that of a palace or temple, but that he could find no trace of wall or foundation; but he quotes George Smith as saying that there were at least four temples in the space between the palaces of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal. But this, as we think, is surely the spot near where the Temple of Ishtar is to be sought, and as Rassam found the almost life-size statue of Ishtar made by Ashur-bel-kala in this pit, there seems to be every likelihood that he had come on part of the great Temple. Our experience in digging the Temple of Nabu was not dissimilar, for we found few traces of walls standing, although in our case there was no doubt about the platform of *libn* or unburnt brick. With this digression we can go on to the second great find at Kouyunjik, the northern palace of Ashurbanipal.

Rassam's great aim had always been "the northern corner of the Kouyunjik mound," but his difficulty "was how to do this without getting into hot water with M. Place." So, in order to do this, as he says, he resolved "upon an experimental examination of the spot at night, and only waited

for a good opportunity and a bright moonlight night for my nocturnal adventure."

"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 Asur-bani-pal. . . 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."

Even at this shallow depth they found pieces of sculptured marble and painted bricks. The next night they hit on a sculptured wall, ruined it is true, but still in place, with pictured feet of Assyrian soldiers and captives. Rassam, delighted with the result, reported to Rawlinson and the British Museum as speedily as possible the discovery of a new palace. But the next night his heart sank and his hope went down again, for the wall came to an end, and there was nothing except ashes, bones, and rubbish, and he upbraided himself for sending so premature a report. "However," says he, "I felt that as I had commenced, so I must go on, even if only to be disappointed." The fourth night he superintended in person, and then "my instinct did not deceive me: for one division of the workmen after three or four hours hard labour were rewarded by the first grand discovery of a beautiful bas-relief in a perfect state of preservation." The Palace of Ashurbanipal was discovered.

Now it had always been held that the discoverer of a new palace in excavations had the prior claim on it, and no one could interfere with his rights, a

curious instance of a decade being enough for a tradition of "Squatter's rights" to spring up. The news of Rassam's discovery was at once brought to M. Place, and although he hastened to Kouyunjik to protest, he accepted the position. "On my explaining matters," says Rassam, "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."

Here were the sculptures of the great king Ashurbanipal, Sardanapalus as the classical writers called him, "the great and noble Asnapper " of Ezra. Vivid pictures of the king's manliness, his personal prowess hunting the lion, the spirited scenes of his courage, the grace of animals in movement, the excitement of the chase; the stirring portrayal of the great Battle of the Eulaeus when the Assyrian army destroyed the forces of the Elamites, and other scenes of war; reliefs of demons for the palace doors to frighten away other demons.

But a greater treasure than sculpture was to come. Layard, it will be remembered, had found in the other palace two chambers a foot deep in fragments of cuneiform tablets: it was now Rassam's turn. In the centre of the great lion-hunt room he discovered a second large deposit of several thousands of cuneiform tablets, also from the Royal Library. It was a tremendous find, and the importance of it cannot be exaggerated; these two great hoards of documents are far above sculptures in

scientific value. Public interest, as will be seen shortly, was to veer from Assyrian bulls to cuneiform inscriptions.

The exploration of the palace of Ashurbanipal proceeded through the first three months of 1854, but the funds at Rassam's disposal were now running short. Moreover, he had been offered a political appointment at Aden, which he was proposing to take up. In his place, therefore, Kennett Loftus and the artist, William Boutcher, who had been carrying on excavations in Babylonia on behalf of a society called "The Assyrian Excavation Fund" which had sprung up during the last few years, were invited to continue Rassam's work on the palace of Ashurbanipal. The "Fund" therefore transferred its remaining property to the moneys of the Museum, and the two explorers came under Rawlinson's orders. Although not much advertisement has been made of their work, they cleared much of the palace that was important, among their discoveries being the beautiful little relief of the king sitting with his queen in the royal gardens.

Rassam's work, together with its continuation by Loftus and Boutcher, added enormously to the British Museum collections. The sculptures, and, above all, the treasures of the library represent a golden period of Assyrian civilisation, and it is doubtful if any finer collection of antiquities has ever reached the Museum. These excavations did not, however, continue for long, and now there is a gap of some twenty years before the second phase, when sculptures were to give place to the written tablet in interest. It is a tragic story which follows, tragedy as pathetic as the stories of Rich who died of

cholera, of Bell who was drowned in the Gomal, and of my late colleague and friend, L.W. King. Mesopotamia is a hard land, and it has taken heavy toll in proportion of those men of science who have gone out to explore its ruins, apart from those thousands of gallant gentlemen who lie in unknown graves, killed in a little known campaign.

The story is that of George Smith, who was so typically English in many ways, and yet so different in others, a man with broad forehead and deep set eyes, having the face of a visionary who dreams great dreams. He was born on March 26th, 1840, in Chelsea, and as a lad was set to learn bank-note engraving. Like many others who were drawn by all the glamour of Oriental stories to look eastwards, he was caught up in the toils while yet a boy: in his case it was not so much the stories of the Arabian Nights, which lay in the path of so many youngsters like him, but the Old Testament, more easily available. It was at the time when Layard's discoveries had just astonished the world; his first book published in 1849 was succeeded by the *Nineveh and Babylon* in 1853, when Smith would have been at the impressionable age of thirteen. Sir Ernest Budge in his *Rise and Progress of Assyriology* tells the story how Smith spent much of his holidays and dinner-time in the British Museum, and thus came to the notice of Samuel Birch, the Keeper of Oriental Antiquities, who was quick to see that he had a *flair* for the Nineveh collections, and in a little time Smith threw up his bank-note engraving for work of a scientific nature, with scope for his originality. His capacity for reading texts amounted to genius, and it was a fortunate day for the Museum when he

was appointed as Assistant in 1866. From that day on, until ten years later when he died on duty in Assyria, his career was marked by a series of successes, due to his extraordinary ability to read the cuneiform which he loved so well. His classic *History of Ashurbanipal* is a monument to his erudition, while, apart from his cuneiform discoveries, he deciphered the values of the Cypriote characters from a bilingual text of Cypriote and Phoenician.

Part of his duties at the Museum was the congenial task of sorting and classification of the fragments of tablets of the Royal Library, and during this work he noticed numerous pieces which obviously contained snatches of mythical stories, reft out of their context by the breakage which had left them mere fragments, but still large enough to be coherent and intelligible. Briefly and modestly he tells the story in his *Chaldean Account of Genesis* how he made his first discovery of the famous Deluge Tablet, whereby he was presently to leap into fame.

"Commencing a steady search among these fragments, I soon found half of a curious tablet which had evidently contained originally six columns . . . On looking down the third column, my eye caught the statement that the ship rested on the mountains of Nizir, followed by the account of the sending forth of the dove, and its finding no resting-place and returning. I saw at once that I had here discovered a portion at least of the Chaldean account of the Deluge."

Armed with this clue, he searched the collections through for other fragments of the same text, and by discovering duplicate texts and other pieces, he was able to complete the greater part of the story as it

originally was; and it may be added that, by a rare good fortune that does not often come to the archaeologist, the text of this tablet, the Eleventh of a series of Twelve, relating to the adventures of Gilgamish, is one of the best preserved of the whole series. He read a paper on his astonishing find on December 3rd, 1872 before the Society of Biblical Archaeology with far-reaching results. The second period of Assyrian exploration was now to be born.

Popular interest in Mesopotamian antiquities has followed a curious evolutionary course. We have seen how the first stage was marked by the desire to find sculptured palaces. The second was a more scientific one, but one which resulted in paradox. It was this tablet, shewn by George Smith to describe the Flood as recorded in the Old Testament, which was to be the spur to re-open the excavations at Kouyunjik after twenty years, definitely proving, as of course it must, the truth of the almost universal destruction of mankind in the Noachian Deluge. The Assyrian Tablets ousted the Ninevite Marbles from their high position and the arrow-headed characters obtained and held a greater reputation than they do now. Quotations from such widely different but popular productions as *Helen's Babies* in 1877 and the *Pirates of Penzance* in 1880 will confirm this—"I would cheerfully have discussed Herbert Spencer's system, the Assyrian Tablets, or any other dry subject with Miss Mayton," says the hero of John Habberton: "I can write a washing-bill in Babylonic cuneiform," sings the Major-General. Popular appreciation of such references would to-day be negligible, for we have allowed the literary efforts of the ancients to be overlaid by the

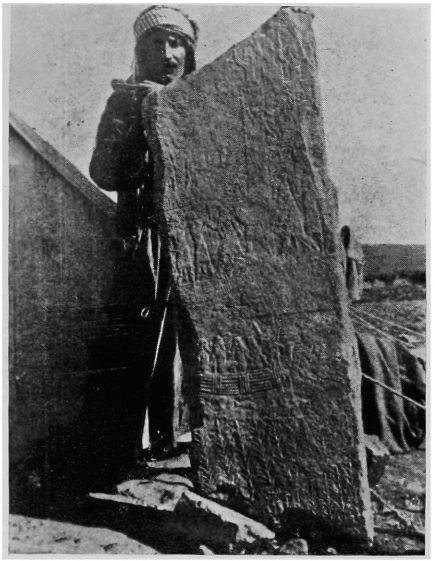
heavy gold of Tut-ankh-amen and of Ur of the Chaldees.

Be that as it may, the cuneiform tablets, which proved the occurrence of the Flood, therefore brought about the re-opening of the excavations to search for more. Assyriological science thus owes an incalculable debt to the legend of the Deluge, which was one of the best known of all the Biblical sagas, bound up, as it was, with reminiscences of the nursery, where Noah's Ark still remains as a delicious and fascinating concrete memorial of this very ancient Mesopotamian story.

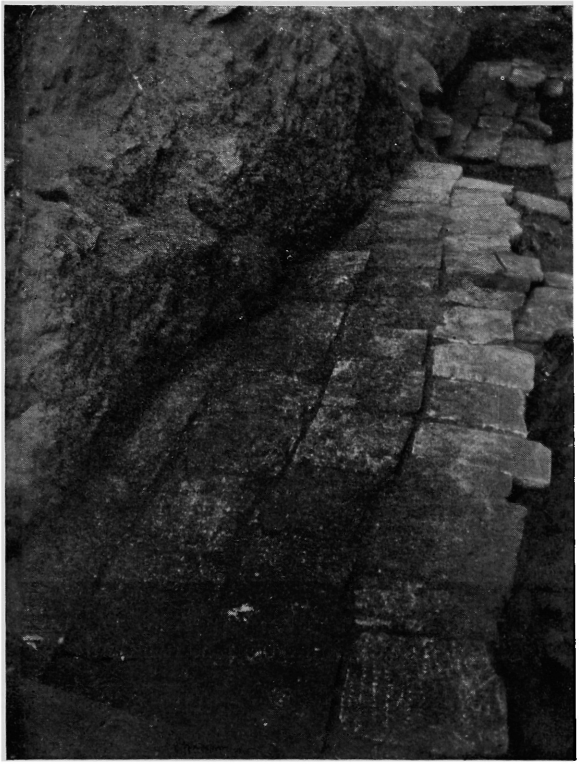
But whatever may have been the final result Smith's paper was naturally the cause of a great re-awakening in popular interest, and the Daily Telegraph, stirred by this enthusiasm, with great generosity offered to provide a thousand pounds, if Smith were sent out to Kouyunjik to seek for more fragments of the same tablet. It would have been better, perhaps, for scholarship if the choice had fallen on some other man, who might have been nearer the mould of Rich or Layard with full opportunities to prepare themselves for the rough-and-tumble hazards of the East. Nevertheless, he was anxious to go, and go he did on three successive expeditions, in 1873, 1874, and 1876. He left England on January 20th, 1873, reaching Mosul on March 2nd, where he found that his permit to dig had not yet been granted by the Turks. To fill in the time he therefore set off on a journey to Baghdad and Babylon, during which time he was able to secure his permit and so to begin his first diggings at Nimrud. But this was not the site he really desired, and after a month there he returned to Kouyunjik, where he started

work on May 7th, employing the same old Toma the Fat, fatter than ever by this time, of Layard's diggings. He began on the Library space of the S.W. palace, and two days later he tried also the S.E. corner of Ashurbanipal's palace.

A bare five days, and then, "I sat down," says he, "to examine the store of fragments of cuneiform inscriptions from the day's digging, taking out and brushing off the earth from the fragments to read their contents. On cleaning one of them I found to my surprise and gratification that it contained the greater portion of the 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." He shortly telegraphed the good news home to the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* who published it a few days later. Unfortunately, considering that the results of the expedition had been attained, they were unwilling to prosecute the excavations further, and therefore Smith, though disappointed that the season had not been longer, returned home for the Summer with his treasures. The Trustees of the British Museum thereat set aside a thousand pounds for the continuance of the work, and Smith went off again on the 25th of November, starting work on Kouyunjik again in early January, 1874, on the spot where he had left off. Near the entrance of the S.W. palace "and close to the spot where the former excavators found a broken obelisk" he found inscriptions of the palace of Shalmaneser 1, as well as of his restorations of the Ishtar-temple; of Tukulti-Ninurta, his son, of Ashurnasirpal, and Shalmaneser, also recording repairs to the Temple. A late building, made



Sculpture showing Sennacherib's Campaign in the Marshes, 1928 (p. 76).



Pavement of Ashurbanipal along the Front of the Temple of Nabu, 1927-28 (p. 75).

Plate IV

partly of "small square slabs with inscriptions of Assurbanipal dedicated to the goddess of Nineveh," was found between the chambers in the centre of the mound and the eastern edge, indicating that the Temple had been ravaged by later builders, and from near here came the inscription of Mutakkil-Nusku and fragments of sculptures.

But his main quest was still tablets, in the part round about Layard's old tablet chambers in the S.W. palace. Believing that the tablets were scattered over a wide area, Smith drew an oval line some 700 feet round about this spot, the line passing over the centre of the S.E. court of the palace, and then, turning west, running along north of the long gallery, where the sculptures had shewn the captives dragging the winged bull; thence southward over the chambers at the W. of the palace, and eastwards along the bottom of the S.E. court. There was much earth to be cleared, and he does not say where he threw it; at first little was found, and what did turn up (as soon as he had got rid of Layard's tailings) were coins, pottery, and glass, but on going deeper he came on the tablets again, rare at first, but more plentiful as he descended. In front of one of the entrances on the W. side he found a lintel of stone, of two dragons, which he published (in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, 308), thinking it to be Assyrian. It certainly is not Assyrian, and must be assigned to a much later period.

He had increased his workmen to the unwieldy number of six hundred, far too many for one man to supervise properly; indeed, it would have given enough work for half a dozen Europeans to examine the antiquities found, apart from the little daily

incidents and worries which fall to the lot of every excavator in the East who has any sense of sympathy. Next the floods came and increased his difficulties. Then a charge was brought against him that he had disturbed a Mahomedan tomb: then a ridiculously exorbitant demand for compensation for damages: then a charge of blasphemy against his dragoman. So, probably rightly, he closed down the excavations on March 12th, only to be delayed in Mosul until April 4th, by the additional annoyance of the Governor demanding half the antiquities. Sir Ernest Budge's appreciation of the situation sums up the cause of the annoyances shrewdly.

Nevertheless, so valuable were the results of his excavations that Rawlinson again asked the Trustees to send Smith out. Smith left for Constantinople in October, 1875, and was compelled as usual to wait there for nearly six months before his permit was granted, and arrived at Mosul so late that all hope of beginning before the summer had to be given up, and there was nothing for it but to return home. Against all advice he attempted to journey through the hottest part of the summer to Aleppo; he fell seriously ill of dysentery when only a few days distant from there, and alas! in spite of all that could be done to save him, he died on August 19th in Aleppo, where he lies buried beneath a red granite slab in the little cemetery, a martyr to the science he loved. But he left behind him an unforgettable legacy to our knowledge of Assyria, and, more tangible, nearly 3,000 fragments of tablets from the Royal Library, now in the British Museum.

His death undoubtedly cast a blight on excavations at Nineveh for the moment, but in 1878

Rassam was again invited to continue his work on the palace. Again he tried to obtain permission to dig in Nebi Yunus, but without success; but the tale of Kouyunjik tablets again began to mount up, and the magnificent prism of Ashurbanipal now in the Museum was another of his results. 1882 saw the excavations again closed.

In 1887, Mr. (now Sir) Ernest Wallis Budge, then a young assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum, was sent out to Mesopotamia to look for manuscripts of all kinds and incidentally re-open the excavations at Kouyunjik on a modest scale. He was peculiarly well fitted for his search, for besides being endowed with great physical strength, he had held an exhibition at Christ's College, Cambridge, for Assyrian, as well as a scholarship for Hebrew, and after he had taken the Semitic Tripos, had gained a Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship in 1882. His examination of the mound shewed that the two great palaces were deeply buried under the earth which previous excavators had dug, and he therefore reported that to re-open new trenches would be beyond the means at his disposal, and that there was work on the mound not for months, but for years. He therefore confined himself to clearing out the old trenches and sifting the earth in them in the two seasons of 1888-89, and 1890-91, the latter being a year of memorable floods when even the Khosr had to be crossed on a raft. It was perhaps fortunate that no extensive diggings had been in contemplation, for the other work which lay before him and met with such successful results entailed long journeys and a widely extended search for manuscripts. He made the most

of his opportunities in seeking Syriac and Arabic MSS. round Mosul and the neighbourhood, and had copies made of whatever was valuable, which copies are fortunately now preserved in the British Museum, as I understand that four years ago there was an outburst of fanaticism which destroyed numerous originals in Urmieh and Kudshanis. Budge's travels ultimately took him down to the ancient and prolific site of Der, the importance of which impressed him so much that he persuaded the Trustees to put him in charge of excavations there, with the results which are told in his *Rise and Progress of Assyriology*. They do not, however, come into the scope of this volume.

So the first half-century of excavations at Kouyunjik came to an end.

CHAPTER III.

The Re-opening of the Kouyunjik Excavations.

BUDGE'S excavations ceasing in 1891, the great mound was to be left without explorers for a dozen years, until L. W. King re-opened them in 1903. The condition in which matters now stood was that two palaces only in this enormous extent had been discovered, the south-western now lying under high heaps of *débris*, the northern one not so deep, and neither of them completely excavated. There were still two temples unlocated, one of Ishtar with its adjacent buildings, and the other of Nabu, which from the colophons of a few tablets which had been found in the 'fifties, possessed a library of clay books. There was no indication that the Temple of Ishtar had ever been thus endowed, but there was no doubt about that in the Temple of Nabu: one of the library tablets extant from it running thus: "According to the old tablets and documents, originals of Assyria and Akkad; Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, the humble ruler who fears the great gods, son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, to whom Nabu and Nidaba have given life, whose kingdom they have protected, and their broad wisdom . . . for the continuance of his life . . . the establishment of his reign . . . the endowment of his royal throne with joy . . . his bright countenance upon him . . . with health of

body, joy of heart, and clearness of spirit, to walk in safety before him, he has written [this tablet], checked (?), and revised, and in the library of the Temple of Nabu, his lord, which is in Nineveh, has placed it."[1]

Leonard William King, whose premature death in 1919 robbed Assyriology of a man of great attainments, was educated at Rugby and King's College, Cambridge, where he read for the Theological Tripos in which he obtained a first division of the first class in 1891. A final year spent in learning Syriac, and the chance opportunity of a vacancy occurring in the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum turned his steps towards Assyriology, and he entered the Museum to become ultimately the soundest and most careful Assyriologist this country has had. He was a man of great energy and persistence, with a love of the open air, and consequently, not only in mere book-learning but in athletic habit he was fit to follow the footsteps of the earlier English Orientalists, who divided their time *domi militiaeque*, between the study and the field. His work is too well known to need praise, and his vigour in excavating, travelling, or climbing the Behistun rock, maintained the tradition which has been steadily growing in his Department that no man can be called an Orientalist who has not lived in the East. It is a good tradition in which the Department has always taken a great pride, and the proof of the wisdom of it is shewn in that common sense which has been the controlling element in all King's publications from the *Letters of Hammurabi* down to the *History of Babylonia*. Those who worked with him knew how,

1 L. W. King, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets*, XIV.

as a senior, he encouraged and helped his juniors, keeping their interests always before him: and there was no doubt at all about his popularity with the Arabs who dug for him. It was with the intention of returning to excavate in Babylonia in 1918 that he had himself inoculated against the various diseases of the East, but he unhappily fell sick of influenza at the same time, and this overwhelmed even his strong constitution, which had been weakened by dysentery in 1903, and he died therefrom in 1919.

It was in the Autumn of 1901, that he went out to Mesopotamia at his own expense, as a first step to re-opening the excavations at Kouyunjik, which had long been his dream. He was absent for four months, either riding with a caravan or floating down the Tigris, visiting the principal sites between Nineveh and Babylon. On his information the Trustees decided to re-open the diggings, and in 1902 he set forth to the old mound which has attracted so many Englishmen.

King had recognized that the problem before him was twofold. On the one hand there were still parts of the well-known palaces not properly cleared, which were almost certain to be remunerative: on the other, there were the broad stretches between and flanking these palaces which, although they bore traces of sporadic fossicking, as the map will show, had produced no definite building, and certainly ought to yield something new to the persistent digger. He decided to try to solve both problems. He began with 120 men (afterwards increased by April to 300) on the S.W. palace on March 22nd, 1903, having ascertained that there still remained some chambers on the W. and E., and still more

on the S., as well as the greater part of the court, which needed clearing. In the *débris*, which had accumulated to 35 feet in the great court, he found huge paving stones, charred cedar, masses of unburnt brick, burnt bricks inscribed with Sennacherib's name and titles, and inscribed gate sockets. He found that the sculptured slabs which had once lined the walls of the chambers were now preserved only to a height of one or two feet above the pavement, or had entirely disappeared. Room V was a disappointing exception, for although he found several sculptures in place, their surface had been cracked by fire, and there was nothing to do, after obtaining a stone-mason's advice, except to recommend covering them.[1]

He closed the diggings temporarily from July 19th to Sept. 8th, and spent the summer visiting Van. On work beginning again in the autumn, the W. side was cleared as far as the exterior wall, and beyond, the earth being cut down to the pavement level until the edge of the mound was reached. On the E. the rooms round the entrance were cleared, and trenches were driven beyond the exterior wall. On the S. side of the palace the S.W. corner of the great court was cleared, and the rooms beyond it partly dug out. A number of weapons and objects of bronze with fragments of bowls, etc., came to light.

[1] Numbering the chambers as on Layard's plan, on the E. side he cleared parts of rooms XVI, XVII, and XLV: room V, and a corner of the court VI; and part of room 1. On the S., part of the large court XIX, a large additional patch of the surface *débris*, and three trial trenches into XXIV, XXVI and XXVII. On the W., the end of the long room XLIX, parts of LI, LIII, LIV, and beyond the wall which Layard supposed to be the exterior wall of this palace. Actually King found the true exterior wall here and the colossal bulls belonging to one of the real doorways.

On the W. side a new portion of Sennacherib's palace was laid bare, consisting of (1) an additional row of chambers beyond the wall which Layard considered to be the external wall of the palace: (2) the exterior wall of the palace on this side was sculptured with representations of his expedition to the Persian Gulf: (3) a pavement forming a terrace thirty feet broad, running along the W. front of the palace: (4), most interesting of all, the main W. entrance to the palace, with two colossal bulls in place, and a colossal figure of the hero Gilgamish strangling a lion.

There was a terrace similar to the above (3), with a stone coping and a concealed drain for carrying off surface water in the S.E. corner of the palace. On the E. side certain errors in Layard's plan were corrected, while on the North side the trenches shewed that the palace did not extend far beyond the remains of trenches already found. There were remains of pavements on this latter side, with large conduits built of bitumen, and burnt bricks inscribed with Sennacherib's name in the layer of unburnt brick under the pavements. A subterranean chamber lined with slabs of limestone was found a short distance from the palace on the N.

In the N. palace of Ashurbanipal a new pavement was uncovered. On the northern side of the palace all traces of Assyrian work was found to have gone, as a late building above it had absorbed the material. Near the main large pavement King discovered a beautifully carved flooring slab, of the same pattern as that exhibited in the Assyrian Saloon of the British Museum. At the S. side at the entrance beneath the flooring were buried small

tutelary figures of Ea in a small roughly-formed cist of limestone slabs.

There remained the second half of King's problem, the probing of other parts of the mound. These parts shewed the trace of the hap-hazard pits of earlier excavations, doubtless fruitless, and certainly not encouraging to the later explorer who is apt to think that there can be nothing to be found there. But it is certainly a mistake to be deterred by such caverns and pits, for it often happened that the earlier diggers either did not dig deep enough, or were content to stop at the latest Assyrian level. As an example, when we were digging round some of the new chambers of Sennacherib's palace, our tunnel was illuminated by a shaft of light which entered through the hole made by a previous digger several feet above us, and all too high. Another example may be quoted from our 1927-28 season, where the ninth-century palace of Ashurnasirpal was found far below some old shallow trenches almost directly above it.

He began with a system of 52 shafts at from 50 to 80 feet interval, sinking them to an average depth of 40 feet, as well as three descending tunnels along the E. slope of the mound, and, whenever any Assyrian remains were met, they were explored by means of horizontal offshoots. With the evidence thus provided he plotted out several long cuttings on the principle of trench-and-blank, the excavations being rectangular trenches dug to a depth of from 30 to 36 feet, and often linked up by diagonal trenches. As they will be seen marked on the map it is unnecessary to describe their positions, but the results are important (*Plan* 2).

In many cases the evidence they afforded was simply negative, but invaluable in helping the subsequent excavator, by eliminating improbable areas. But although it was lamentable to see so much fruitless labour, King's long, systematic, and tedious work cleared up the situation on the great mound in a masterly fashion. No one would be so foolish as to say that buildings do not exist anywhere in the undug ground between and round his trenches, but the practical excavator is now entitled to speak in terms of economical probability of what is likely to be there, and can put his finger on the spots which are likely to prove remunerative. On this mound it is the backbone and its neighbourhood which will keep a generation of diggers busy.

A summary of King's results from his own report (to which we have added a little from the subsequent excavations) will give the position as we now know it:

1. The *deepest level* to which King dug was 68 feet, where in dark earth were found obsidian knives.

2. The *Third Assyrian level* is at 36-40 feet depth, the principal remains discovered being the containing wall of a raised terrace or platform in the centre of the mound. It is solidly built of rough-hewn stones, 8-9 feet high, and in a layer of *débris* near its foot were fragments of stone, including black basalt inscribed in very archaic Assyrian characters. (Here should be added perhaps the "ditch" of Rassam, presumably in the Ishtar Temple, *p.* 44).

3. The *Second Assyrian level* at 25-30 feet depth, shews the E. part of the mound paved with bricks set in bitumen, and a number of water channels running partly above and partly under the pavements.

At this level were traces of a building "probably a temple" consisting of foundations and a number of painted bricks. Other pavements and layers of *débris* were found at 21-25 feet depth in the W. of the mound, also of this period. (This is the level at which we found the first chambers of the palace of Ashurnasirpal at 25 feet depth in the N. centre of the mound). At this point, between the Second and First Assyrian levels must be included the layer of unburnt bricks 12 feet thick, which represents the latest addition made by the Assyrians to the height of the mound. It is still to be seen clearly defined in one of the N.E. ravines, and the bricks are certainly comparable to those of Sennacherib's period. It also coincides with the platform of the Temple of Nabu described in the next chapter. Below the platform discovered by King was earth beaten hard.

4. The *First and Latest Assyrian level*, at a varying depth approximately from ten feet depth and downwards, stood, towards the centre (N.), of the mound the Temple of Nabu (see next chapter) abutting on the buried ruins of the palace of Ashurnasirpal still nearer the centre: and probably to the S. of this palace, still near the centre, the buildings of the Temple of Ishtar which must go back into the second level and perhaps the third: at the S.W. end the palace of Sennacherib, built over a previous one: in the N. section the palace of Ashurbanipal: and in the E. edge the *bît nâkkapti* of Sennacherib. There was also a paved terrace of Sennacherib in the S.E., and a great conduit of burnt bricks inscribed with his name running under the pavement in the direction of the centre of the mound towards its E. edge.

Pavements and foundation stones were found to the N.E. of Sennacherib's palace, and other pavements in the W. part of the mound, also of this period.

5. Buildings subsequent to the Assyrian period will be found in Chapter VI on the History of the Mound.

I was sent out to join and relieve King in January 1904, reaching Mosul early in March, with much paraphernalia necessary for the Rock of Behistun whither we were to start some six weeks later.[1] It was in the few days preceding our departure that our diggers came on traces of a new palace in the E. part of the mound on the Khosr edge, and in it the base of an inscribed bull.

Much of this building proved ultimately to have been destroyed, and its stones removed, but there was much of a fine long well-paved chamber left towards the East, with an unburnt brick wall marking its S.E. side. Still further to the East (outside the plan) were traces of two single sections of pavement still in position, and a heavy marble slab, sculptured with the lower half of demons in the style of Sennacherib's palace, on its face. The pavements were composed of fine blocks of limestone laid on a platform of large burnt bricks, from which we learnt that the builder actually was Sennacherib. The mutilated inscription on the bull indicated the same builder: the text is similar to Sennacherib's building inscriptions, with the phrases exactly as he uses them elsewhere describing the various stones he used in the building: and if anything may be gleaned from a

[1] As the unofficial account is in my *Pilgrim's Scrip* (John Lane, 1915), and the official book is published by the British Museum (*The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistun*, 1907) there is no need for further description here.

broken line near the beginning, the building would appear to have been called the *bit nakkapti*. In the pavement had been fixed a hewn limestone block projecting a foot above the level of the pavement, bored transversely, as though to take the guy-rope of an awning, very similar to the large peg shewn in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, *p*. 649.

King started homewards in June, 1904, leaving me with a good knowledge of the probabilities of the mound, gleaned from his systematic trenches. While continuing to clear the *bit nakkapti* and the two other palaces, I still had hopes of finding the Temple of Nabu in one of the undug parts. Excavations on the S.W. palace revealed a new series of chambers to the N.W., lined with unsculptured slabs, and with paved flooring, but covered with such a mass of *débris* that I was compelled to confine myself to tunnelling round the walls. In part of these was an earlier pavement a few feet below the normal palace level. In the N. palace, the court made of cement and earth which King had found was revetted by a double coursing of limestone blocks, and this coursing had come to an end. It proved, however, to have been only interrupted, and it reappeared after a gap, which enables us to complete some of the blank in the map. As before, under the opposite doorsill (to the S.) we found some small figures of Ea, and His Excellence Bedri Bey, who was then on a tour of inspection, dug one out with his own hands.

But the Temple of Nabu was still undiscovered. The trenches which probed the mound in many directions by now had brought nothing of it to light; all one could infer from them was that, as Sennacherib says, there was probably a small park in the neigh-

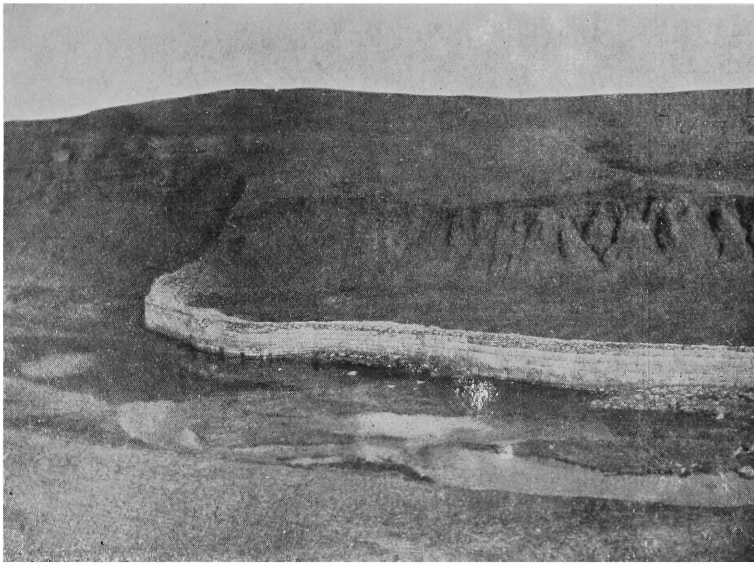
bourhood of his palace, which would account for the lack of buildings, and the same may be said of Ashurbanipal: but no Temple of Nabu.

There was, however, still part of the central ridge not satisfactorily tested, notably just to the South of the N. palace. It had the demerit of being very near the palace, and I was not over sanguine about it when I came to test it. We had by this time (the late autumn of 1904) dug so many unsuccessful trenches that the hope of finding the Temple had receded into the mists of improbability. But hardly had the men been at it for a day or so when they turned up an almost complete limestone slab inscribed with the text of Ashurbanipal's well-known dedication to Nabu, which runs as follows:—

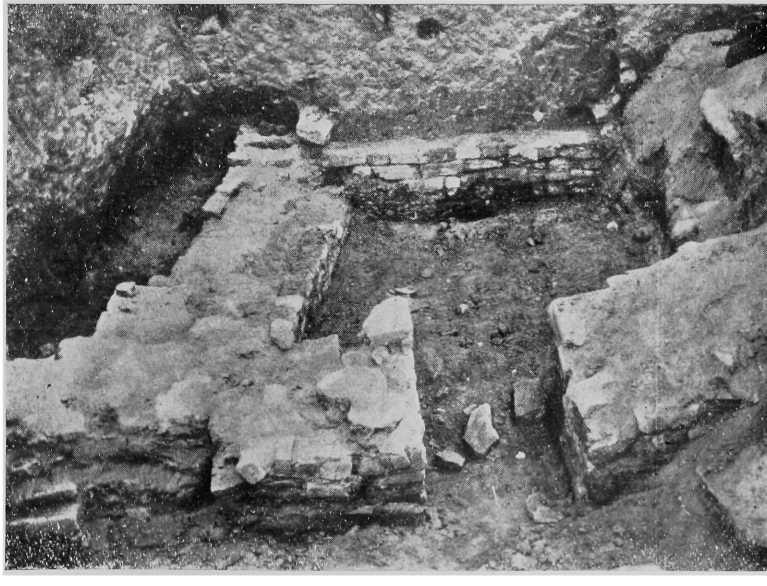
"Unto Nabu, the supreme lord, dwelling in E-zida, which is in the middle of Nineveh, his lord: Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, the one sought after and desired by his great divinity, who at the utterance of his behest and the giving of his weighty ordinance, in the shock of battle cut off the head of Teumman, the king of Elam; and as for Ummanigash, Tammaritu, Pa'e, Ummanaldas, who after Teumman ruled over Elam, by his great command my hand captured them and unto the wagon, the vehicle of my Majesty, I yoked them, and by his great aid throughout all lands I secured what was due to me. In those days the court of the Temple of Nabu, my lord, with solid limestone its area I enlarged. For all time, O Nabu, look with joy (thereon), and may it be pleasing to thee by thy ruled line (?) the securing of a life of long days for me, (and) may thine ordinance go forth that my feet be long to tread E-zida before thy presence."

This was shortly followed by another, and then two more lying near some *débris* of pavements. Each was from 18 to 20 inches square, and from 5 to 6 inches thick, and weighed as much as a man could carry. Ashurbanipal had also put similar slabs in the Temple of Ishtar, with due alterations in the name of the goddess, and it had long been obvious that not only from numerous passages in his historical inscriptions, but from the pious work which he had carried out on these two temples that the Elamite campaigns had been a very grave matter for Assyria, bringing real terror and anxiety in their train. Indeed, it was to be only a few decades more after these wars that Nineveh was to fall before the Medes.

With the discovery of these slabs excitement began to run high among us all, for the men knew that we were looking for what was called the House of the Idol. Here were clear finger posts to the Temple and it did seem at last that we were now above its ruins. I marked out a tract 150 feet square and began to clear the whole of it, employing more than a hundred men on it: and we were not long in finding more of these slabs, or fragments of them scattered through the excavation. There were traces of a late building on the top at a few feet below the surface, with cemented flooring similar to those described further on in our 1927-28 diggings, and, as soon as those traces had been cleared away, it did not take us long to reach the first Assyrian level, and here we found the edge of a massive platform of unburnt brick. Set at the edge of this unburnt brick was a well which proved to be the first definite evidence that we had at last found the Temple of Nabu. It was six feet square, and (as we found later



DAM AT AJILAH, PERHAPS SENNACHERIB'S AGAMMU, 1927 (p. 130).



CHAMBERS IN THE NEW PALACE OF ASHURNASIRPAL, 1928 (p. 80).

in digging it out) lined to a depth of several feet with well-made burnt bricks, many of which, *in situ*, proclaimed that it belonged to the Temple of Nabu as restored by Sargon (721-705):

"Sargon, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of Assyria, the Temple of Nabu in the middle of Nineveh, for the preservation of his life (and) the prolongation of his existence from its foundation to its roof he has built, has completed."

Ultimately we dug this well out to water level, 100 feet below the top of the mound (90 feet below the top of the well) and found some bronze buckets in the mud at the bottom.

We followed the (inner) edge of this platform both ways, and dug out the area I had mapped out practically to a depth of 20 feet everywhere, and in some parts to 25 feet. This was the great inner courtyard of the Temple, partly paved, with its well described above, and opposite the well on the far side a latrine built also with bricks containing Sargon's inscription, and, following the modern Oriental fashion, as a slit in the floor with a drain leading away from it for a short distance, doubtless into what was once a deep-dug pit. But any partition walls that there might have been to seclude this (or any other part of this central court), were utterly ruined, and, worse still, our hopes of a library were disappointed.

With the excavation of this large central court of the Temple our pursuit came to an end, and I left for home on February 11th, 1905, where my first duty was to help King with the account of the

Behistun inscription. I left the Museum at the end of the year, King had many duties at home, and excavations lapsed: then in 1910 Carchemish came into the range of practical expectation, and diggings were begun there by the Museum in 1911. Hogarth came out in charge of them for three weeks, and relinquished them to me until the end of the season. Then came the war with its upheaval, with archaeologists playing soldiers' parts; the old outlook was upset, and the opportunity was favourable for the Museum to re-open the old excavations in Southern Babylonia. After three years of war-service in the Intelligence on the Mesopotamian campaign, I began excavations for the Museum at Abu Shahrain in 1918. Since that time it had become evident to me that the Temple of Nabu had not been entirely cleared: that there was no reason to suppose that we had found more than the interior courtyard, and that what I had thought was the exterior wall might be the exterior *libn* platform of uncertain extent. Sidney Smith certainly held that view. Moreover, the Library had not been found, and there was every expectation that it ought to be. Accordingly, in 1927 I offered to contribute a small sum to the cost of the excavations as well as to pay my own expenses for a season, if the British Museum could augment these resources and give me control of an expedition to dig out the site; and not only did Sir Frederic Kenyon at once express his willingness to help forward the excavations, but recommended to the Trustees that they should contribute £300 toward the expedition. My college, Merton, generously contributed a large sum, and the expenses of my colleague, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson (who offered to come without salary)

were provided for by a grant from the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund.

My Colleague and I therefore set out for Mosul and re-opened the excavations on the Temple of Nabu which had been closed down for more than twenty years.[1]

[1] I might mention here the remark of an American professor of Egyptology (in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, July, 1922, 250) about Nineveh, that "no modern scientific excavations have ever been carried on in this great imperial city." Without commenting on the criticism contained therein, I venture to point out that the language is a trifle paradoxical, "modern" being relative, and "ever" infinite. So that the irresistible force can meet the immovable post after all.

CHAPTER IV.

THE 1927-1928 SEASON.

(*A*) The Completion of the Excavation of the Temple of Nabu.

OUR first task was to explore the mound with the old map made in 1904-05 with a view to locating the position of the 1905 excavations on the Temple, and particularly to identifying the site of Sargon's Well. The rectangular excavation (filled in, of course, after the 1905 diggings had been closed down) was now marked by a shallow depression, rather like an ancient volcanic crater, wherein it was impossible to do more than guess at the previous shape. The map, however, made matters fairly easy, although we found it a little difficult to settle the exact site of the well within a few feet, a six-feet square target at a depth which is only approximate being no easy mark. Incidentally, it took us a fortnight of probing to find it, even with the help of one Abosh, who had assisted at the filling in 22 years before and remembered that it had been roofed in with large stones.

We began work on October 18th, 1927, with ten men and two overseers, Yakub (who had been an overseer with us in 1905) and Abd-el-Ahad also one of the workmen (and the brother of my old servant Mejid). Our first excavation was made as near to the well as we could approximate, our aim being to reach the edge of the *libn* walling or platform, and

to dig along the top of it until the outer edge had been reached, and then to follow it up the whole way round. It would be unnecessary to describe the results day by day, and a general sketch of the Temple and the finds are all that is necessary. Our season lasted four months, and we can now say that the whole 8th-century building has been cleared except for a very small portion at the W. corner which was so destroyed as not to be worth excavation. At this point had been built some immensely solid and deep piers of cement and stone at a late period which had eliminated all possibility of Assyrian remains.[1]

As we had suspected, the walling of *libn* or unburnt brick turned out to be a broad rectangular belt surrounding the inner courtyard, on which the main chambers had been built. The area covered by the Temple was some 190 x 170 x 190 x 150 feet, the S.E. front being set at an angle of 32°. The external rectangular belt of *libn* on which the chambers had been built was about 10 feet deep and of varying breadth. The inner rectangle, cleared in 1904-05, covering some 103 x 78 feet, was correctly orientated, like Sumerian buildings (and Sargon's palace at Khorsabad), with the corners set to the cardinal points. This inner rectangle had doubtless included (besides the well and the latrine mentioned in the preceding chapter) an open court, such as all buildings of any importance in the East possess, and not improbably the vegetable garden of the priests, as there

[1] The *libn* flooring on which the 8th century temple was built was some ten feet thick and consequently it was impracticable to move it with the funds at our disposal, and, in view of the comparatively recent date of the founding of the Temple probably unprofitable.

were traces of a *libn* wall and pavements, which looked not unlike pathways.

Such was the general ground plan, but of the chambers, the shrine, and the library, hardly anything remained. The inner walls had originally been of unburnt brick of which much had collapsed in the general destruction and the remainder dissolved into a formless mass of reddish clay, often visible in section as the excavations descended. The exterior walls, like modern walls in the village houses and gardens, appear to have been based on one or two layers of lumps of limestone, so that it was often easy enough for us to trace the original lie of them, as well as those of later restorations. There was, however, one good pavement within the building still *in situ* to shew what may have marked a smaller separate court, with its corners properly orientated. This was set in the *libn* platform towards the S. of the S.E. side, with an area of some 17 x 11 feet, and consisted of well-squared limestone slabs inscribed either individually or in sections, with the dedicatory inscription of Sargon recording his restoration of the Temple, and set face upwards: "Sargon, prefect of Bel, minister of Ashur, priest of Nabu and Marduk, the Temple of Nabu and Marduk, the lords, from its foundation to its roof, for his life, the welfare of his seed, the destruction of his enemies, the prosperity of the crops of Assyria, the safety of Assyria, he has built."

There had been at least one door in each side of the Temple, that to the N.E. being the best preserved. Here, in front of the door was a limestone pavement which had been restored by Ashurbanipal, many of whose dedicatory inscriptions

(see *p.* 67) face downwards, were included in this approach. The threshold itself was a heavy slab of squared limestone 5′ 3″ x 4′ 1″ x 9½″, again bearing Sargon's dedicatory inscription (as above) and set face upwards. The line of exterior wall northwards from this doorway was still marked by fifteen feet of a face of stone wall.

Less elaborate was the gateway in the N.W., marked by a small pavement also restored by Ashurbanipal, but without any inscription of Sargon. The gateway on the S.W. was equally undistinguished, but near here was found a large limestone doorsocket in the usual shape of a hollow inverted truncated cone. On the S.E. side, facing the magnificent pavement restored by Ashurbanipal (which we shall describe in the next paragraph) the gateway was equally simple, being marked by the base courses of a ruined wall, built so as to abut on the pavement.

On the S.E. front we found a splendid exterior pavement of limestone slabs, for the most part well squared. The pavement extended for at least two hundred feet along the Temple-front, with an average width of fifteen feet, running beyond the limit of our excavation in both directions, and certainly beyond the frontage of the Temple platform. Many of the slabs were inscribed as usual with Ashurbanipal's text, and set in the pavement face downwards. We reckoned that the number of slabs bearing this inscription of Ashurbanipal, counting those, whole or fragmentary, which were scattered all over the building, as well as those *in situ*, must have been originally four hundred.

This pavement was about one foot below the level of the Sargon courtyard which lay on the top of the *libn* foundation, and was about 1′ 6″ higher at its S.W. end than at the S.E., and, as we have already said, was set at an angle of about 32° E. of N. From its direction it certainly might represent part of an old roadway, which presumably led up the mound from the North by the ramp still visible at the N. corner, and, it might be suggested, passed Ashurbanipal's palace on the E., running between the Temple of Nabu and the older palace of Ashur-nasirpal, and then past the Temple of Ishtar to Sennacherib's palace, and thence down by the E. side of the mound. This, however, is a mere guess.

In or just beneath the pavement towards the W. side was a fine piece of sculptured marble measuring some 4′ x 2′, evidently filched from Sennacherib's palace, carved in low relief with his campaign against the Marsh Arabs, and shewing Assyrian soldiers taking their captives on the reed boats of the marshes, or assaulting a fortress called Kin . . . The existence of this slab in or under a pavement of Ashurbanipal perhaps indicates the state of decay of his grandfather's palace.

Almost in front of the spot where the door must have been, and some two or three feet below the pavement level, we found several pieces of a prism of Ashurbanipal which has now been put together into its original shape. Although the information given on it is not entirely new, it is a new prism so far as its general composition goes. It describes the work on several of the temples, notably E-Kharsagkurkura, E-Sagila, E-Mashmash, and E-Meneanna, and goes on with Ashurbanipal's

Elamite campaign, his overthrow of Ummanaldas the king, and his rescue of the goddess Nana from durance in Elam. Lastly it describes the restorations to E-Akit, the temple of the New Year's Feast, in Nineveh which had originally been built by Sargon. Whether this prism was intended for the Temple of Nabu, or affords a clue to the position of E-Akit is uncertain, but it is worth noticing that we also found, in the base of a restoration-wall near the S. corner, a heavy block of limestone, which also records the building or restoration of E-Akit.

But unhappily our hopes in the library were never fulfilled. It is true that we found a good few fragments, representing almost all classes of library texts, the greater part coming from the S.E. and S.W. sides at different depths, but it was obvious that it must have been swept out or dispersed in a very fragmentary condition. It was an undeniable disappointment, and our only hope is that the original library was large enough for some of it to have survived in some pocket near the Temple still undug.

There was no question about the clear traces of the burning of the temple, (as also in the palace of Sennacherib), for a layer of ash about two inches thick lay clearly defined in places on the S.E. side above the level of the Sargon pavement.

A good many beads of different periods were found during the excavations on the Temple, and we are greatly indebted to Mr. Horace C. Beck, F.S.A., for the following long note on them:

"It is not generally realized what an important part beads played in the lives of the Assyrians. Although the beauty of beads was doubtless appreciated, the further that investigation is carried the

more obvious it becomes that they were worn principally as amulets. Their power might be due to their material or shape.

Some of the most important amuletic beads were to protect against the evil eye. A favourite form was made by taking an onyx and cutting it so as to give a central dark spot on a light ground, in some cases cutting the stone irregularly to give the effect. The finest specimen of this type of bead is a double cat's eye cut out of an onyx with three layers, which was considered so important that it was dedicated to the god Ningal, first by one of the kings of the Babylonian dynasty about 2,000 B.C., and later by Sennacherib. This specimen is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. When suitable stones were not available various devices were employed. In the 1927-28 expedition an eye-bead of this sort was found which was made from a white stone on to which an obsidian centre has been cemented. When glass came into general use great numbers of eye-beads were made of it in all parts of the world. A large flat bead with a circular eye of glass nearly an inch and a quarter in diameter has in 1927-28 been found at Nineveh; it is very badly corroded, but it is fortunate that it is preserved at all, as the soil there is very destructive to glass.

Shells were very often used as beads. In the 1927-28 exploration alone, no less than ten varieties were found either perforated for suspension or associated with beads. These show that there was traffic with the Mediterranean, as three of the species are only found in that sea. We do not know why all these shells were worn, but we know that the cowry, which is such a favourite in Mesopotamia and Egypt,

was worn during Roman times for fertility, and it was probably used at earlier periods for the same purpose. Not only were real shells worn but also copies of them carved in lapis lazuli and other stones. A complete necklace of these in lapis was found by Layard.

The most usual material was carnelian which was made into spherical, barrel and disc beads. Several of a special hexagonal form with facets which have been found at Nineveh are interesting as they are of a type well known in Mycenae, and must have been imported from the Aegean about 1,200 B.C.

Some carnelians have a pattern made on them by a form of etching. The effect can be got by painting the pattern in soda and heating the bead and this may be how it was done. Such beads were made in Mesopotamia from very early times, but some of the specimens found at Nineveh are probably of late Assyrian or Persian period. Beads of this type dating from at least 3,000 B.C. are found in both India and Mesopotamia, which suggests a close connection between the two countries at that date.

Agate and onyx were also extensively used for barrel shaped beads. In some cases these were capped with gold.

Many of the large carved figures of men and gods from the Assyrian palaces, are shown wearing magnificent necklaces with various emblems."

From the Temple of Nabu we can now go on to the discovery of Ashurnasirpal's palace.

(*B*) ASHURNASIRPAL'S PALACE.

While we were hunting in the *débris* of the temple near the well we came on a brick inscribed on the edge "Palace of Tiglath-Pileser [the powerful king, king of the world, king of Assyria], the son of Ashur-rishishi, the powerful king, king of the world, king [of Assyria, the son of Mutakkil-Nusku, the powerful king, king of the world, king of Assyria] who hath knit the river-dam . . . ." Except that it was pleasant to get a new brick of Tiglath-Pileser, 1,100 B.C., we were not over-much excited at it, since bricks of all periods are scattered throughout the mound: but we found four more inscribed with the same text elsewhere on the temple site at a depth of between 7 and 11 feet. Our aim at that time was the clearance of the Temple and we did not anticipate our good fortune in finding a ninth-century palace, but as time went on we began to find pieces of a beautiful sculpture, originally in two scenes, one above the other, separated by an inscription of fourteen lines, the upper representing Ashurnasirpal shooting the lion which has attacked him in his chariot, and the lower shewing the king's thanks for his deliverance (*see pl. VI, VII*). The subject is the same as is represented on two slabs in the British Museum, but reversed, and larger. This had originally been about ten feet high, and had been appropriated by some king after Ashurnasirpal, either Adad-nirari, or more probably Sargon, in order to write his own dedicatory inscription to Nabu on the back of it. The mere fact that it is large and heavy is hardly evidence enough to indicate that it had probably been brought from close at hand,

but such must have been the case. In addition to this sculpture we came on large pieces of inscriptions of the same king in limestone, as well as several bricks bearing his palace-inscription.

Economy had compelled us to dig out the Temple in broad slices down to the *libn* level. This method allowed us to fill in each completed slice in succession by throwing the earth of the next slice behind us, as the owners of the land demanded. Naturally we had no wish to clear the solid mass of *libn* platform (some ten feet of unproductive digging), but as soon as we reached the edge of it, where was the great pavement of Ashurbanipal, we began to descend considerably lower. In clearing this great pavement we first photographed and recorded it, and then took up the paving stones and dug down below them. These excavations below the temple level on the S.E. front revealed numerous painted bricks in high relief, which appear to have formed a *façade* representing a winged bull, a figure holding the usual pannikin, a frieze of rosettes or daisies, and the representation of vines with grapes. Mistakenly we took these for a ruined front of the temple; actually they must have come from Ashurnasirpal's palace.

Within the last three weeks of the season we had decided on what may be called the "gambler's last throw." We had by now cleared out nearly all the temple and its frontage, and there still remained, apart from the small "left-overs" necessary to complete the work, enough money to make a small extension in front of the main S.E. doorway at the spot whence so many painted bricks had come. Moreover, the last slice on this side had revealed one side of a wall of burnt brick still in place below

the pavement-level, containing an Ashurnasirpal inscription in it. We therefore decided on a rectangular salient opposite the door.

Luck was with us. At twenty feet depth we came on a heavy basalt slab, 17″ x 16″ x 4″, inscribed in large characters "Palace of Adad-nirari, king of the world, king of Assyria, the son of Ashurdan, king of the world, king of Assyria, the son of Tiglath-Pileser, king of the world, king of Assyria." We had now the inscriptions from the palace of Tiglath-Pileser (*c.* 1100 B.C.), Adad-nirari (*c.* 911-891 B.C.), and Ashurnasirpal (*c.* 883-859 B.C.), and it looked as if our wall would prove to be something exciting. At about 23 feet depth the other side of our wall appeared with others. In a little they proved to be part of small chambers some three feet high, and containing, actually in place, bricks with the following inscriptions "Palace of Ashurnasirpal, king of the world, [king of Assyria], the son of [Tukulti]-Ninurta, king of the world, king of Assyria, the son of [Adad]-nirari, [king of the world], king of Assyria, who has made [and built] the Temple of [Ishtar in the middle] of Nineveh."

"Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, king of the world, king of Assyria."

There was no doubt, therefore, that we had found the outer chambers of a ninth-century palace. More than that, if the inscriptions found near were any guide, it might well prove to belong also to Tiglath-Pileser, or, if not, to have been built on the ruins of his palace. Near one of the walls we found a great limestone slab with a 10-line inscription of

Tukulti-Ninurta (*c.* 890-884 B.C.), which had been cut down, and made into a trough. It was very much like the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal, recording conquests, similar to his, among which is mentioned Apa, the king of Khubushkia, and the last line shewed that it had once belonged to the palace of the City Nimit-Tukulti-Ninurta.

But the best find of all here was a broken tablet of which two pieces were found, beautifully inscribed in minute handwriting. It gives in graphic, poetic style part of the history of Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, (*c.* 1380), and his troubles with the Kassites.

Altogether we had reason to be satisfied with our last week's work. There is the palace waiting to be dug out at 26 feet, virgin except where our trench cleared it, for it is very doubtful if the few poor test-pits above this area, representing the traces of past excavations, vouchsafed to their diggers the knowledge of the treasure below.

(*C*) The House Built by Sennacherib for his Son.

It was in another part of this site that fortune again befriended us, again in an unforeseen manner. It had so happened that chance digging by one of our old workmen in the past had yielded to him several broken pieces of clay inscribed with cuneiform, but he had had to relinquish his digging for various reasons. Like the good fellow he was, however, he shewed us the place and pressed us to try our luck there, and although we were very loth to turn from the immediate business in hand, he persuaded us to examine it. It so happened that

in doing so one of us picked up a piece of cuneiform prism, doubtless accidentally left behind by our informant, and this, with his insistence, made a trial *sondage* very attractive. We began with a few men, and had hardly dug a yard into the earth before several fair-sized pieces of prisms came to light. Walls of unburnt brick soon began to appear, and stray inscribed bricks shewed that we were digging into a house built by Sennacherib for his son. It does not say which son, however.

It was a well-drained building, the drains being about five or six feet below the surface of the soil. What was interesting about it was the large number of pieces of historical prisms of Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon, and Sennacherib, which came daily therefrom, the total reaching about four-score. But the best result of all came within a week of our start.

One of us was at work on drawings at home in the house in which we lived, while the other had gone off to see Abd-el-Ahad, the overseer in charge. Abd-el-Ahad met him with a grin, that blessed grin which every digger knows to precede something of worth; and having prepared his stage, the Arab lifted the curtain, and from beneath his blowzy gaberdine produced a perfect six-sided prism, only just touched by the pick near the top. A most wonderful find, vouchsafed probably to a digger only once in a life-time. A messenger with a note was despatched to the house, the other of us came hot-foot with rucksack and wrapping papers, and the delicate relic was borne off home without any trumpeting of discovery, to lie hidden from the vulgar gaze. It proved to be a prism of Esarhaddon, and that edition, by good fortune, which was still

wanting to complete the extraordinarily interesting story of the events after the murder of Sennacherib. Several portions of a duplicate were published by Scheil (*Bibl. de l' Ecole des Hautes Etudes, fas.* 208), and much of the native story of the stormy history of the king's accession was given to the world. But it was by no means a perfect account, as there were several small gaps, and the present prism gives the whole account, without a single lacuna, of what happened after the death of Sennacherib.

"Palace of Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, regent of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions; the legitimate ruler, favourite of the great gods whose name from his youth up Ashur, Shamash, Bel and Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, for the kingship of Assyria had proclaimed. Of my elder brothers the younger brother was I; (but) by the ordinance of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel and Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, (my) father who begat me exalted me in all due right amid a gathering of my brothers (and) my nobles and (spake) thus; "Is this the son of my succession?" He asked Shamash and Adad by oracle, and with a true affirmative they answered him, "He is thy second self (?)" To their weighty utterance he paid (due) honour, and he summoned together the people of Assyria, small (and) great, my brothers, the seed[1] of my father's house; in the presence of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Nabu, Marduk, the gods of Assyria, the gods dwelling in heaven and earth, with regard to the securing of my legitimate succession he made them recite their solemn utterance.

[1]Text has MU.

In a propitious month, on a favourable day according to their exalted command into the House of Succession, (that) place of awe, wherein is appanage of royalty, I entered with joy, and the true fact of the succession was forced upon my brothers, and they deserted the (way) of the gods and trusted to their own violent deeds and plotted evil, an evil tongue, slander, ways not according to the will of the gods; they set afoot, too, against me unholy disloyalty; they planned rebellion with each other behind my back. (Any) who interpreted my father's will, him they made angry against me, contrary to the gods; (any) who was cunning of heart, him they treated kindly, his apparent intent being kept up as though to support my royalty. In my heart I communed and pondered in my soul thus: "Their works are violent and to their own wit they trust, and, against the gods, they will wreak my evil."

Ashur, the merciful king of the gods (and) Marduk, to whom worthlessness is their abomination —with prayers, lamentation and prostration I implored them, and they accepted my utterances; according to the wisdom of the great gods, my lords, before the work of evil they let me dwell in a secret place and spread their kindly aegis over me and guarded me for my kingdom.

Thereafter, my brothers went mad, and did everything which was wicked against gods and men, and plotted evil; drew also the sword in the midst of Nineveh godlessly; to exercise the kingship with each other they broke loose[1] like young steers. Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, looked with wrath on the deeds of the

1 Or "against each other they rushed."

scoundrels which had been wrought against the will of the gods, nor did they help them, (but) brought their strength to weakness and humbled them beneath me. The people of Assyria, who had sworn the great oath of the great gods with oil and water to guard my fealty, went not to their aid.

I, Esarhaddon, one who by the help of the great gods, my lords, hath not turned his back in the midst of battle, speedily heard of their wicked deeds and, crying "Woe!," rent my princely robe and uttered lamentation. Like a lion I roared and my spirit was stirred. To wield the sway of kingship of my father's house I exercised(?) my right of priesthood[1]: to Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu and Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela I raised my hands and they received my prayer with favour; with their true "Yea" they vouchsafed me a helpful oracle thus "Go, stay thyself not: we will march at thy side and destroy thine enemies."

The prism also restores several small passages which are mutilated on the other texts, and one in particular is interesting, (to be inserted after the incident of Laile, king of Yadi'):

"By the might of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Nabu, Marduk, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela I conquered all arrogant foes: in the name of their divinity, the princes my foes like reeds which the storm whirls away, kings dwelling in the sea whose walls are the sea and the flood their fortress, who ride a ship for a chariot, harnessing rowers instead of horses."

Another series of finds here led us to think that possibly we had hit on an Assyrian burial ground. Three *larnax* burials (*i.e.*, with coffins of baked clay

[1] Or "beat my fists" (wrung my hands).

rather like a small bath-tub) were found on this site. Two of these coffins, it is true, may have been re-used by later people, both being empty, and their date, from the depth at which they were found (about 6½ feet from the top), is quite uncertain. But the third which was directly beneath one of them, and some two or three feet below the level of the floor of the house, contained a skeleton huddled up on its right side, its head to N.E., with a bronze bowl (flat base and rim about one inch high). This has every appearance of being Assyrian, and perhaps Ninth century or even far earlier. In Chapter VI we have appended the note which Mr. Dudley Buxton has kindly written on the skull.

We closed the diggings in the last week in February, and returned *viâ* Baghdad, taking a lorry with a ton and a half weight of boxes.

CHAPTER V.

NOWADAYS.

WE had left London on Sept. 18th, 1927, and had gone round by sea to Alexandria and Beyrut, seeing Cairo on the way.[1] From Beyrut we went across the desert by car, the route after Damascus being as flat as a pancake most of the way. In October not an Arab was to be seen once the real desert was reached, except at the half-way-house Rutbah, where there is a strong guard-post; on our return in March the Arabs had begun to find a little pasture about a hundred miles or so E. of Rutbah. After the droughts of summer the cars throw up a dust-cloud like a warship escaping under its smoke-screen.

The face of the Near East has altered much since the war. It is the motor-car which is bringing about the change, introducing a crudity of civilisation from the West, even into the remote districts where hitherto only camels and horses had made up the caravans. Aforetime Antonio Effendi was content to take out Cleopatra in a dog-cart; now it must be a Darracq. Evidences of great wealth abound in the towns, and luxury is lapping them round with a deceptive livery of the Hig-Lif, comfortable living giving an uncomfortable presence. Hotels are everywhere, and car proprietors will take you anywhere.

[1] Near the Pyramids we picked up a rough palaeolith, like those found at Thebes, and on our return journey picked some neolithic flakes out of the red sand dunes South of Beyrut.

This is not the place to describe Baghdad, for we were away after two or three days northward to Mosul, reaching it in a little more than twelve hours, by a route which had taken one of us six full days by horse twenty-two years before. But a word must be said in praise of the Museum, which is properly maintained, and is full of interesting things: it had been the joy of Miss Gertrude Bell's later days, and to her, the first Keeper, is the homage of all archaeologists due.

Mosul had changed a little in twenty-two years. War had not battered it outwardly, but there were grim tales of starvation and want which had clemmed the town, and many had died, among them one of our old diggers Fateh, little Dio, son of D'aim, who had looked into the inkpool, and the first bride of Mahmud, whose wedding I had attended in 1904. But there were many old friends who had survived. Nimroud Rassam, who had been British Consular Agent in the time of the Turks, the nephew of Hormuzd Rassam who had dug there: his son Yusuf, whom I remember as a small boy with plenty of pluck, was now *qaimmaqam* of the Sinjar: Abdullah Michael, the chemist, who now owns the highest house in Mosul (five stories, if I remember rightly), and his son, the best dentist in a town now full of "dental mechanics": and happily Mejid Shaiya, now the father of a numerous family, who with his brother Abd-el-Ahad, and another relation, Yakub (both now overseers with us) had accompanied the caravan to Behistun in years gone by. Among the diggers were Hallil, a great six-foot fellow, and old Mahmud, who still possessed an old muzzle-

loader with which he shot at foxes.[1] Of course one fundamental difference is the British Mandate. Apart from the Political Adviser and other English officials, there are (or were) the officers of the Iraq Levies, and numerous Englishmen in the Flying Corps whose machines flew almost daily over us at work, and two nursing Sisters in the hospital, to all of whom we owe our heartiest thanks for much hospitality. Twenty-two years ago the English were represented by Miss Martin, the missionary, and there were, I believe, some French priests. At least one broad new street had been cut through the town, larger houses had been built, a cinema worked occasionally, and there was, of course, an English Club; a new minaret had been given to Nebi Yunus, and a stone bridge built over the Khosr, where the stepping stones used to be, and a second parallel bridge of boats added to the Tigris. Reasonably good roads with signposts, fit for motors in dry weather, are beginning to spread abroad in all directions. There is still ample sport to be obtained, and the British officers avail themselves to the full. Even the Muslawi now appears with a shot-gun (but as long as birds can fly they are in no danger), and happily there is a close time now, which prevents birds being shot out of season. Fishing is also included, and a pack of hounds has been imported, to run with the local *selugi* (greyhound) after jackals. There is now a race-course, and plenty of opportunity for games.

We rented a large country house for fifty rupees a month from Sherif Dubbagh, a charming landowner

[1] Most of these will be found, if there should be any so far interested in them, in my *Pilgrim's Scrip* (R.C.T.).

who had built himself a small blue palace on the slope of Nebi Yunus. This house with its garden, standing about a mile south of Kouyunjik, was built so as to form a rectangle with its mud walls which stood about eight feet high and slopped ponderous masses from their crests in wet weather. It had an imposing entry with a great double door, flanked on one side by a kitchen, wherein Hormizd, our servant, had built himself a clay oven, and on the other by a small stable. Then came the garden in which the Sherif, a lover of flowers, had cultivated roses (*ward*), violets (*benefsej*), chrysanthemums (*Daud Effendi*), marigolds (*k'defah* or *ward sh'ruq*), and hollyhocks. Lastly were the portico and three high rooms on the ground floor, and another room above on the flat roof. Outside in front of the big door was a broad and deep well, crowned with a parapet of limestone blocks, with a patient beast always going round and round the floor of the water-lift, making the endless chain of buckets revolve to water our garden; and, judging by the occasional skull which was tossed out when the well needed repairs, there must have been a burying-ground near. Round about were the fields of barley, *bamia* (okra, lady's-fingers, *hibiscus esculentus*), and vines, and here small Arabs were let loose in seed time, wet or fine, mud or dry tilth, to frighten the birds away with tin cans and monotonous and repetitive *staccato* chant.

This winter of 1927-28 was very cold, but although there was frost down in the mornings and ice in the puddles, there was no snow as occurred for seven days in 1905. It was still hot when we arrived in the third week in October, and we were

sleeping on the roof for some time, but the nights were beginning to turn cold. What was, I believe, the first rain came, on the 16th of October, and snow was visible about the same time on the mountains of Amadiyah. After a hot day on October 23rd, the mists rose so high in the evening that the distant hills could scarcely be seen. The Khosr was still dry except for some pools, and the first water of the autumn did not begin to flow past Kouyunjik until Nov. 4th. On Oct. 28th the cumuli massed very heavily behind Jebel Maklub, big with expectant torrents; clouds had begun by this time to fleck the sky, and rain came again on Nov. 3rd, with thunderstorms all round about next day. Snow first appeared on Jebel Maklub on Jan. 10th.

But for the most part the weather was delightful, although an occasional rainy day stopped all digging; antiquities cannot be rescued safely out of the mud, the men do not work well, and particularly do they slip in carrying baskets up out of the diggings. But the mud was not troublesome enough at the end of February to stop our lorry from going to Baghdad. The Tigris rose and fell again in the first fortnight of November, and the spring rise was high enough for the annual visit of the steamer from Baghdad in February.

Wild animals are not numerous, or at all events not obvious. The jackals still howl at night, and one sees occasional hares in the *hawigah*, that scrub of tamarisk, thistles, licorice, and willows on the old flat Tigris' bed of sand to the east of the river, where, by the way we found a hedgehog at the end of October. Moles (*abu 'amoiyah* "father of blindness") throw up their hills on the plough land (near

the N.W. rampart, Dec. 4th): there were small lizards and a mouse on Kouyunjik (Nov. 5th). The name of the hedgehog was give me as *dalij*: skins of otters (*kelb el-moi*) are brought in to Mosul, caught by the Kurds on the Zab: gazelles were driven down by the snow to Kouyunjik in 1905. Layard speaks of the beaver on the Khabour (*Nineveh and Babylon*, 296) and this animal occurs in cuneiform medicine as *garidu*, the old belief in its healing properties going back at least as far as the seventh century B.C. Wild boar are found near the river.

The birds which I noted at Mosul during 1904 (March) to 1905 (January), and 1927 (October) to 1928 (February), were as follow:—goose (*wuzz*), mallard (*warduk*), pochard, tufted duck, ruddy sheldrake, moorhen (Arab. *ghararíyah*, Mosul, *battah*), cormorant (in winter): a friend shot a smew: snipe (autumn or winter): oyster-catcher, pied (or belted) kingfisher (*kelekus*), kingfisher, ringed (or golden) plover (which the Arabs will not eat), green plover, sandpiper: bee-eater (blue, and green, April until Autumn, (*hudhuhudhea*), hoopoe (not in winter, *hudhud*): heron: white stork (*laqlaq*): crane (*kirki*): rarely curlew, and gull, in winter: Pallas sandgrouse (*qottah*, in immense flocks, flying to the Tigris for water, from May to November): red partridge (*hajelah*): black partridge: quail: buzzard: kite (*kowe'ah* or *hidaiyah*): hawk: rooks (*zar*): crow: owl: martin: blackbird: magpie: starling: sparrow: crested lark: redstart: wheatear: pied wagtail (*fasfusi Musul*): grey wagtail (*fasfusi jebel*): chaffinch (winter): robin (earliest seen 1927, Dec. 23rd): possibly either an avocet, or black-winged stilt. In the Kurdish Hills (Jebel Judi),

a jay in summer: near Aleppo in February, a ptarmigan: a cuckoo heard, Persian frontier, in spring. In 1904 there were two or three peacocks in Mosul, but these appeared to have vanished by 1927.

Of insects apart from the mosquitoes (*boqq*), fly (*pl. debban*) and wasp (*zambur*), of butterflies, fritillaries and "small white" were fairly common in autumn: a lady-bird (*gog*) on Jan. 17th, 1928 (and a name *khumer* was given me for "something like it"): two kinds of ants: scorpions (small black), and snakes in summer: a centipede three inches long in a house. In the Khosr I saw both a freshwater crab and mussels; I do not know the names of all the fish in the Tigris, but there is the *shabbut* (*uranoscopus scaber*) and the enormous *biz*.

Trees do not grow high or plentifully, but the scrub has tamarisk and willow, and there are occasional mulberry trees in the fields, and limes in the houses. The common plants observed in the last season from October 18th to February were[1]:— *Acacia*, sp. "material insuff." (=Arabic *eusaj*, the same as the Assyrian *ashagu*). It forms the local hedge round Mosul, growing man-high. *Ammi Visnaga* L., *Senecio* sp., *Silybum Marianum* Gaertn. (Nov. 13th), *Pulicaria arabica* Cass., *Heliotropaeum europaeum* L., *Convolvulus arvensis* L., *Verbascum micronatum* Lam., *Vitex agnus-castus* L., *Chrozophora tinctoria* A. Juss., *Crocus speciosus* Bieb., *Phragmites vulgaris* Crep. The *Solanum nigrum* L. (Arabic *'aneb ed-dib* "wolf grape" and the Assyrian *inib shuali* "fox grape") growing wild plentifully on the bank of the Tigris, with white flowers, and

[1]Those with Latin names were very kindly identified for me by Dr. A. B. Rendle, Keeper of the Department of Botany of the British Museum, to whom I owe my best thanks.

red berries and seeds which a boy ate (Nov. 13th). There were capsicum growing (planted) in a field (Nov. 13th), their pods red, and on the same date the yellow mullein was partly in flower. For three large bulbous roots dug up in the fields, the plant being used for washing, the Arabic names given me were *ashkubbi*, *surt el-ga'ah* and *t"geg*. I was told of a wild plant "like potatoes" in 1904 called *qame* or *chime* growing near Mosul by itself in spring. Thistles six feet high and licorice grow thick in the scrub, and I noticed the blackberry bramble as fairly common.

In the bazaar the following were obtainable:[1] *Nigella sativa* L., (seeds), (ar. *hubb es-sodah*), alone or mixed with fennel, *prunus mahaleb* and *rocella*, and added to dough in bread-making: *Coriandrum sativum* L., (seeds) (Ar. *fazbu"ah*) used in tea as stomachic, "from the mountains": *Pistacia khinjuk* Stocks (seed), (Ar. *butm*). *Prunus mahaleb*, L. (stones) (Ar. *habb el-mahleb*): these have an aromatic smell (*cf. Gillet et Marne, Flore française*, 147, where it is said that the leaves and wood put in contact with meat communicate the smell). This is a very strong additional proof that my identification of "cherry," *cerasus*, as the Assyrian *karshu*, which is mentioned by Sargon as growing in the mountains probably E. of Lake Urmiah and as having "a pleasant fragrance", is correct (*Assyrian Herbal*, 130). *Foeniculum capillaceum* Gilib., (seed) (Ar. *"uznaij*), see *Nigella*: *Cicer arietinum* L., (fried) chickpeas, Ar. *hummus*: *Zingiber officinale* Roscoe, (locally called *Orkhar*, grown in the hills): *Rocella Montagnei* Belanger, (Ar. *sha'fet el-'ajuz*), see Nigella. There were also the *za'rur-* fruit (which

[1] Also identified for me by Dr. Rendle.

is, I believe, the *Crataegus Azarolus* L.) small and green with a core, and *Ziwan* was given me as the name of certain bitter seeds, presumably of the darnel. In the spring the country is a vast green sea of wheat, and red poppies, anemones, chamomile daisies, and mustard abound. On the mound of Kouyunjik itself even in late October the camel-thorn (*'agul*) and rue (*harmal*) were still growing, but the women here do not burn the rue for lye as they did at Carchemish on the Euphrates. In the spring there were two little edible green plants on the mound, the *khubbas*, something like a kind of geranium, and the *fijelah*. In the bazaar in the autumn can be obtained potatoes, tomatoes, French beans, onions, the egg-fruit plant (*bedinjan*), spinach, radishes, cucumbers, pumpkins, and carrots, (a little later): grapes, melons (also the water-melon with the black seeds, called *raqqi* in Baghdad and *shimsiyah* in Mosul), pears, apples, quinces, lemons, walnuts, almonds, dried figs, dried apricots. The oranges are very good in the winter. Fuel is expensive, as coal has to be imported, and oil, though plentiful, is none too cheap. Wood has to be brought in on donkey-back from the hills.

As for the other necessaries of life, mutton and chickens are the staple meat, beef and pork being impossible (and the digger will do well to avoid both), while there is no difficulty about obtaining eggs, excellent bread, butter, wheat, rice, barley, lentils, sugar. Turkeys (*d'jaj Hindi*) can also be obtained, but at a price at Christmas. The bazaar is now full of European goods, and provides most things from shot-cartridges to glue. We had, however, to get our paraffin-wax for preserving antiquities

from Baghdad, and neither cartridge-paper, tracing-paper nor squeeze-paper was to be found (unless I am mistaken). English physicians, surgeons, and nurses are available; and *Iraqi* dentists abound, some of them excellent.

There are no better peasantry in the world than the *fellahin* round about Mosul. They have the capacities and honest virtues of tillers of the ground; strong, obedient, willing, friendly, ready to laugh, they ask little more than what their day's pay of a shilling or tenpence can give them. Their virtues are very much those of our own country folk, and although sturdily independent if their rights are attacked, they will attach themselves wholeheartedly to the interests of their employer who becomes thereby a kind of feudal lord, temporary it may be, but one who must, as always in the East, remember how strong the personal factor is in everything. Now and again the natural cupidity of man comes out, and something gets stolen from the dig, but then *antikas* have always been fair game. They are quick-tempered and ready to quarrel with their fellows, but this can be eliminated on a dig, if it be known that instant dismissal (temporary) is certain for brawlers.

The usual day's work began this season an hour after sunrise, and ended an hour and a half before sunset. One of us would go round in the morning examining each man's finds, writing the spot and depth on each—an essential procedure—and as it was important to learn something about the pottery, about which little was known, we had to examine every sherd found, and retain thousands. These were then arranged in our house on the floor in little

heaps according to *provenance* and depth, until they filled the floors of two large rooms and overflowed on to the courtyard. For all small finds which were kept a small *bakshish* was given: the men and boys were at first a little contemptuous of the "quarter-anna" (a farthing) reward, until they discovered that such small dole amounted sometimes to a rupee at the end of the eight days, when they were paid, and moreover there was always the hope of an ample present for something good. Small change was difficult to obtain and expensive to buy, so that they soon accepted an eight-day's wage whereby the pick man got a round sum of six rupees, and the others five. The tools they use are the single-bladed pick (*kozmah*), the hoe (*majrufah*), and the basket (*zambil*); spades are not of much use as they are unaccustomed to them[1]. The pick-man first digs his stint, and then retires, and his place is taken by the hoe-man with two (or if the dig be deep, more) basket boys. Pay has gone up during the last twenty years: Rassam paid his men sixpence and fourpence: we paid our in 1904, 3, 2½, and 2 Mosul piastres respectively (about fivepence, fourpence, and twopence-halfpenny): in 1927 we were paying finally a shilling to the pick-man, and tenpence to the others, with *bakshish* for finds. Two overseers and a water-boy completed the company which amounted to more than a hundred as a rule. Arabic and Turkish were the two languages in use, and it was not always that those who spoke Turkish could understand Arabic. The men came from Mosul, Nebi Yunus, and the villages round about.

[1] I saw a curious hand-tool for agricultural use, a serrated blade at right angles to the haft, called *mak(q)zun*.

Water was, of course, a necessity, on the mound. We bought a cheap horse for a little more than £5, and a saddle to carry large amphorae, and told off a lad whose proper name was Ibrahim (it should have been Binjimin) to fill the big pots and take water both to mound and house: and to him life was one long glorious canter on his employers' horse. Our own water-supply was first strained through a large porous jar (*hubb*) on a stand (*kursi*), then put through a Bergfeldt pump filter, and finally boiled.

As time went on numerous visitors, natives of Mosul, would come out to see the excavations, and it was pleasant to see an interest taken in the work. King had said the same thing, that when he began in 1903, crowds came out at first from the town, but these soon lost interest. As a matter of fact there was little to see with us: economy compelled us to dig the surface in broad sections, throwing the new earth behind us and filling the completed section, as was demanded by the owners. But a set of ill-conditioned fellows once came up on a Sunday, disregarded the watchman's protests, and broke up an interesting drain *in situ*, saying that these things belonged to their ancestors. We therefore wrote a protest which the Political Adviser translated into Arabic, and sent it to the local paper, which printed it. It had the effect of advertising the excavations and more people came out than ever, but always well behaved, and we had no further serious trouble, although Mosul is still provincial in its ways. Many of the women, by the way, are now dressing in European-fashion, and we confess to having been pleasantly surprised at the fashion-plate appearance (even the un-Oriental slimness) of more than one

young woman who came to see the *antikas*. Time was when even the Christian women of Mosul were kept as secluded as Moslems; Layard, in describing an entertainment he gave to his workmen at Kouyunjik, says that "the quiet Christian ladies of Mosul, who had scarcely before this occasion ventured beyond the walls of the town, gazed with wonder and delight on the scene; lamenting, no doubt, that the domestic arrangements of their husbands did not permit more frequent indulgence in such gaieties." My own servant in 1904 told me that if his sister had sat down to a meal with a man who was not her brother he would have killed her. But in 1927 we attended a wedding, and conditions had obviously altered for the better, and our host, when rallied on this advance, attributed it to the imitation of English customs.

But the Moslem peasant is still careful to maintain the old blood-rite in cutting the throat of beast or bird before it is slain. Once when a ploughman near Nebi Yunus was offered a pigeon one of us had shot, he refused it courteously, doubtless for the reason that its throat was intact.

As another instance of folklore, one night the night of a full moon, we noticed a gradual irregular fusillade beginning in the direction of Mosul, and down the road past the house we heard a belated Arab beating a tin can as he went. An eclipse of the moon was in progress, which at once explained the nervousness of the inhabitants who strove, after the well-known fashion of their ancestors, but a trifle more dangerously, to drive away the great beast which was devouring the moon. I had heard the same din in Suez twenty-five years ago for the

same cause, and Doughty also speaks of it; it will be found in Assyrian magic also, in the incantation in which the seven evil spirits attacked the Moon-god, and darkened him.[1]

One day the talk on the mound turned on *bakhshish*. "Ah," said the genial six-foot, Hallil, "I have lost all my four wives who are dead, but *insh'Allah*, I can manage to get a fifth, if the diggings prove good." Here was the moment to suggest that a ball of gold might be found in a drain-pipe lately exposed, but full of dust, and Hallil was obviously the man to do it: those who stood by scented a jest and looked on expectant. The big man got to work, out came the earth, and, amid the dust of ages a flicker of gold—but not gold, an orange! and universal delight of the diggers at the coincidence. But a solemn grey-beard who personified wisdom amidst them pondered, and presently enunciated "Of a truth, I believe it was the Beg who put it there a' purpose."

One day, a Sunday in the earlier part of the season when there was still time to go for a walk and get a shot at a sand-grouse, and a bathe, we went through the *hawigah*-scrub to the river. There was always the hope of finding a clue to the identification of the cuneiform word for some chemical there, for the Assyrian word "river" is bound up with several, the best known one being *Kibir nari*, literally "bank of the river," but actually "brimstone," which the Assyrian also made *kibritu* "the bank-stuff," and the Arabs *kebrit*, which now means "matches." The country has several sulphur springs, which will explain it. In this expectation we walked up the

[1] If any should be interested he will find parallels in my *Semitic Magic*, p. 53.

bank, examined various deposits and at our bathing-pool discovered a strange wax-like film floating on the blackish water. Of a truth, this must be something: haste, bring phial and collect it, that the pundits at home may analyse it, and so it may be applied to the other Assyrian words! So when we returned home, the phial was sent duly to Mr. J.E. Marsh, Fellow of Merton Collège, for analysis. Back it came with the words:

"This is'nt Assyrian at all. It is nitroglycerine and still explosive."

It appears that there must have been a dump for explosives here during the war.

In closing this chapter it is fitting to mention the very broad and sensibly generous conception of the Iraq Government in regard to excavators, in marked distinction to the law of Turkey and the situation in Egypt. The Iraq Government have recognized in its wisdom that the antiquities of Mesopotamia are practically unlimited; finds are not likely to come to an end for a long time to come, and it is more probable that Assyriologists, sated with the repetitions of material, will give up excavating before the material is exhausted. Bearing this in mind in framing the law about the sharing of the spoils after a season's excavation between the Iraq Museum and the digger, they have clearly done all that is possible for the best of both parties:

"At the close of excavations, the Director shall choose such objects from among those found as are in his opinion needed for the scientific completeness of the Iraq Museum. After separating these objects, the Director will assign to the person who has been given the permit for excavation such objects as will

reward him adequately, aiming as far as possible at giving such person a representative share of the whole result of excavations made by him."

Now this law is going to have a very definite effect on the welfare of Iraq, its results already being most striking. The present Egyptian and Turkish Administrations, taking the *whole* of the "finds" from the digger, are bringing about the result which might have been expected: they are killing the goose which lays the golden eggs, diverting numerous expeditions into Iraq which would otherwise have come to them. This year there are some six or seven exploring parties in Iraq, many of them very important, which is an unusual state of things. How many (or how few) expeditions there are in Turkey and Egypt this year we do not know, but there is no doubt about the great discontent among Egyptian archaeologists, resulting in so marked a reduction of exploration there. None will deny that one of the sources of wealth of any country is from visitors and tourists, and it is particularly so in countries intimately connected with the early history of civilization, where the archaeological remains are a supreme asset. Hence excavations which lay bare the ancient sites, bringing back from oblivion the lost records of primitive man, are both a direct and an indirect gain to the state which encourages them. Directly, each expedition pays some hundreds, nay, thousands of pounds each season into the pockets of workmen who are thus able, between seed-time and harvest, to make enough money for their needs instead of falling into the curse of debt, which is the rule rather than the exception in the intervals of employment; and consequently they dwell satisfied

and content, gastronomically and matrimonially, with no reason for giving trouble to the state. Indirectly, as the Tutankhamen and Ur of the Chaldees discoveries have shewn unmistakably, they rouse immense popular interest in excavations, and induce tourists to visit the countries in which it has been made worth while for archaeologists to carry on their explorations; with the traveller come the hotel-keepers and the great importers of dutiable goods, and so on, in a beneficial circle of attraction. The Iraq Government has adopted a most far-seeing policy.

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CHAPTER VI.

The History of Nineveh.

CLIMB the steep slope of the larger mound of Kouyunjik, and see how the ancient city and her daughters lie spread beneath your feet. Your eyrie is now a hundred feet above the undulating plain below, a vast extent of rolling tilth, ploughland after ploughland, glebe after glebe, save where the city of Mosul across the Tigris and the village of Nebi Yunus on the sister mound intervene, or a rare village, such as Rahmaniyah, nearby, where they bury the chopped straw in long earthy mounds against the rain. On the horizon, fifty miles away to the north, is the range of mountains towering above Amadiyah, while to the west of these, but twenty miles nearer, are the hills above Al-Kosh, where live the monks, and delicate melons grow in abundance. To the north-east your range of sight is bounded by the magnificent chain of the Maklub, fluted and channelled, on whose bosom nestle the little villages Bashiqah and her sisters: eastwards, another hill takes its name from the 'Ain-es-Sufra, a yellow spring from which men cannot drink, held sacred by the Yezidis. Not far from the Maklub Hills Sargon built his new city Dur-Sargina, choosing as its site the town of Magganuba; southwards the circle of the earth is less broken, and the mountains cease, and now you can see the Tigris, spreading wide and twisting afar, between the emerald banks of its course, until your eyes turn westwards, and

Mosul begins on the other bank a mile away, rising in a long gentle curve and down again, the river now spanned by two boat-bridges, and the minarets showing high above the cramped houses.

All round you at your feet lies the ancient city Nineveh, on a bed of conglomerate pebbles which is now for the most part covered by the furrowed soil of corn-fields, yet it outcrops at the eastern foot of the very mound of Kouyunjik on which you stand, and again often in patches towards the great north-east wall where are one or two little caves, and again between the inner and outer ramparts. The first men who lived here were perhaps of the same race as those who occupied the settlements between here and Susa. There is as yet no evidence of palaeolithic man in the neighbourhood; the Persian Gulf may have extended so far up the valley of the Tigris that there was no place for him or his hand-axes, although he has left good evidence of his weapons on the Upper Euphrates. No one as yet can tell the age of the one crude chipped lump of stone which we picked up on the conglomerate beds north of Nineveh, and beyond the explanation that it is an artefact, there is nothing decisive about it. Hence we may say at present that the first race occupying Nineveh used painted pottery not unlike that which people at Susa made, which is known as Proto-Elamite.

This pottery is divided into two groups, both belonging to the chalcolithic stage when men were using copper, flint and obsidian for their tools at the same time. The vases of Susa I are characterised by geometric and highly stylised figures of men, birds, or animals, in a dark brown paint on a greenish white clay: the pottery of Susa II is marked by a

more careless and more naturalistic method of decoration, and particularly by large jars painted in a polychrome style. Cultures related to that of Susa I have been found at Abu Shahrain, Tell el-'Ubaid, Ur, Farah, Ashur: pottery like that of Susa II at Kish, Jemdet en-Nasr, and Farah. It would appear always to be pre-Sumerian, except that at Jemdet en-Nasr and perhaps Farah it may overlap the earliest Sumerian remains, but the question is still *sub judice*. But the fragments of pottery which we found at Nineveh do not exactly coincide with either Susa I or Susa II. They lack the most characteristic motives of Susa I, and have been fired at a much higher temperature. Equally they lack the naturalistic style and polychromy of Susa II. As Frankfort has pointed out, the Mesopotamian pottery of this class (to which ours is no exception) is akin to that of Mussian and Bender Bushire, or in other words, to a later development of Susa I. Briefly summed up, the Nineveh fragments of prehistoric painted pottery are probably contemporary with that of Mussian and Susa II, having descended from Susa I.

About the earliest inhabitants, Mr. Dudley Buxton has been so kind as to write the following note on the skull which came from the *larnax*-burial below the house which Sennacherib built for his son, probably of the ninth century B.C., but possibly earlier (see *p.* 87):

"The climate of Egypt is so dry that we have, perfectly preserved, the bodies of the ancient Egyptians who lived thousands of years ago. We can tell almost exactly what manner of men they were, even down to such personal details as the diseases from

which they suffered, often the cause of death and so on. Unfortunately the conditions in Mesopotamia are very inimical to the preservation of human remains and such skulls as have been preserved are often very broken. The anthropologist is therefore left to piece out the information gathered from the anatomy of the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia as best he can. A large number of early skeletons have been discovered at Ur by Mr. Woolley, which have been examined by Sir Arthur Keith. A second series has been excavated at Kish, which lies close to the ruins of ancient Babylon, and there are also a few skulls from other localities. As far as I am aware this is the first skull which has been excavated and preserved from a site so far north as Nineveh, and it is therefore particularly interesting, although, of course, it is probably of much later date. Of course it must always be remembered that little anthropological importance can be attached to a single skull, as we need at least forty or so of the same sex to arrive at any definite conclusions. All that can be done with the present skull which appears to be of the large round-headed type known to anthropologists as Armenoid is to try and see how far it fits into the framework which has been already tentatively made from previous discoveries.

When I first undertook the examination of the ancient remains from Kish I found that the very first skull which had been excavated in a sufficiently whole state to make it worth examination was definitely round in form and not unlike certain early skulls which I had found in Bronze Age tombs in Cyprus some years before. The second skull excavated was of a different type: it was very long and

narrow, and of a quite unmistakable coffin shape. It conformed well to the type that is known to anthropologists as Eurafrican, which appears to be a type of man who was widely spread over the Near East and even Western Europe in early times and has survived even to-day in isolated districts. The Kish long skulls were not all entirely of this type, but had some features of their own which made them quite unmistakable. I found that the majority belonged to this long type, while the roundheads were comparatively few, probably not more than say ten or twelve per cent. This is very much the condition that one finds in the later graves from the south. Among the earlier graves, however, from Tell El-'Ubaid excavated by Mr. Woolley and examined by Sir Arthur Keith, the roundheaded type appears to be absent altogether.

At present the evidence is far from being sufficient, but the following tentative conclusions seem justified. On the whole there is no definite indication that the actual racial types are particularly associated with any definite type of culture. The earliest inhabitants of Mesopotamia were probably of the longheaded type. At some date which is probably at least as early as the fourth millennium B.C. there began to spread from the north a roundheaded type, known to anthropologists as Armenoid. This type had certainly reached Nineveh as early as the ninth century B.C. and probably sometime before on the evidence of the skull before us. It was well established at Kish in the earliest graves so far recorded from that site, although at present we have no certain records of graves from that early city Jemdet en-Nasr, which lies close to Kish. It did not, however,

reach Southern Mesopotamia till rather later times and was entirely absent from the early graves near Ur. The gradual spread of the Armenoid type has been going on continuously, the later graves from the south and the Neo-babylonian graves at Kish not differing essentially from the modern inhabitants of the same area. Waves of culture have passed, but the general tendency of the human migration in Mesopotamia has been the gradual spreading of the Armenoid type down the river valley. It is to be hoped that further excavations at Nineveh may unearth more skulls, and so enable us to judge with greater certainty when the Armenoid type actually reached that area, the probability being that it came in at a very early date.

This gradual spreading of the Armenoid type, whose centre of dispersion may well have been the Caucasus region, affected the whole of the Near East and Professor Elliot Smith has traced their gradual spread into Egypt in Early Dynastic times. They were spreading into Crete during Early Minoan and Middle Minoan times and, although the exact details have yet to be worked out, the slow migration, probably extending over a long period, is one of the most interesting phenomena of human migration at the beginning of the historic period."

Subsequent to the chalcolithic period we must include eight bricks found at a late level in the Temple site, doubtless discovered in some digging in classical or mediaeval times on the mound, perhaps in digging out the later well. These have the two finger-holes on the upper side which mark the early bricks from the south, the top in this case being nearly flat, but with a slight tendency to convexity,

and the result is not far removed from those bricks rather earlier than the obviously plano-convex bricks of Southern Babylonia. They measure eleven inches square by two and a half thick. More about the occupants at this time we do not know for certain, but we are now getting to the historic period, if indeed we have not already reached it, and it may be that these very characteristic bricks indicate that Sumerian civilisation or ideas have pushed up even as far as Nineveh. There is very little doubt that it reached Ashur (Qal'ah Sherghat), and probably further. Indeed, the celebrated Sumerian treasure from Astrabad far to the north must not be forgotten, but this may well have been stray loot.

Sidney Smith's view (*Early History of Assyria*, 72, ff). is that the early population of Assyria was of Subartu rather than Sumer, Subartu or Shubari being a loose definition in the thirteenth to the eleventh centuries B.C. for a people called "wide-spreading," and vaguely mentioned as living in the Taurus, west of Lake Van, as well as in so remote a spot as the land of the Gutii, the south or south-west of Hulwan. But until excavations in Nineveh can be made to reach down below the level of the first millennium B.C., or, more economically, as a cutting in the flank of the great mound, we are not likely to solve this interesting problem.

It is this early period of Assyria which abounds in problems, which the spade only can solve. We do not know for certain how the very name *Ashshuraiu* "Assyrian" came into being, since in the early period Ashir and Ashur were employed indifferently for the city, the land, and the god (Smith, *ib.*, 102). Nineveh was the name of a township in Babylonia,

as well as of the Assyrian capital, and " both derived the name from a river goddess Nina, who was perhaps conceived to have the form of a fish" (*ib.*, 103). The cuneiform sign for the Assyrian capital has long been recognized as a fish in a tank, and this, of course, led to the explanation of the story of Jonah, that Nineveh was the fish which swallowed him. It is not improbable that Kouyunjik represents early Nineveh; for one thing, Nebi Yunus is the smaller mound, and as far as we know, no prehistoric antiquities have been discovered there as yet:[1] for another, the encircling walls of Nineveh are due to Sennacherib who gives the area of the city before he embellished it as 9,300 cubits in circumference, which pretty nearly represents the big mound (see *p.*120). If therefore Nineveh owes its name to the first occupants of the big mound, it may not be too fanciful, perhaps, to see in the oval shape and its position between the streams of the Tebiltu and the Khusur (which make it almost an island) the explanation of the cuneiform sign.

The earliest historical record of the political connection of Assyria is to be found as far back as the Third Dynasty of Ur, when Zariqu, the vicegerent (*Shakkanaku*) of Ashur builds a Temple "for the life of Pur-Sin, the mighty, the king of Ur." This at all events indicates that Assyria was dominated by the south at this time. Then Shulgi, king of Ur (*c.* 2,400), devastated Urbillum, which is now taken to be Arbela. Sidney Smith (*ib.*, 135) considers that at this time the land of Assyria was thus divided: "the plain of Arbela, stretching across to Nineveh

[1] I believe, although I will not vouch for it, that it was said when we were digging in 1904, that just as Nebi Yunus contained the Prophet, so did Kouyunjik contain the whale.

and perhaps including that city, remained distinct from the land of Ashur, which is not mentioned in connection with it. The southern half, of which alone excavations afford some knowledge in the early period, was completely under the dominion of Ur."

The next problem, which has found only a very doubtful solution, is that afforded by the evidence of the Cappadocian tablets. Far to the north-west, in the heart of Cappadocia, is a mound called to-day Kul Tepe, and from this have come large numbers of tablets written in cuneiform of the Ur dynasty period (*c.* 2,400 B.C.), and in a Semitic dialect, in many of its phonetic peculiarities identical with the Assyrian of the earlier inscriptions. The personal names found in the texts are of two main classes, Semitic and Non-Semitic: certain of these documents are dated by the *limu* or eponym, an institution particularly Assyrian: and all the Assyrian month names except one are used in these Cappadocian documents: the system of weights and measures was in part the same as in Babylonia. The possibilities of the connection of this group ("colony" as some have thought it) with Assyria are many, but definite answer cannot yet be forthcoming. What is important is that on one of these Cappadocian tablets we have the earliest known mention of the ideogram "Nineveh."[1]

Somewhere about 2,070 B.C. we find the mention of the first ruler of Ashur, Puzur-Ashur, "the tenant-farmer of Ashur," and thenceforward we have a nearly complete list of the rulers' names. But

[1] I owe this reference to Mr. Sidney Smith who published the tablet (*Cappadocian Cuneiform Tablets*, Pl. 50, No. 113257, ll. 15 and 40).

our intention is not to write a history of Assyria, but to confine ourselves to Nineveh, and as yet little is visible through the mists of antiquity. As Smith suggests, we may perhaps infer from the language of Hammurabi (*c.* 2,100 B.C.) that Nineveh was an integral part of Assyria not long after this time; at all events we are on our first firm ground in the Code of Hammurabi, where the king of Babylon appears as lord of both Ashur and Nineveh. Next (*c.* 1,830 B.C.) we find the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I rebuilding the Temple of Ishtar at Nineveh, that great temple to the goddess which looms so large throughout Ninevite history. Nineveh has thus passed definitely out of the control of Babylon.

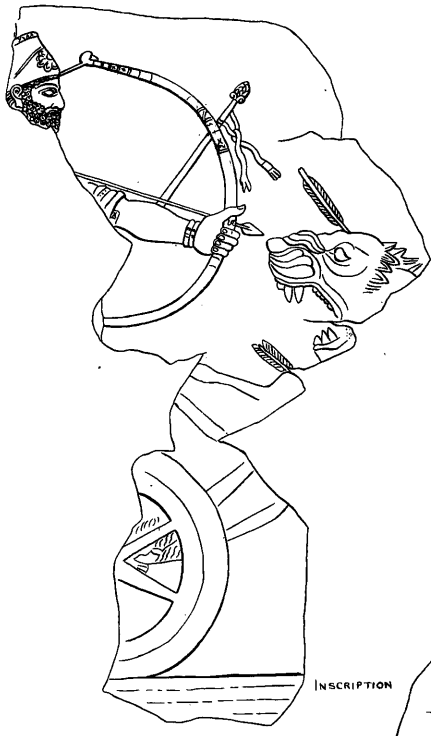
But although the Temple of Ishtar had long existed on the mound we have no record of any very early palace. In the time of Tushratta, king of Mitanni (15th cent. B.C.), when Assyria was apparently subject to Mitanni, during the long gap between *c.* 1830 and *c.* 1380, when there is no record of restoration by Assyrian kings (or any other) of the Temple of Ishtar, we find a certain Nabu-li given as the *sukallu* (minister) of Tushratta over Nineveh. It is exactly as George Smith said (*Assyrian Discoveries*, 91), that after the nineteenth century B.C. "for some centuries we hear nothing of Nineveh, until the reign of Assur-ubalid." But there is no doubt about the fame of Ishtar of Nineveh as a powerful goddess, apart from any restoration of the temple, as early as the middle of the second millennium B.C. A hymn and a prayer are still extant, discovered as far distant from Nineveh as the centre of the Hittite Empire in Cappadocia in the Khurri language. Indeed, it was about this period that Ishtar of

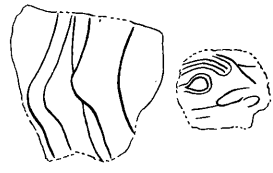
Nineveh was sent down to Egypt, during the reign of Tushratta. The fact that Ishtar of Nineveh, or doubtless Nina as she was called in early times, gave her name to the mound is of paramount importance in any history of the mound, and it may well be that the earliest records must be sought beneath the site of her temple.

Beginning, therefore, with the Temple of Ishtar, goddess of love and war, as the earliest known building of Nineveh, we can note its rise from the time of Hammurabi (*c.* 2100 B.C.), when it was called E-mishmish, later to become E-mashmash. It was restored by Shamshi-Adad I (*c.* 1830), and then followed, as we have already seen, the dark period of several centuries, followed by a series of restorations by Ashur-uballit (*c.* 1380), Shalmaneser I (*c.* 1280), Tukulti-Ninurta (*c.* 1250) and perhaps his successors: then by Ashurrishishi (*c.* 1150), Tiglath-Pileser I (*c.* 1100), and Ashurnasirpal (*c.* 883-859). Little now appears to have been done to this Temple until Ashurbanipal, but it certainly was in existence in the time of Sennacherib, and its approximate site can be settled from his building inscriptions:

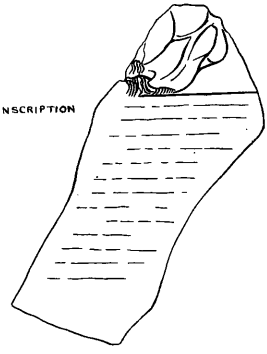
"As for the former palace (*i.e.*, the old one on the S.W. side, before Sennacherib pulled it down to make room for his new palace) which was 360 cubits opposite the *zamu* (outer wall?) of the temple-tower, 80 cubits broad opposite the *bit-namari* of the Temple of Ishtar, 134 cubits broad opposite the *bit-namari* of the Kidmuri-Temple, 95 cubits broad (on the fourth side)."

It is not easy to plan the exact shape of the palace, as obviously the figures do not give a rect-





Pieces of horses and lion



INSCRIPTION

Sculpture of Lion-Hunt with later Inscription on Reverse: Period, Ashurnasirpal, 883-859, B.C. Temple of Nabu: duplicate (reversed) of scene from Nimrud, British Museum: compare the plates in Layard, Monuments, First Series, Pl. 10, and Pl. 50 (Upper Half of next Plate).

angular building, nor do we know the exact position of the old palace. But when Sennacherib built his new palace on the top of the old, he would hardly have been likely to pull any part of the famous temple down, and consequently we may expect to find these buildings not far from the side of the S.W. palace. Indeed, as we have said on p. 43, there is good reason to think that the large pit dug out by Rassam some 200 feet N.E. of the north corner of Sennacherib's palace was on the site of some part of the Temple of Ishtar. In the time of Ashurbanipal the court (like that of the Nabu Temple) was restored with limestone blocks, many of them inscribed similarly to those from the Nabu Temple, except for some alteration in the god's name and the phraseology. According to the fashion of his time the goddess is herein called Nin-lil, although the temple still retains its old name E-mash-mash.

With the completion of the description of the Temple of Ishtar we can go on to the history of the second Temple on Kouyunjik, that of Nabu, the god of wisdom, particularly of the written word, the excavation of which is described in Chapters III and IV.

The Temple of Nabu, or as it was afterwards called, the Temple of Nabu and Marduk, is not so old as the Temple of Ishtar. The name of the original founder, as once given in an inscription of Sargon, is lost, and the first restoration of which we know was made by Adad-nirari III in 788 B.C., (Eponym Canon) confirmed by bricks: "Adad-nirari, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, son of Shamshi-Adad, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, [son of] Shalmanoser, prefect of Bel, priest of Ashur, [the Temple] of Nabu,

his lord, which is in the middle of Nineveh, [from] its [foundation] to its roof [for his life], for the welfare of his seed and land has built." It was restored again by Sargon (721-705 B.C.) who calls it the Temple of Nabu and Marduk, and Ashurbanipal restored its pavements. That it is obviously a foundation of fairly late date is suggested both by the inscriptions above, and its actual position. Its site is on the central ridge of the mound, but further to the north than the palace of Ashurnasirpal (which may cover others of earlier date) and so, still further from the Temple of Ishtar, which as we have presumed, was the oldest building on the site.

There appears to have been a third temple, an E-Akit, or Temple of the New Year's Feast, built by Sargon, but the site of it has not yet been found (see *p.* 77).

We can next turn to the palaces. As far as can be seen, George Smith was right in his claim to have discovered the builder of the oldest palace at Nineveh[1]. He found in what he calls "the Temple area, in the centre of the mound of Kouyunjik" a brick inscribed "Palace of Shalmaneser, king of nations, son of Adad-nirari, king of nations." Now this might be either the king of *c.* 1280 B.C. or *c.* 781 B.C. : but it is a duplicate apparently of the brick of Shalmaneser I found at Qal'ah Sherghat, and consequently there is every probability that Smith is right, and this palace of 1280 B.C. is the earliest of which we have record. Moreover, I believe there are no texts of Shalmaneser IV in existence.

[1] *Assyrian Discoveries* 247 and 140.

Next, we must again turn to George Smith[1] for a stone of Mutakkil-Nusku (*c.* 1150 B.C.) which has been overlooked both by King and Luckenbill. This, also, apparently discovered by Smith in Kouyunjik, reads "Palace of Mutakkil-Nusku, king nations, king of Assyria, son of Ashur-dan, king of nations, king of Assyria, son of Ninurta-pal-ekur, king of nations, king of Assyria." This inscription would shew definitely that he too had a palace in Nineveh. From the time of Tiglath-Pileser (*c.* 1100) whose bricks record the existence of his palace here, and onwards, there is no doubt that many of the Assyrian kings had built or restored a royal residence here. Ashur-bel-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser, claims a palace in his inscription on the back of the Ishtar statue. Then follows a period of interrupted rule, until Adad-nirari II (*c.* 911-891), who, more than a hundred years later, left large slabs of basalt which shewed that he, too, had a palace, as we found in the *débris* above Ashurnasirpal's residence. Of his son, Tukulti-Ninurta II (*c.* 890-884) we found a large inscribed slab in the very palace of Ashurnasirpal, whose bricks, in the walls *in situ*, near those of his son Shalmaneser, made it certain that the building which we had found at 26 feet depth was actually his palace. After Shalmaneser came the revolt of his son Ashur-danin-apal, and Nineveh joined the rebels, *post hoc* or *propter hoc*, apparently, as George Smith suggests, in dissatisfaction at the transference of government to Calah. This revolt was put down by Shamshi-Adad V (*c.* 823-810), who, however, still had his palace in Calah, where he was buried. A brick of

[1] *Ib.* 251.

one [Shamshi]-Adad, either IV or V, was found in our excavations, but it is impossible to settle the exact date. Adad-nirari III (*c.* 805-782), son of Shamshi-Adad V, appears to have been the first king to build a palace on Nebi Yunus; and George Smith says that he found two inscribed bricks of a palace of Tiglath-Pileser II (III) (*c.* 745-727) at Kouyunjik, "by the bend of the river Khosr" (*ibid.*, *pp.* 92, 139, 253), which would appear perhaps to shew that this preceded Sennacherib's building in this part. Then, as George Smith says, after the death of Tiglath-Pileser Nineveh was neglected in favour of a new royal city, Dur-Sargon, built by Sargon (*c.* 721-705), although he appears also to have had a palace in Nineveh, judging from his inscription on two vases, one of chalcedony, the other of glass.

But it was Sennacherib (705-681) who made Nineveh into a royal and magnificent city, properly laid out and defensible. This is the account of his rebuilding of the city as he gives it in his several varying versions:—

Of old, says he, the city measured 9,300 cubits (about 2,500 yards) in circumference, and had neither outer nor inner wall[1]; The old palace in the south-west corner of Kouyunjik measured by different accounts 360 x 120 cubits, or 360 x 95 cubits; he does not say whose palace it was more than vaguely: "Nineveh, the noble fortress, the city beloved of the goddess Ishtar, . . . where from of old, the kings who went before, my fathers, had

[1]This corresponds to the perimeter of Kouyunjik, which is about 3,000 yards: but it is not easy to see how he measures his addition to the city which then amounted only to 21,815 great cubits in all.

ERRATUM:—*P.* 120, for "2500 yards" read "3500 yards" (by the Khorsabad cubit). In the footnote I was wrong: "21,815 great cubits" well represent the *inner* rampart.

(R.C.T.)

exercised the rule over Assyria before me, and had governed the subjects of Enlil, and yearly without interruption had received therein as an income without cessation the tribute of the princes of the four quarters ; not one of them had turned his mind (nor) his heart considered the palace therein, the place of the royal abode, whereof the site was (now) too small." Nor, he goes on, had they thought to improve the appearance of the city, by laying out streets or widening the broad places, digging canals or planting orchards. Wherefore, Sennacherib, not inaptly comparing himself to Adapa, who was the son of Ea and had received wisdom from his father, conceived the immense project of reorganizing the ground-plan, not only of his palace, but of his whole city. His father had designed and created Dur-Sargon, a small township with a palace ; well enough as a *ballon d'essai*, but hardly the supreme idea of founding the new Nineveh.

It would be for him to re-build the palace after more modern style which the Hittites were bringing into vogue: to re-fortify the city with walls, re-organise its water-supply from the very hills in which it sprang and control it with dams; nay, provide its citizens each with his little plot of land whereon he might cultivate his own vine and fig-tree. Labour was plentiful; he had numberless captives, Chaldeans, Arameans, Armenians, Cilicians, Philistines, Tyrians, to carry baskets on their backs, and puddle the clay for the millions of unburnt bricks which would be necessary, all of whom his sculptors pictured on great marble slabs, labouring to raise the palace-mound or drag the bull-colossi into place.

Different accounts make his design of the terrace for the new palace 700 x 440 great cubits: or more exactly, 700 great cubits on the side, 162 great cubits on its upper north front, 217 great cubits on its inner front, 386 great cubits on its lower south front on the Tigris side" or, as another gives it, "700 great cubits on the side, 176 great cubits on its upper north front, 268 great cubits on its inner front opposite the *zamu* of the building behind Ishtar, 383 great cubits on the second inner front, facing the west, behind the temple-tower of Ishtar, 386 great cubits on the lower south front on the Tigris side." He enlarges on this by saying that he took a piece of land 340 (454) x 289 cubits from the Khosr, to add to the old terrace, and it will be seen that this coincides fairly well with the totals of his new terrace.

The first necessity was to pull down the old palace and secure his new platform which he was raising to between 160 and 170 *tipki* in height. Then there was the Tebiltu, a little stream or tributary which usually at high water ate its way into the city graveyards, and in its headlong passage would come close up to the old palace and wreak havoc at the base of the mound[1]. This he deflected probably

[1]The difficulty has been to identify its course before it reached the mound, and the solution given in Olmstead's map (*History*, 327) is impossible. Here it is marked as running parallel to the Khosr outside the N.E. wall for some short distance until the two diverge at the gorge of Ajilah, whence it goes direct to the gap of the Khalakhkhi Gate to flow across Nineveh to join the Tigris, which in old times according to Olmstead, following the view of Felix Jones, washed the flank of the mound of Kouyunjik.

There are two probable errors here, as we think. The first is that, in spite of modern geographers, we do not believe that the Tigris at the time of Sennacherib flowed immediately under the walls of Nineveh, except perhaps at the time of high floods in spring, but that it occupied much the same position as it does to-day. The reasons we urge are:—

(*a*) The Tebiltu is spoken of as destroying the graveyards inside the

along the S.W. rampart until it reached the Khosr. Next, as we have already said, he reclaimed a strip of land at the S. corner from the Khosr, measuring 340 x 289 cubits, and on the W. side he strengthened the face of the mound with great blocks of limestone against the floods, raising it finally to 190 *tipki* in height.

So, with a firm base on which to set out his plan, and taking a Syro-Hittite palace as his model, he began his work. "Gold, silver, copper, red sandstone, breccia, Mosul marble, ivory, maple, box,

city, and working havoc with the base of the Kouyunjik mound itself on the S.W. side. It must have flowed near the N.W. side of the mound and thence washed the S.W. flank (as all have accepted), and then it presumably debouched into the Khosr. Actually part of its old channel is still marked by a broad shallow depression to the N.W. and W. of the mound, in which in rain-time large pools stand. If therefore it is accepted that the Tebiltu followed this course round the S.W. flank of the mound, how can the Tigris do the same thing? The Assyrian geographers were quite capable of distinguishing between the two, and if they wanted to say that the Tigris had eaten out the base of this mound below the S.W. palace, they would have said it.

(*b*). If the whole of the S.W. wall of Nineveh had been actually washed by the Tigris, some 200-300 yards in width, we should hardly have heard of as many as five gates along the river-front, of which only two—which, it should be noted are those near the Tebiltu and Khosr—have names which indicate definitely connection with water.

The second error we believe to be in the suggested course of the Tebiltu. As water cannot flow uphill, the Tebiltu could not have come in by the Khalakhkhi Gate. There is a steady western rise towards the north corner of the inner walls from outside from the N.E., and thereabouts, which outside the N.W. wall culminates in a definite saddle lying N.W. —S.E., outside the Gate of Adad. There is therefore no course possible for the Tebiltu through the inner N.E. rampart unless it coincides with the Khosr: which is absurd. It can certainly not have been represented by the little artificial runnel which has been dug from the Khosr dam at Ajilah to the Mill of Armushiyah near the N. corner of Kouyunjik. A mill stream of this kind could not have enough power to do what the Tebiltu did, even if a continuous course could be found for it round the N.W. of this great mound from the Khosr side.

This leaves us compelled to look to the N.W. for the approach of the Tebiltu, which at once suggests that it was a tributary of the Tigris. If this be so, it is more than probable that it passed where the Gate of Nergal now stands, following the depression along the present road, until it reached nearly to the N.W. slope of Kouyunjik, and then turned to the S.W. along its flank. It must not be forgotten that the word Tebiltu is also used in the Negub-tunnel inscription in the phrase "the earlier Tebiltu," brought from the Zaban river, which makes it look much as if it were the general name for tributary or canal.

What, then, would its position be after the walls had been built by Sennacherib? The solution may be found in Sennacherib's own words: "The

mulberry, cedar, cypress, pine, olive(?), oak" were brought thither: the Amanus and snow-capped Sirara sent their fragrant cedars and cypresses for the roof, and the doors were banded with silver and copper. Within was the painted brick, made with iron ores for red and lapis for blue, with the ceilings whitewashed to remove the gloom, with curtain-pegs of silver and copper; alabaster from Ammanana, breccia from near Til-Barsip which lies a few miles south of Carchemish on the far Euphrates, white limestone from Balada. Near the doors knelt beautiful colossal cows of marble and ivory, bearing up the flowerlike calyx on which rested the columns; enormous lions and bulls were cast in bronze in clay moulds "as in making half-shekel pieces," or carved in stone, and on these were set columns of cedar wood sheathed in bronze and lead. Of a truth,

course of the Tebiltu I improved and directed its exit;" and again "I changed the course of the Tebiltu, repaired the damage, and directed its exit through its covered channel" (whatever that may be); and still more "the course of the Tebiltu I turned aside from the midst of the city and directed its exit into the plain at the back of the city." The result is not very clear, but inside and towards the corner marked by the Gate of Sin there is a very obvious rise in the ploughland within the walls and this may perhaps be the cause of the deflection mentioned by Sennacherib.

We may therefore sum up this note by saying that we think that Tebiltu was an offshoot of the Tigris, which probably took off not far above the city, and originally flowed down through where the Gate of Nergal now is, to the N.W. and S.W. slopes of the mound, where it joined the Khosr: that Sennacherib deflected it towards the W. corner of the ramparts, and made it wash the whole of the S.W. rampart until it reached its old bed at the W. corner of Kouyunjik. There seems to be no good reason for thinking that the Tigris (except in flood) touched the walls of Nineveh in later Assyrian times.

It is permissible to infer from the position of the course of the Khosr and the earliest course of the Tebiltu, that Kouyunjik (as representing the earliest settlement of Nineveh) was almost surrounded by the beds of these two streams, which, as we have said on *p.* 113, suggests a fish in a tank. The N. corner of the mound thus affords the only dry access to it except in summer, and this is still noticeable here to-day, where is the easiest roadway up even now.

It is not improbable that the earliest people buried their dead on the far side of the Tebiltu, that the ghosts might not return across the running water.

when all the beauty of it was finished, he had a right to call it "The Palace without a Rival."

Near and round about, probably on the N.W. part of the mound where there is ample space unoccupied, he planted a park "like the Amanus," with gum-bearing trees, and fruit, and trees from hill and plain, and, *mirabile dictu*, "trees bearing wool." More than that, he distributed among the citizens plots of land on the flat whereon they might plant their own fruit trees. Jones (*Topog. of Nineveh, Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, XV, Old Series, 324) estimating the quadrangle of Nineveh to be 1800 acres, reckons the population to have been 174,000 persons.

There remained the defences of the city and water.

Now a glance at the map will suggest at once that the defences were never completed. The inner rampart is undoubtedly perfect: the outer one as it stands, even though ditches may have linked up the two systems, would hardly fulfil its object. We may presume that Sennacherib intended to protect the whole city with a double wall all round, and complete the outer *enceinte*, at least by drawing its two flanks back to the Tigris banks: but probably death supervened, and none of the later kings were big enough or far-sighted enough to complete it. In fact, if the fortifications may be called Sennacherib's wisdom, the undefended portions to north and south between the two ramparts are Ashurbanipal's folly. If he had paid a little more attention to his fortifications and less to lion-hunting and libraries, he might well have spared himself the very proper dread he had of the Elamites. Nevertheless, incomplete as the outer rampart is, it is enormously

solid, and, the outer and inner walls give the impression of immense labour.

We shall have one criticism to make presently about the views which have hitherto obtained about the intermediate "works" between the two walls on the east, but for the moment will confine ourselves to the main ramparts.

The outer wall, so Sennacherib says, was called "*Bad-nig-erim-khulukhkha*, that terrifies the enemy." This extends in a rather curved line for some 5,000 yards, masking the eastern inner rampart, but, as we have said, not seriously linked up nor sufficiently "refused" at either end. At the S. end it can hardly be said to be properly covered by the *wady* which reaches and runs along the S.E. wall, subsequently joining the Tigris. This is now dry, and it is very doubtful how long in each year it can ever have been full. The N. end, after the artificial walling ceases, is prolonged by the natural scarp at Hashamiyah overlooking the Khosr which here flows through a gorge, one side of which is a steep and often sheer bluff some 120 feet high, of good red marl from which the Assyrian librarians probably obtained their clay. This gorge marks the N. end of the outer wall, being only slightly "refused" towards the N. corner of the inner rampart, from which it is separated by an undefended gap of half a mile. We noticed no obvious traverse linking up the two, although since we examined it we have read the previous statements about the existence of ditches here, which we would not challenge for a moment, for the good reason that they could not have been, in any case, comparable to the enormous masses of these walls. In point of fact, this exposed

N. end of the outer wall, coupled with the fact that there is a high saddle outside the N. corner of the inner rampart, marks this at once as the danger-zone in case of siege.

Further, as will be seen a little later, in this gorge is a magnificent double dam, which has never been recognized as Assyrian work, nor indeed have we seen any serious reference made to it as an antiquity, so that we may fairly claim to have discovered one of the reservoirs of the city. Unless, therefore, this gap in the defences between the two ramparts at the north were properly defended, the whole of this Khosr reservoir would be at the mercy of any enemy attacking from the N. or N.W., a very serious danger for the city in summer.

Our contention, therefore, that Sennacherib left his outer wall unfinished, and that subsequent kings were too supine to trouble about its completion, is not unreasonable.

The outer wall has now gaps in it which marked the main gates, and one in the last northern section, before the dam is reached, still shews how the gateway was built transversely through the rampart, facing laterally and not outwards, so that the assailants would come under a flanking fire from the wall, and, if they forced the gate, must advance down a passage on a narrow front.

The inner rampart in B.C. 696 had fourteen gates, increased two years later by the addition of the Desert Gate on the S.W. side. With a view to settling the position of these gates, and the problem of the so-called fortifications between the inner and outer wall we made a fresh plane-table map of the

terrain[1]. We do not agree entirely with the previous identifications of the gaps in the walls with all these gates (*e.g.*, *Olmstead*, *History*, 327).

The greatest gate of all is that of the Sun, Shamash, set in the eastern wall, and an astrologer on Kouyunjik might mark thereby the place of sunrise. Once there were towers rising beside it, and the pinnacled earth of their ruins is still prominent above the bastions, and Layard, who excavated it, found it panelled with alabaster slabs. The others in order, as one goes northwards are: the Ninlil-Gate, at the gap where the Khosr enters the city, "the halting-place of the waggons," possibly where there was a *douane*: the Mushlal-Gate leading to the dam higher up the river, (or possibly to the wall across the river where the Khosr enters): the Shibaniba-Gate: the Khalakhkhi-Gate, near the N. corner, by which the produce of the mountains entered the city: the little Gate of Adad, facing the high ground on the N.W. Then comes the great Gate of Nergal, leading to the town of Tarbis, (where Sennacherib had built a palace), and excavated by Layard, wherein were found a pair of human-headed bulls and a colossal figure, and the paving of limestone still shewed the marks of chariot-wheels: the Moon-Gate near the W. corner, towards the Moon at sunset, sometimes called the Park-Gate: the Gate of the Watering-places, at the W. corner of Kouyunjik, where the old course of the Tebiltu lay, where the animals were watered: the Quay-Gate, at the point where the Tebiltu and the Khosr met, the quay being probably on the Tigris and not near

[1]It might be added that the maps of our predecessors are so excellent that it is almost an impertinence to do the work again. But it was done with these two special points in view.

the mound: the Desert-gate: the Gate of the Armoury (N. of Nebi Yunus): the Khanduri-Gate: the Ashur-Gate, leading to the town of that name, in the middle of the S.E. wall: and lastly the Khalzi-Gate. From the Park-Gate (near the W. corner) ran the *Route du Roi*, sixty-two cubits wide within the city.

There is, however, we think, an error which appears to have crept into maps based on those of Rich and Jones. It has been supposed, we think erroneously, that the arc between the two eastern walls is part of the definitely walled fortifications; at all events in the later maps it has grown into a heavily-defined *lunette*, and this is not actually the case. Really it is a deep channelling twenty feet high in the rise of conglomerate between the walls, not improbably originally made by water, and subsequently artificially increased. Its function as a channel would depend on the amount of water available, of which there is none, except in winter, and then but a little. It may mark an ancient bed of the Khosr; material dug from it may have helped to build the outer wall; but in any case it has no appearance of fortifications other than its ditches would afford.

In addition to laying out the streets of his city, and building defensive walls, Sennacherib provided it with a good water supply from the mountains. In order to do this he went to Bit-rimami at the foot of the mountain of Musri, and near the villages of Dur-Ishtar, Shibaniba, and Suli he led water from the spring-heads down to the Khosr, making a reservoir, so as to control its waters even in the droughts of summer. The river Khosr, (still bearing its ancient name Khusur) takes its rise in the mount-

ains to the north, flows past Khorsabad, the palace of Sargon, and meanders, as a stream some twenty yards in breadth, often with bare and steepish bank through the ploughlands down to Nineveh. It goes dry in summer, leaving rare pools, but after the autumn freshets rises, and if it be a flood year it sweeps down in a torrent five feet deep at the fords. Freshwater crabs, mussels and fish are to be found in it, when there is water, and the *Phragmites vulgaris* Crep., is one of the plants growing in it. Sennacherib says of it "the Khosr whereof the water from of old has kept a low level, and none among the kings, my fathers, had dammed it up, and it emptied itself into the Tigris: to make the glebe fertile from the border of the village of Kisiri high and low, I dug with picks, driving a channel." Then he describes making the head reservoir we have mentioned, but there is apparently a second, the *agammu*-lake; "to regulate the flow of these waters I made a lake, and a reedy island therein, leaving storks, wild pig, and pelicans within it."

Now, as we have already said, we venture to believe that, in walking over the outskirts of Nineveh, we have located this *agammu*-lake in that part of the Khosr which flows through the gorge at Ajilah. Here we found two magnificent river-walls built of solid stone blocks which had evidently formed part of Assyrian dams at this point. Nowhere have we been able to find that this has been properly recognized as such; a "mill dam" is mentioned on Jones' map (which we presume is that on which all subsequent maps have been based, *e.g.*, in Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, and Billerbeck and Jeremias, *Der Untergang Ninevehs*, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, III, "Muhlteich"),

but there is nothing to shew that this has been recognized as Assyrian. Another fact, that there is a runnel which has been dug in comparatively modern times from here to the mill of Armushiyah, appears rather to have diverted the notice of travellers from the difference in age between it and this dam. Layard, who says that he frequently rode round the walls for amusement does not note it, nor do Rich or Botta mention it.

Ajilah lies some 3,000 yards crow-fly 58° E. of N. from Kouyunjik on the right bank on a steep bluff about 80 feet above the river. On the opposite side the bluff becomes often precipitous about forty feet higher. Here on the river are two massive dam walls, the upper about 150 yards upstream of Ajilah, the lower about 250 yards downstream. Neither now dam the river, which flows unhindered, along and through them; of the upper there remain three segments of the river wall, and a few ponderous masses up the hill side, while of the lower, which is four hundred yards downstream, about nine-tenths is intact in an imposing and stately wall stretching diagonally down the river from the left bank, but now interrupted . The length of this lower dam is about 250 yards, and the height at one point is nine feet six inches above the water-level at the end of December. Both upper and lower are built of blocks of limestone, sandstone or conglomerate, firmly mortared together, the lower one having its crest of mortared rubble; both have portions built step-wise, in the usual Assyrian style for a river wall, as may be seen in the buildings of Qal'ah Sherghat.

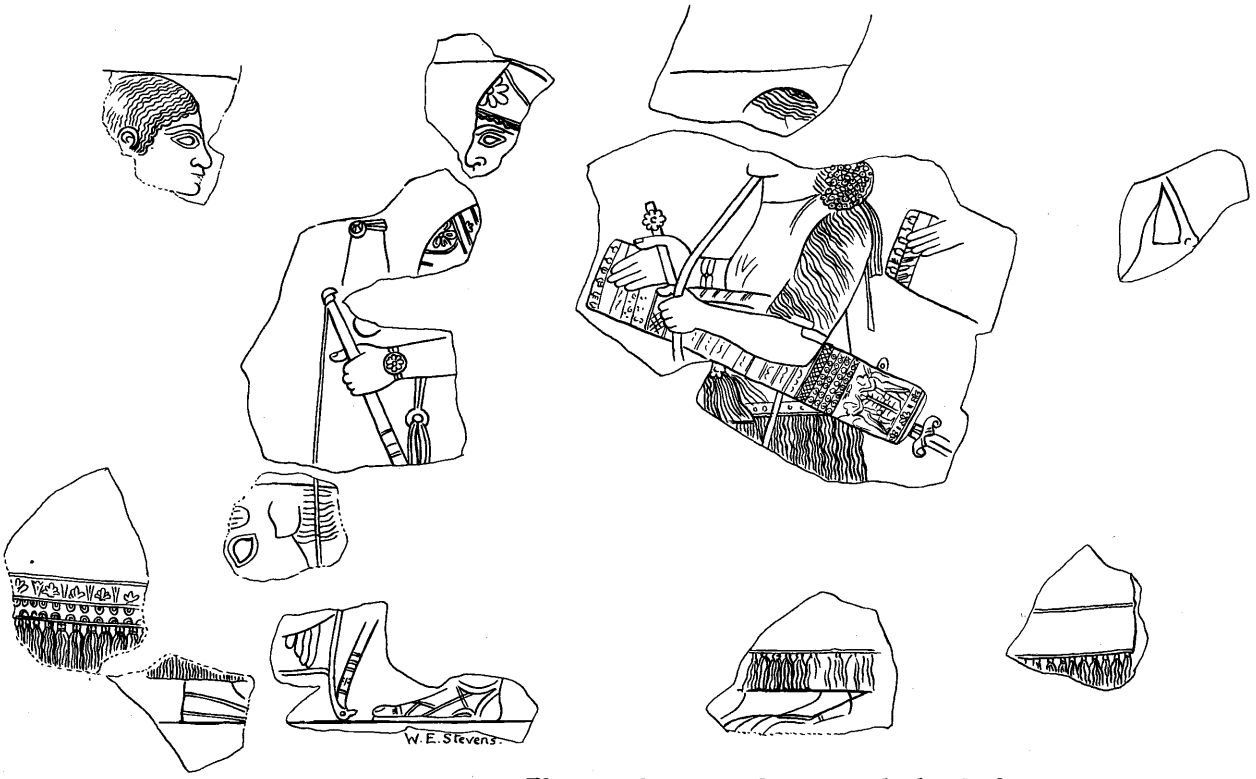
This, we think, must have been Sennacherib's *agammu*-pool:[1] it is too near Nineveh to have been the reservoir which is said by Sennacherib to have been 1½ *beru* distant, *i.e.*, about ten miles.

There is another point in connection with this. The word *mushlalu* which is applied to one of the gates of the inner wall leading in this direction has in all probability, from the passages in which it occurs, the meaning of "river wall." Now the wall of this *agammu*-lake may be the *mushlalu* intended; but, unfortunately for this suggestion, the Shibaniba Gate is really the direct gate to the gorge (where there is a ford). It is possible, therefore, that the *Mushlalu* in question may be a possible dam at the bend of the Khosr, about a mile below the *agammu*, where there are numerous great boulders of conglomerate in the bed, which look as if they had been artificially placed, having been taken from the cliff near at hand. A third possibility is that the *Mushlal*-Gate was alongside the Ninlil-Gate (but in this case on the right bank of the river) where traces of masonry as of a dam, remained certainly up to 1905.[2]

With the death of Sennacherib at the hands of one or more of his sons, Esarhaddon came to the throne. He turned his attention to rebuilding a palace on Nebi Yunus, which had originally been built as an armoury and stables, and had now gone to ruin. He pulled it down and re-built it entirely, making an addition to the mound itself, and forced twenty-two kings from the land of Khatti to do the

1A fuller description of this agammu-pool or dam with measurements and more photographs will be given in our forthcoming article in *Archaeologia*.

2These traces are noted in descriptions of the last century. For a photograph in 1904-05 see pl. III..



Lower Half of Sculpture on preceding Plate: Ashurnasirpal giving thanks for his sport.

work. To-day it lies under the houses of Nebi Yunus, and there it must remain, until the village ceases to be a village.

Ashurbanipal, his son, succeeded him, and besides his restorations to the Temples of Nabu and Ishtar, which do not appear to have been very great, he brought back the royal court to Kouyunjik, rebuilding the northern palace, called the *bit-riduti* or House of Succession. He does not boast about it so fully as one would have expected, but there is no doubt that he left a splendid palace bearing on its walls all the evidence of artistic craftsmen. But as we have stressed more than once, his great work was his library, and this is the place to describe it. This is now preserved in the British Museum; the first great find of these beautiful cuneiform tablets was made by Layard (see *p.* 36), and the second by Rassam (see *p.* 46), and every successive digger has added something to the collection.

The total number of pieces which have been given a separate registration is round about 26,000, and of these something less than 2,000 are "joins," *i.e.*, pieces which have now been rejoined to their fellows, there being no doubt about the fitting of the two together at the fracture. This leaves us with approximately 24,000 whole and fragmentary tablets, of which doubtless there are still many joins to be made. Now these "joins" obviously constitute a very important part of the Assyriologist's work: for instance there may often be as many as a dozen fragments all going to build up the tablet to something like what it was originally. Such an one, for instance, is Rm. 8 with twenty-one fragments joined: K. 2741 with fifteen: and particularly

interesting is K. 2570 with eleven fragments from collections that have reached the Museum from six different expeditions, shewing how very much scattered the *débris* round about the library now is.

Kouyunjik tablets vary in size from 15 x $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches to 1 x $\frac{7}{8}$ inches[1], and the clay varies greatly in colour from almost black to almost white. But the greater part were written on a reddish clay, which must have come from near the *Ajilah* dam, and although we have not tested this in the fire, it is to be assumed that it would keep its colour. As a rule the Kouyunjik tablets are baked.

Whoever may have been the founder of the Royal Library at Kouyunjik, it was Ashurbanipal who was the real patron of science and learning. Almost every tablet of importance bears his name in its colophon:

"Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria who in Ashur and Ninlil puts his trust, on whom Nabu and Tashmetu have bestowed an open ear, who has possessed himself of a clear eye (and) the choice art of tablet-writing, such as none among the kings, my predecessors, had acquired. The wisdom of Nabu, the ruled line (?) all that there is, have I inscribed upon tablets, checking (?) and revising it, and that I might see and read them, have I placed them within my palace. I am a prince who knows the light of Ashur, king of the gods. Whosoever shall take (this tablet) away, or shall write his own name beside my name, may Ashur and Ninlil in wrath and fury cast him down;

[1] Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets*, V, XV.

and may they blot out his name and seed from the land!"[1]

The material on clay tablets and prisms from Kouyunjik falls into five classes: (1) the Historical, not properly included in the Library: (2) the Royal Library: (3) the Library of the Temple of Nabu: (4) the Royal Letters chiefly from officials to the king: (5) Contracts, which date from the ninth century.

The *Historical*, among the earliest of which at Nineveh must be included the so called "bowls" of Shalmaneser I, recording the restoration of the Temple of Ishtar (*c.* 1280 B.C.). The prisms begin with Tiglath-Pileser I (*c.* 1100) and end with Sin-shar-ishkun, the last king, and, apart from these contemporary documents, Assyrian scribes would also copy ancient texts verbatim. The material, particularly of the later kings is very plentiful.

The *Royal Library*, is of course, by far the most important section. Speaking very approximately, five thousand will cover the Historical texts, the letters, the contracts, and all that is known of the library of the Temple of Nabu. Hence we possess about 19,000 tablets and fragments from the great literary collection of Ashurbanipal. In these we have almost every class of literary effort preserved, the only kind wanting being the love-song, which certainly existed in Assyria, as can be seen from a collection of song-titles discovered at Qal'ah Sherghat.

Myths are represented by the Seven Tablets of the Creation, wherein is described the beginning of

[1] With the exception of the translation "ruled line (?)," King's translation, *Cat. of the Cuneiform Tablets, Suppt.*, XII.

all things and the creation of man: the Twelve Tablets of Gilgamish, who seeks that problem which has exercised the mind of man from time immemorial, What will happen after death, and how to obtain eternal life: the legend of Etana, who was carried up, like Ganymede, on an eagle's back: Adapa, who having broken the wings of the south wind, was haled before Anu in heaven, to answer for his crime: Zu, the bird who carried off the Tablets of Fate: and many others. Religious texts there are in great plenty: series which combat the hostilities of witches and wizards (called *Maqlu*): or overcome the many tabus which some unfortunate may have incurrred (called *Shurpu*): or incantations against demons and sicknesses: or prayers direct to gods and goddesses: or rituals giving with great detail the proper forms to be observed in religious observances: or oracles given to the king in time of national anxiety. Science held high place: medicine proper (distinct from magic) is accorded due position on some five hundred tablets, which give good, honest practical prescriptions for every ill under the sun, from ear-ache and ophthalmia to child-birth and the restoration of the apparently drowned, shewing a knowledge of some five hundred drugs: botany had recorded hundreds of the names of plants, with a vast display of knowledge of their properties: the chemist had early discovered the practical use of a large number of minerals from red lead to magnetic iron ore, and he has left an invaluable treatise on the components of glass and the glazes for pottery. The charlatan of observation of the future by omens is equally represented: but as it gives us an insight into a tremendous know-

ledge of the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, it deserves in part to be promoted to the category of science. Philology, too, has its abundance of dictionaries. We are still only halfway over the threshold in our knowledge of what this library once contained.

Of the *Library of the Temple of Nabu*, only a small portion has been found, but it seems, from the fragments rescued, to have contained almost all the same classes of texts as the main library.

The *Royal Letters*, of which some are from the king, but the majority to him, discuss all possible affairs, from military operations to medical.

The *Contracts* are records of business dealings, which for some reason were preserved in the palace.

So with the description of Ashurbanipal's library we can bring the Assyrian period of Nineveh to an end. There were two more kings who governed Assyria, Ashur-etil-ilani, and Sin-shar-ishkun, of little importance, and the last-named appears to have been in Nineveh when the city fell in 612. Cyaxares, Nabopolassar and the Scythians captured the city by assault, "a great [havoc] of the nobles took place. Then Sin-shar-ishkun, king of Assyria . . great quantities of spoil from the city, beyond counting, they carried off. The city [they turned] into a mound and [ruin]" (Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, 40). The excavations on the site of Kouyunjik have shewn how thoroughly the destruction of the city was carried out.

It remains to discuss briefly the occupation of Nineveh after the Fall. A remnant of the Assyrians escaped to Harran, but there is no reason to suppose that any were left behind, and, although there are

remains of the classical period and onwards on Kouyunjik, there is as yet no evidence that there was any serious subsequent occupation on the flats below the great mound. For the next three hundred years at least there is nothing to shew that there was any occupation at all on the site. The tablets of the Later Babylonian Empire, I believe, nowhere mention the word Nineveh, nor do the Persian texts. While Semitic cuneiform remained a living script down to the Seleucid period, and as an academic study, at all events, until almost the Christian era, it ceased at once at Nineveh after the *débacle*. Then as for the site classical authors suggest to the reader that it was utterly deserted: Herodotus (I, 193) speaks of the Tigris as "the river on which the town of Nineveh formerly stood;" the description given by Xenophon in 401 B.C., of a group of ruins near this deserted town of Mespila corresponds in many respects with those which exist at Mosul to-day, while Alexander's historians (except Arrian) do not allude to the city over which the conqueror must have marched. Mespila is accepted as the *mushpalu* "the low-lying" part of the district of which Sennacherib speaks, and is probably the origin of the name Mosul.

The fact that Mespila is the only word we have for Nineveh at this period does not necessarily mean that the old name was lost. We have at all events to account for the re-appearance of the name in later times, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that there were still some villages, or even shepherds in the vicinity to hand it on.

The first sign of civilized re-occupation appears to be after the Macedonian conquest. Layard (*Nin. and Bab.*, 592) speaks of relics of the Seleucidae and the Greek occupation from Kouyunjik, among them a small head of Hercules, and one or two figures in terracotta. In 1904-05 on the site of the Temple of Nabu a Greek inscription on a column came to light which would appear to belong to the second century, which dating we owe to Mr. A. M. Woodward, Director of the British School at Athens. We found fragments of red pottery which may be attributed to the first century B.C. Next Meherdates captured Nineveh (called "Ninos" by Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 13) in 50 A.D. and during the Roman period a castle appears to have stood on the site, probably built by the Persians and occupied by the Romans.

Claudius (A.D. 41-54) may perhaps have made Nineveh into a Roman colony, as coins both of Trajan and Maximinus appear to note this fact, retaining the old name Ninus and Niniva respectively.[1] We found some fragments of *Terra sigillata* of the first century A.D. on the site of the Nabu Temple, and two lamps of the third century. Layard (*Nin. and Bab.*, 591) speaks of Terra cotta figures and lamps, and a hoard of coins ranging in dates from 74 to 201 A.D. found here. A Dr. Wilson found an inscription here, apparently of the third century A.D bearing a list of Macedonian months (Letter from W. R. Hamilton, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, 1839).

[1] This name has been tenaciously preserved throughout the centuries. Benjamin of Tudela (12th cent.) knew the name of the site as Nineveh, Abulfaraj (13th cent.) also mentions Niniwi, and Ibn Batuta (14th cent.) apparently recognizes Nebi Yunus as Ninawa. This traditional name is found perpetuated in the works of later western travellers such as Sir Anthony Shirley, John Cartwright, Pietro della Valle and Tavernier in the seventeenth century, and Carsten Niebuhr in the eighteenth.

A statue of Herakles Epitrapezios (2nd-3rd cent. A.D.) was found in Sennacherib's palace, and is now in the British Museum.

The Sassanian period is marked by a few Pehlevi gems, fragments of pottery, and coins (quoted by Layard, *ib.*), and by a hoard of Sassanian coins of the fifth century found by us on the Temple site. The sixth and seventh centuries may be marked by the fairly numerous fragments of pottery ornamented with stamped medallions of animals, etc., in relief, often with Christian emblems. The eighth-tenth centuries roughly are marked by fragments of Barbotine ware, the prototype of this decoration apparently being on some metal jugs of either Late Sassanian or Early Post-Sassanian work, of the type figured by Sarre (*Die Kunst des alten Persien*, fig. 132).

From this point onwards,—say from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries—the site of the Temple of Nabu appears to have been occupied by a succession of five or perhaps six buildings, chiefly marked by cement floorings and solid cemented walls. The stratum in which they lie is not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and consequently does not mark a very long period. Syriac was certainly spoken by the occupants at one time (probably towards the later part of the period), and the pottery may be divided into three groups: (*a*) the earliest, after the Barbotine ware mentioned above, is the Mesopotamian fabric, the "Byzantine ware" so-called, common at Samarra, belonging to the ninth up to the twelfth or thirteenth century[1] (*b*) the so-called "Mosul jugs," unglazed, and with plastic decoration, of the thirteenth century: (*c*) a blue-glazed fabric identical with a twelfth or thirteenth century ware found at Rakka (both

these last two groups being characteristic of the later buildings)[1]. This would coincide with the description of Benjamin of Tudela (twelfth century) that Nineveh was then occupied by numerous villages. From the name Nineveh a bishop of the Chaldean Church derived his title according to Assemani. At the end of the fourteenth century Timur hunted the Christians from Mosul, and this may well mark the last occupation of this group of buildings.

The top-most building of all on the Temple, represented by walling of solid limestone blocks and cemented stones, was 2½ feet below the surface, and may be assumed to have been built during the last few hundred years. It is said that Nadir Shah's tents were pitched on Kouyunjik when he besieged Mosul and bombarded it in 1743.

FINIS.

1In the second building of these five (or six) we found three olive-presses, conical vats made of cemented stones, about three feet deep and five and a half across. One of these had a little projecting trough at the mouth where the olives were trodden. Olive-oil is still made at Bashiqah, four hours ride N.E. of Mosul, and in making the oil the vat is half filled with water, the olives are put into the projecting trough and trodden either by a man or a woman. The oil trickles into the vat and is skimmed from the top of the water. Rich (*Koordistan*, 68) mentions the olive oil made at Bazani, a neighbouring village, and says it is chiefly used in soap.

LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS.

[1] Correct the error in the position of the Gate of Sin at the W. corner of the ramparts, its true position being at the gap some 200 yards to the N.E. [2] Correct "(Plan 7)" to "(Plan 4)." [3] Correct ("Plan 4)" to "(Plan 6)."

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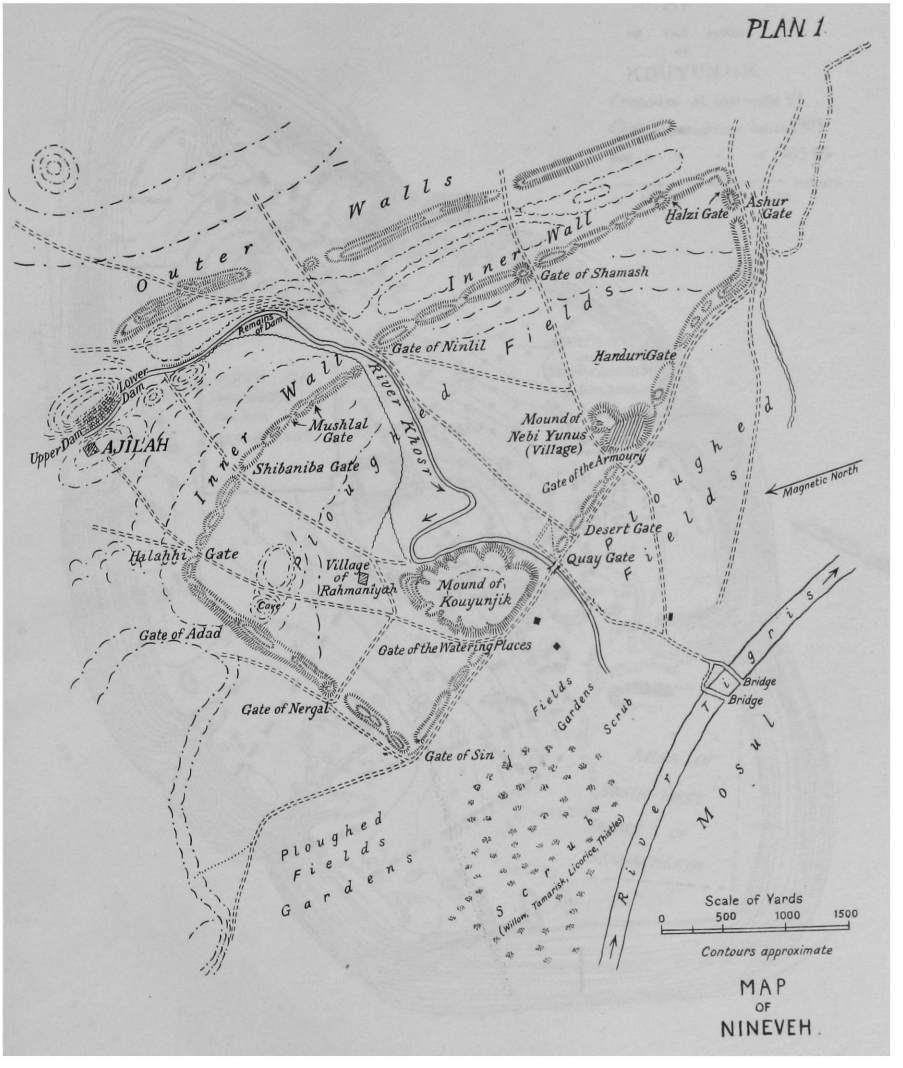
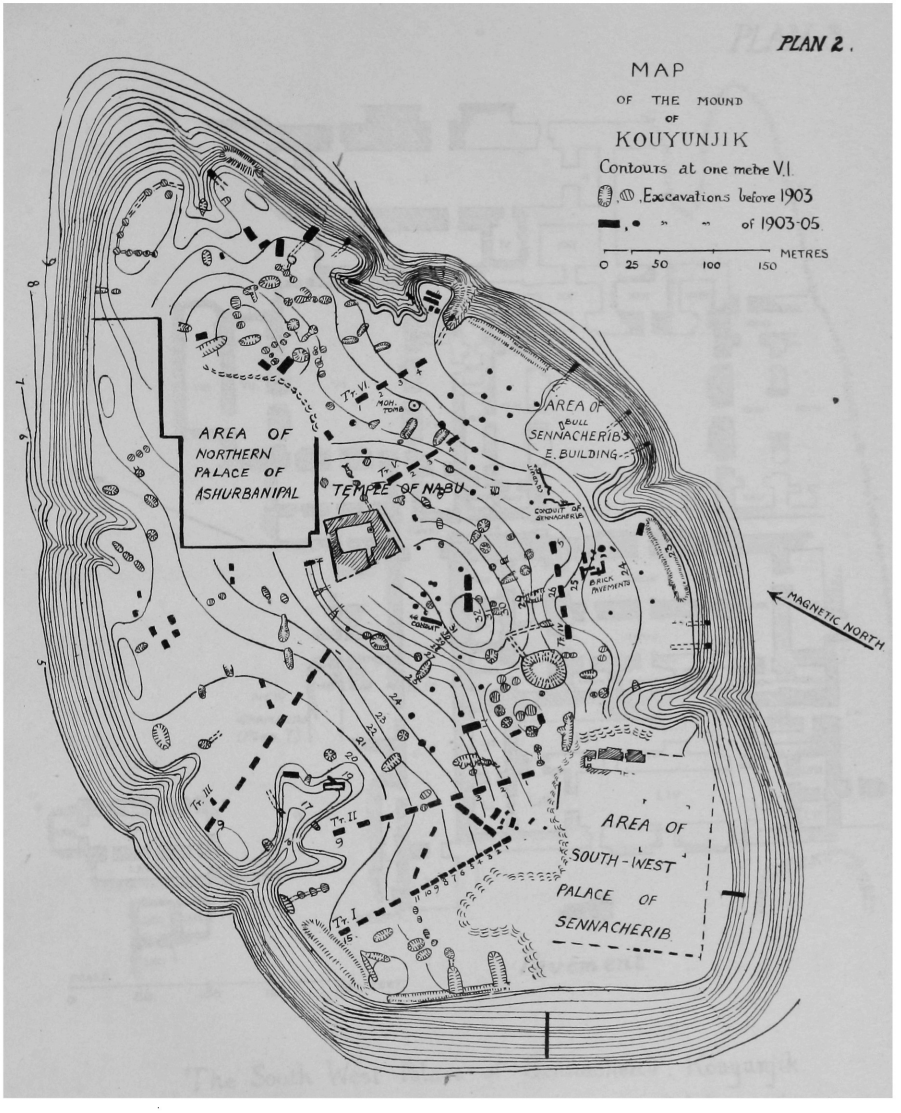
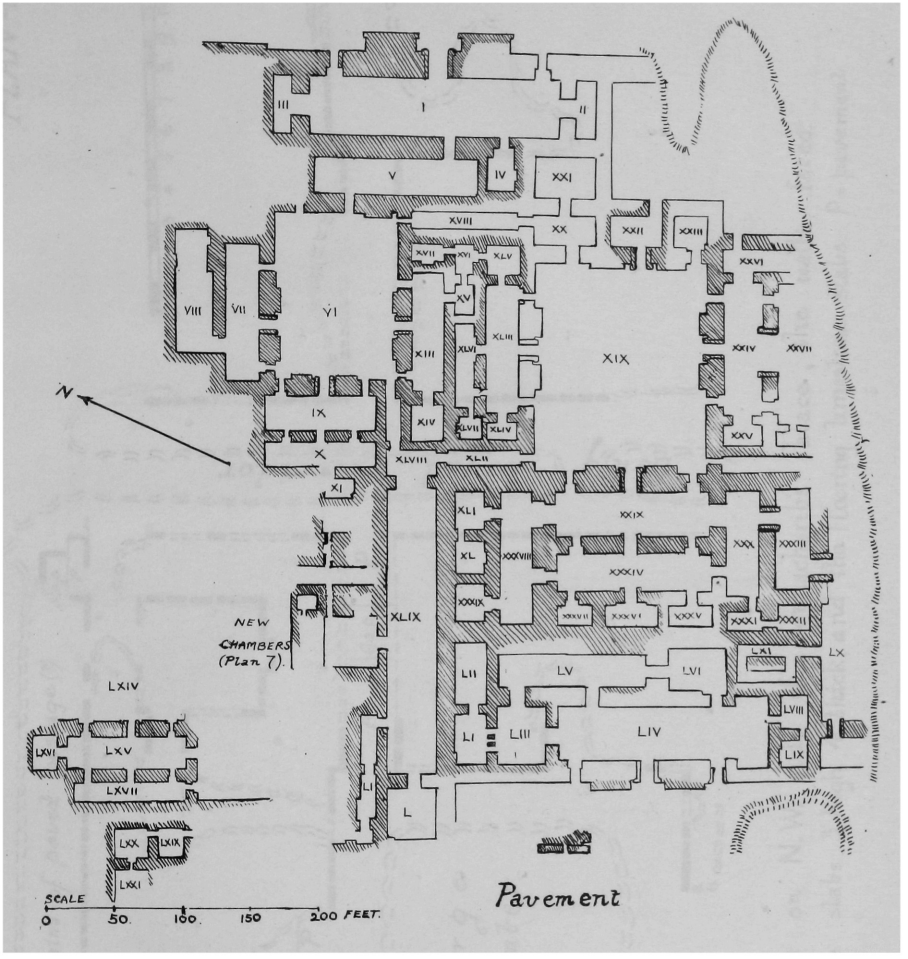

PLAN 1
Outer Walls
Inner Wall
Halzi Gate
Ashur Gate
Gate of Shamash
Fields
Remains of Dam
Gate of Ninlil
Handuri Gate
Lower Dam
Upper Dam
AJILAH
Inner Wall
River Khosr
Mushlal Gate
Mound of Nebi Yunus (Village)
Gate of the Armoury
Ploughed Fields
Magnetic North
Shibaniba Gate
Halahhi Gate
Desert Gate
Quay Gate
Village of Rahmaniyah
Mound of Kouyunjik
Canal
Gate of Adad
Gate of the Watering Places
Tigris
Bridge
Bridge
Fields
Gardens
Scrub
Gate of Nergal
Gate of Sin
Mosul
River
Ploughed Fields Gardens
Scrub
(Willow, Tamarisk, Liquorice, Thistles)
Scale of Yards
0 500 1000 1500
Contours approximate
MAP OF NINEVEH.

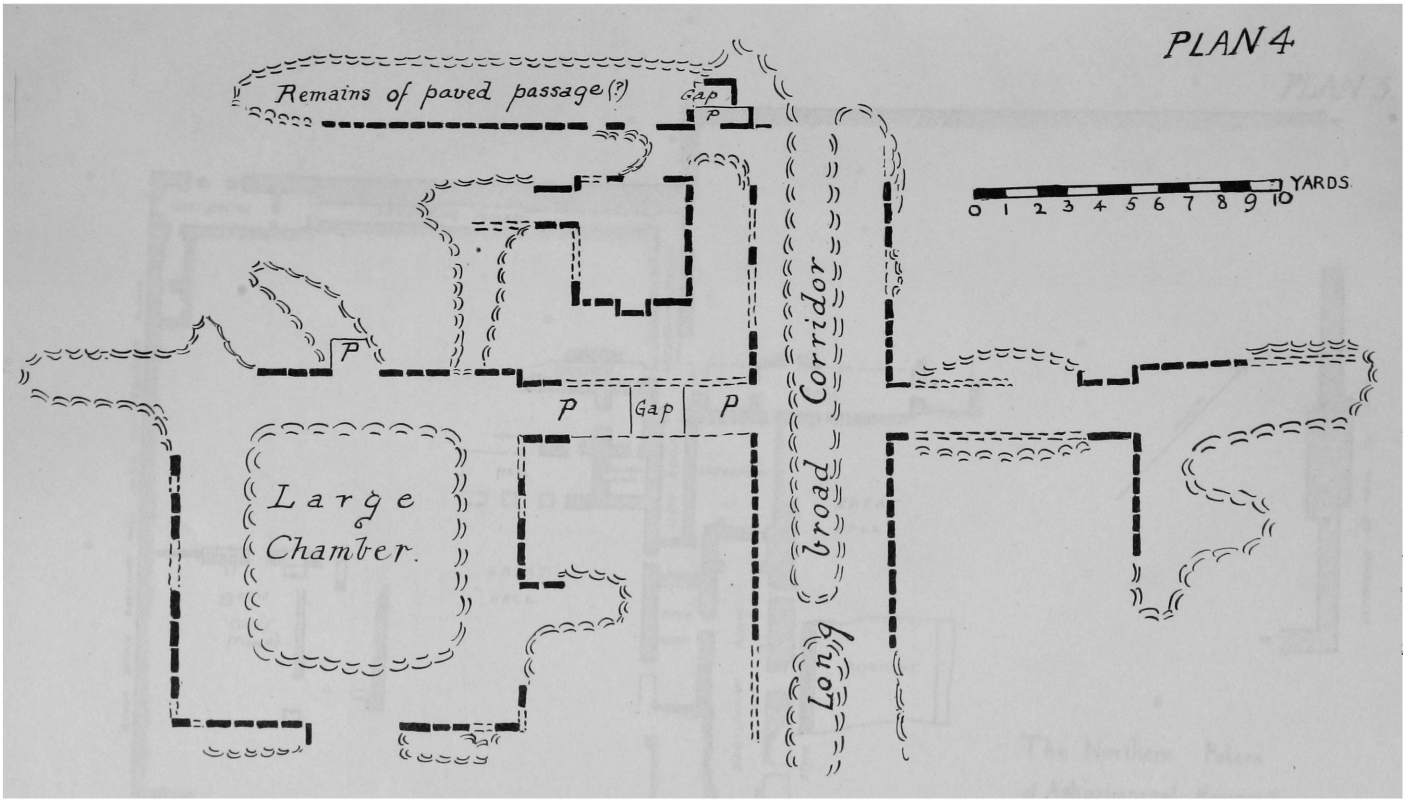

PLAN 2.
MAP
OF THE MOUND
OF
KOUYUNJIK
Contours at one metre V.I.
Excavations before 1903
" " of 1903-05
METRES
0 25 50 100 150
AREA OF NORTHERN PALACE OF ASHURBANIPAL
TEMPLE OF NABU
AREA OF BULL SENNACHERIB'S E. BUILDING
AREA OF SOUTH-WEST PALACE OF SENNACHERIB
MAGNETIC NORTH
Tr. I
Tr. II
Tr. III
Tr. IV
Tr. V
Tr. VI
MOH. TOMB
BRICK PAVEMENT

PLAN 3.



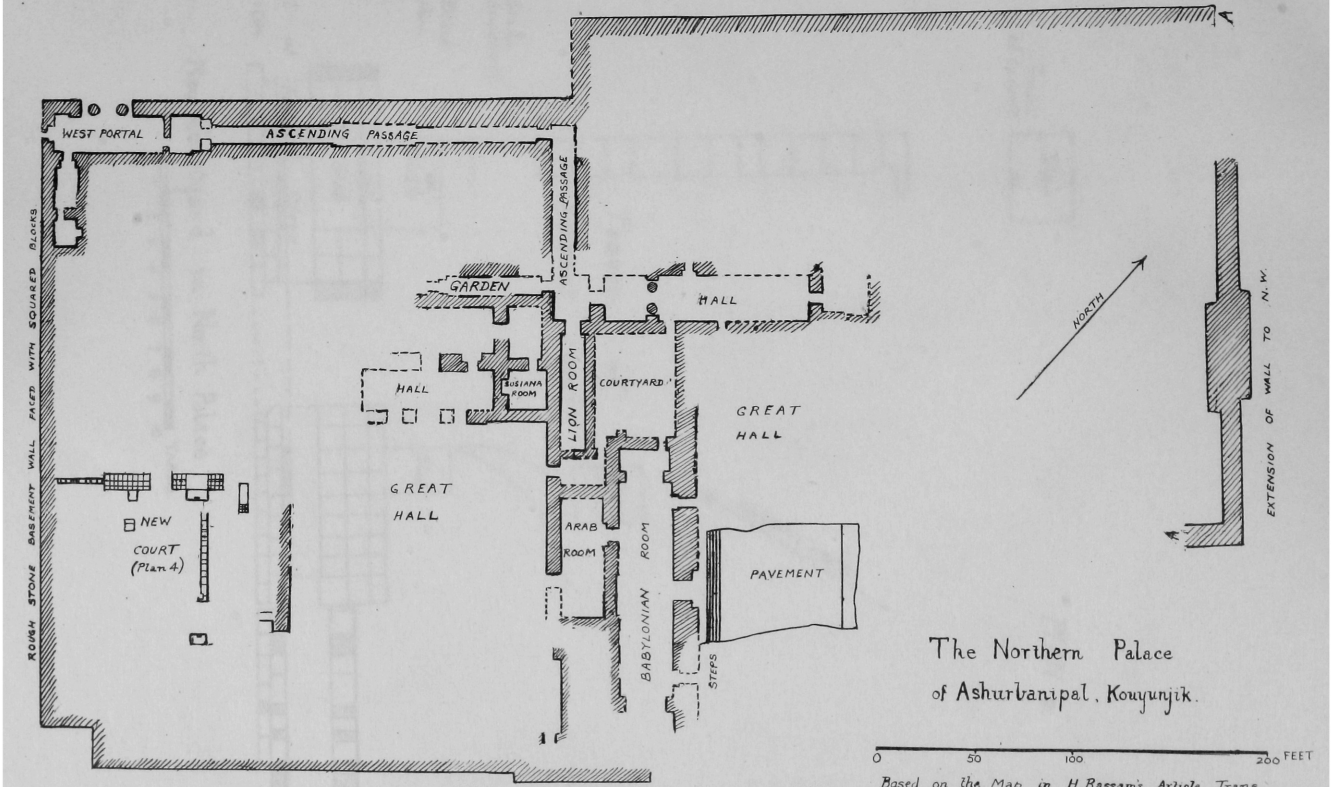
The South-West Palace of Sennacherib, Kouyunjik.

Based on the Map in Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, with acknowlegments to Messrs John Murray.



New Chambers on N.W. side of. Sennacherib's Palace, the walls faced with limestone slabs 3' high, 4" thick, and the flooring limestone slabs. P = pavement.

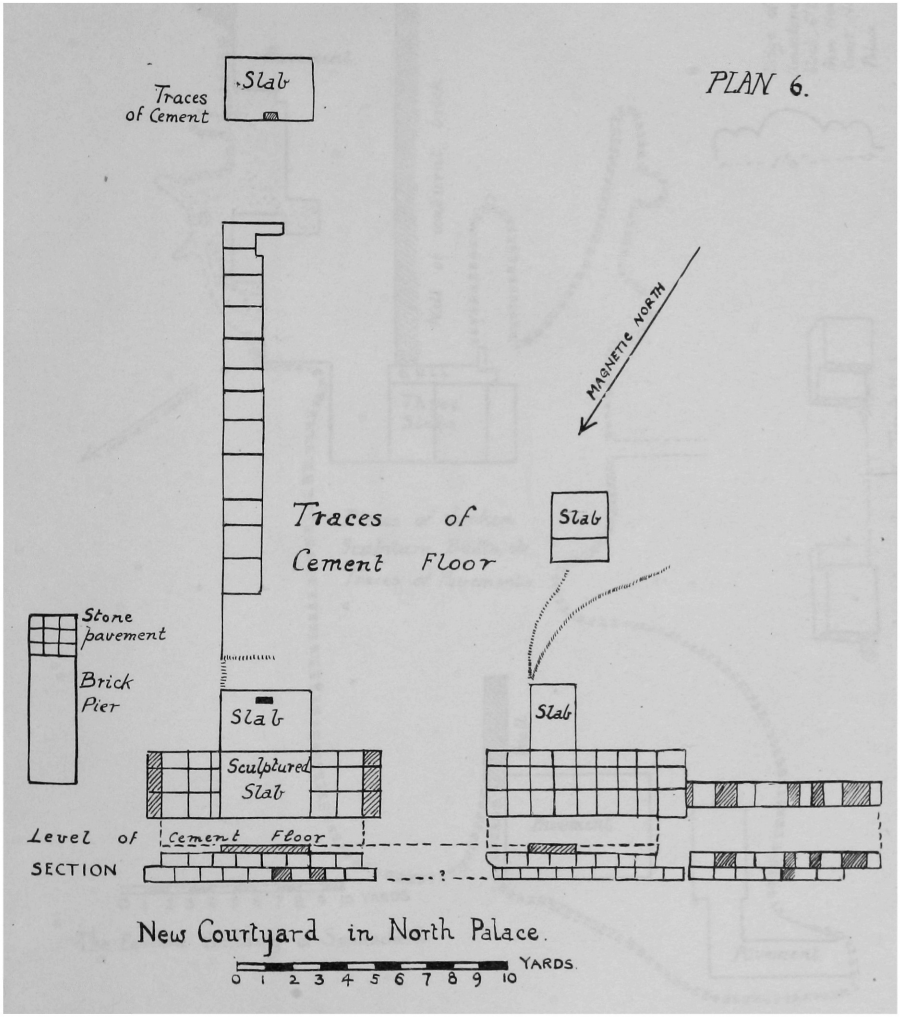
PLAN 5.

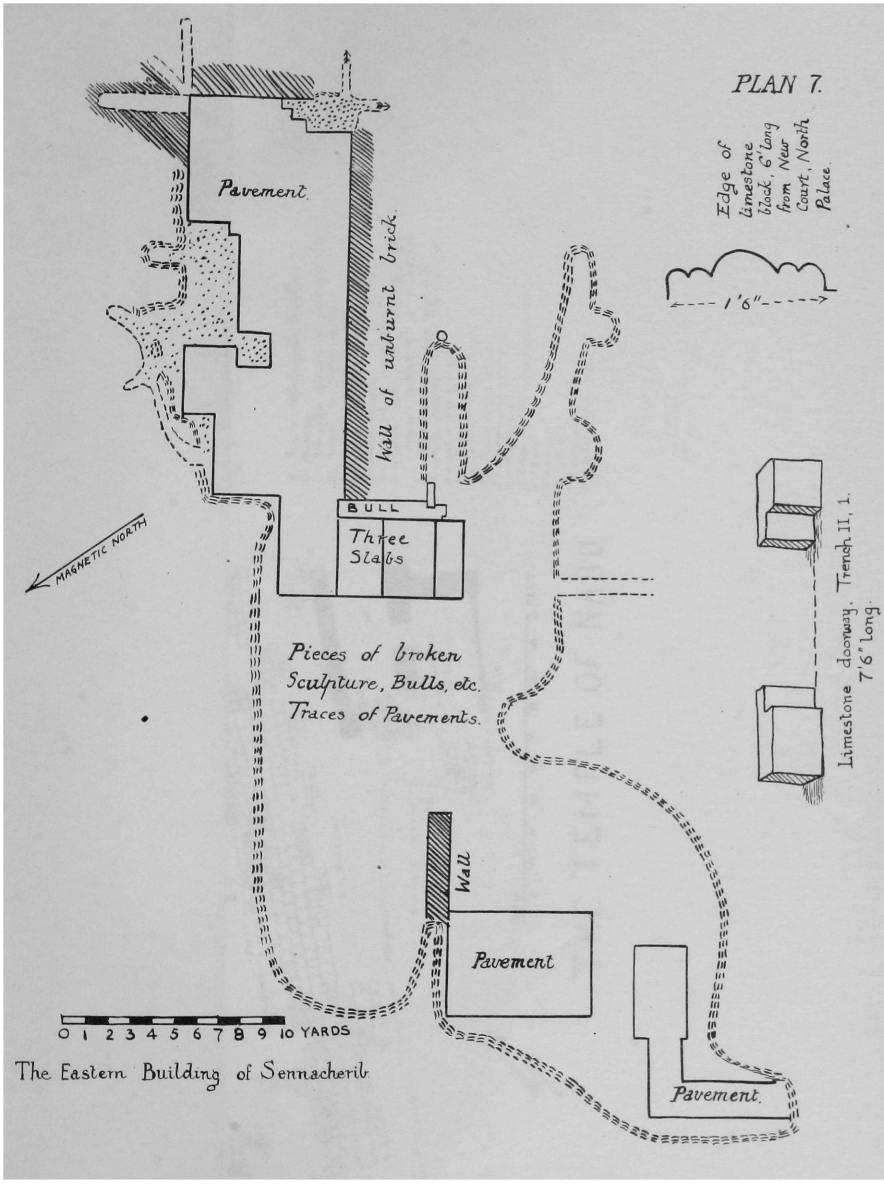


The Northern Palace of Ashurbanipal, Kouyunjik.

0 50 100 200 FEET

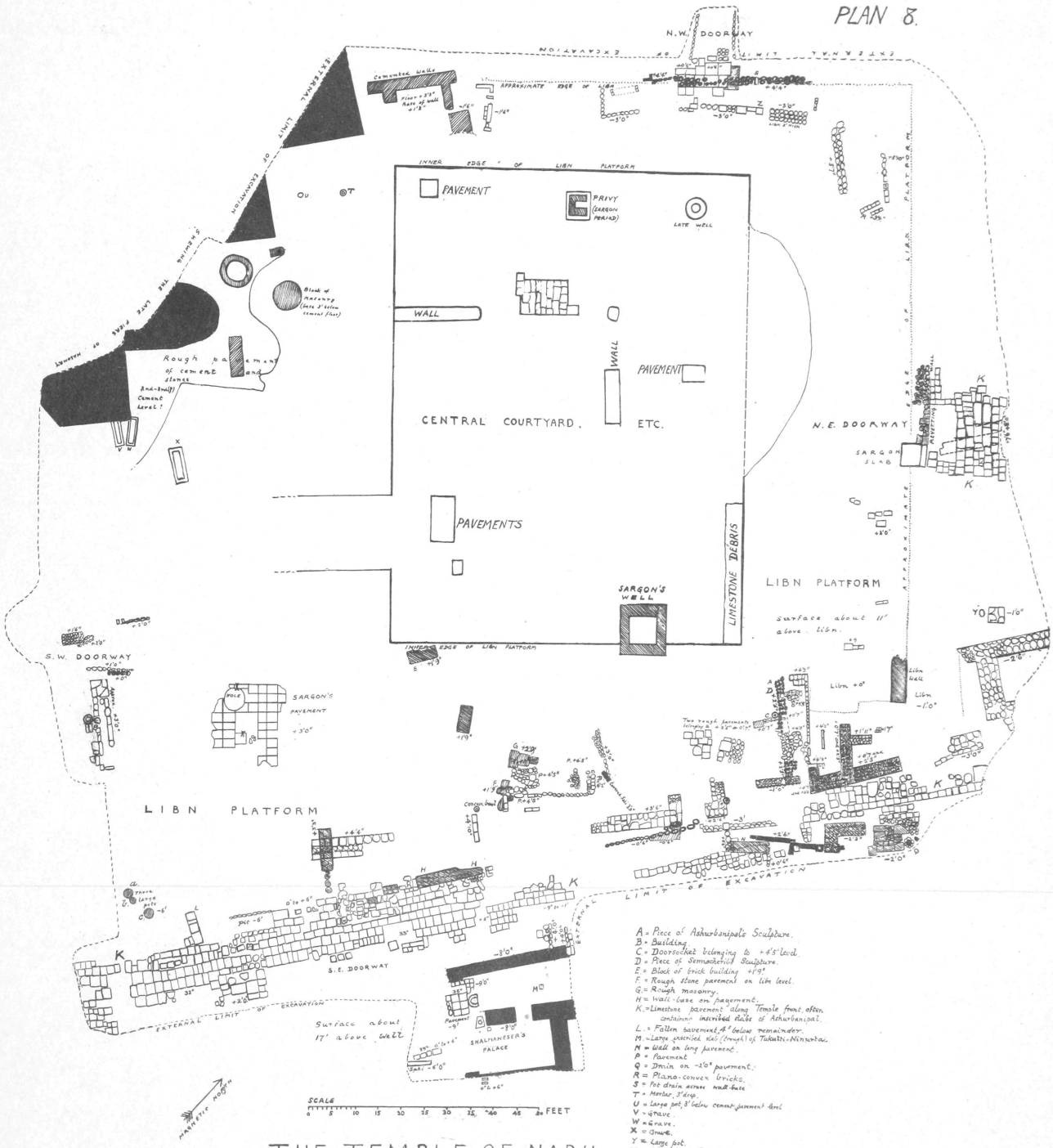
Based on the Map in H. Rassam's Article, Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., VII, with acknowledgments to the Royal Asiatic Society.


PLAN 6.
Traces of Cement
Slab
MAGNETIC NORTH
Traces of Cement Floor
Slab
Stone pavement
Brick Pier
Slab
Slab
Sculptured Slab
Level of SECTION
Cement Floor
New Courtyard in North Palace.
YARDS.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



The Eastern Building of Sennacherib

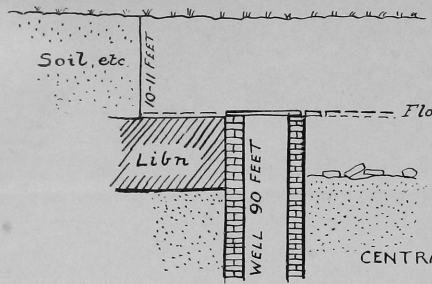
PLAN 8.



A = Piece of Ashurbanipal's Sculpture.
B = Building.
C = Doorsocket belonging to +4'5" level.
D = Piece of Semachetrib Sculpture.
E = Block of brick building +1'9".
F = Rough stone pavement on Libn level.
G = Rough masonry.
H = Wall-base on pavement.
K = Limestone pavement along Temple front often containing inscribed slabs of Ashurbanipal.
L = Fallen pavement 4' below remainder.
M = Wall on long pavement.
P = Pavement.
Q = Drain on -2'6" pavement.
R = Plano-convex bricks.
S = Pot drain across wall-base.
T = Mortar 3' deep.
U = Large pot, 3' below cement pavement level.
V = Grave.
W = Grave.
X = Grave.
Y = Large pot.
Z = Ashurbanipal slab.

THE TEMPLE OF NABU.

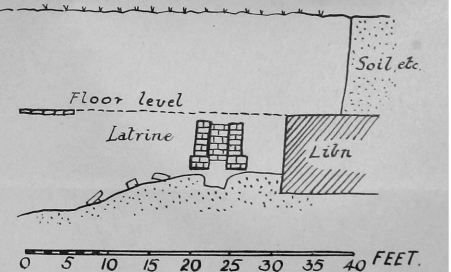
PLAN 9.

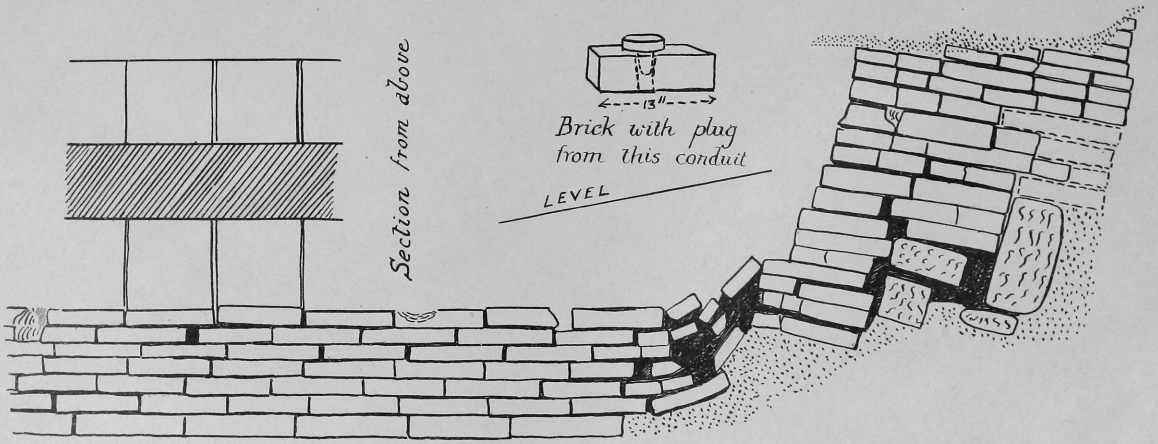


SECTION

CENTRAL COURT OF TEMPLE

1904-05.





CHANNEL OR CONDUIT OF BURNT BRICK

TOTAL LENGTH 61 FEET. CENTRE OF MOUND.