

SECOND
MEMOIR ON BABYLON:

CONTAINING

AN INQUIRY

INTO

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE ANCIENT
DESCRIPTIONS OF BABYLON AND THE REMAINS
STILL VISIBLE ON THE SITE.

SUGGESTED BY THE "REMARKS" OF MAJOR RENNEL
PUBLISHED IN THE *ARCHÆOLOGIA*.

BY

CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH, Esq.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND
BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW; AND J. MURRAY,
ALBEMARLE STREET.

1818.

THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND ARTHUR TAYLOR, SHOE LANE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

MY first very imperfect Memoir made its appearance in an oriental literary Journal, published in Vienna, and called the *Mines de l'Orient*. So numerous were the typographical errors of that edition, that my Essay was in many places scarcely recognisable even by myself. My friends were of opinion that it ought to be republished in England; and an edition of it was printed from the *Mines de l'Orient*, which was received with indulgence by the Public, notwithstanding the many inaccuracies which I fear must have been retained. I have not seen a copy of the English edition, and therefore in the following Memoir I beg to be understood as referring entirely to the original German one.

MEMOIR

ON

THE RUINS OF BABYLON.

ON my first visit to Babylon I was struck by the want of accuracy in the accounts of all travellers who had visited that celebrated spot. The ruins appeared to me to merit a very minute description and delineation ; but such a work it was evident would occupy much more time, and require more extensive information, than I was then in possession of ; and I deferred the accomplishment of it to a more favourable conjuncture. In the meantime I was anxious to give some notion of the real state of the ruins : I therefore drew up a short account, accompanied by an illustrative sketch, which I ventured to offer to the public, principally with a view to excite the attention of the learned, and induce

them to transmit to me such remarks as might enable me to accomplish my design in a more perfect manner than I could hope to do by my own unassisted efforts. It was no part of my object at that stage of the inquiry to bring forward my own speculations, had I then been qualified to do so; and I purposely abstained from any remarks which did not tend to throw light on my account of the ruins, and stimulate the attention without misleading the judgement of those who applied themselves to the subject. But having hitherto sufficiently separated observation from opinion, I now venture to lay before the public the result of better information and more matured opinions. I have been more particularly induced to enter into a discussion on the correspondence between the accounts of the ancient historians and the ruins I visited, by a paper written by Major Rennel*, professedly “to vindicate the truth and consistency of ancient history, as well as his own account of Babylon in the Geography of Herodotus,” as he “conceives my former statements to be at variance with commonly received

* Remarks on the Topography of Ancient Babylon, suggested by the recent Observations and Discoveries of Claudius James Rich, Esq., communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Major Rennel;—from the *Archæologia*, London, 1816, pp. 22.

opinions." Diffident as I am in opposing my ideas to such an authority, I feel myself called upon to state that I cannot coincide with Major Rennel, either in his interpretation of the ancient writers or in his deductions from the actual appearance of the ruins. I shall therefore make his Remarks the basis of the present dissertation, as they appear to me to contain all that can be said in favour of the old theory, with many additional particulars ; and also because this method will afford me an opportunity of supplying some of the deficiencies of my former Memoir, and possibly of throwing some new light on the subject.

The sum of Major Rennel's argument is as follows : The Euphrates divided Babylon into two equal parts ; one palace, with the Tower of Belus, stood on the east of it, and the other immediately opposite it, on the west—each occupying central situations in their respective divisions ; or rather, the palaces and temple together formed the central point of the city, and were separated from each other by the river.—Now, in my account of the ruins it is said that there are no remains on the western bank ; therefore the river must formerly have run through the ruins described by me on the eastern side, so as to have divided them into two equal portions. But there are certain mounds laid

down in my plan, which render it evident that the river could not have run in that direction. These mounds must consequently be referred to a town of more recent construction, of whose existence Major Rennel himself acknowledges we have no other evidence.

I shall now state in general terms what I have to object to this theory. None of the ancients say on which side of the river the Tower of Belus stood. The circumstance of there having been two palaces in Babylon is extremely questionable. There are no traces whatever on the spot, of any such change in the river as Major Rennel imagines. The supposition of the existence of a more recent town, merely for the purpose of getting rid of the difficulty, cannot be allowed in the absence of all historical and traditional evidence, when the appearance of the ruins themselves is decidedly against it. And finally, the descriptions of the ancient historians may be reconciled with the present remains, without having recourse to any such conjectures. —When a person ventures to disagree with such a writer as Major Rennel, it behoves him to state his reasons very particularly. I shall therefore proceed to develop the opinions which I have just stated.

Before we enter on any topographical inquiry in which we have to reconcile observation with his-

tory,—if we consider how different are the talents required for narrative and description, how numerous are the sources of error, and how devoid the ancients were of that minute accuracy and patient research which are required in this critical age,—so far from taking their accounts of places and positions in the strictest and most literal sense of which they are susceptible, we might allow them a very considerable latitude, without calling their general veracity in question. Instead of making this allowance, however, writers have too frequently seemed to expect a precision from the old historians in their accounts of very remote places, which could only be reasonably looked for in the treatises of professed topographers; and to have tried the very scanty accounts we have of many ancient places, by a stricter standard than many modern descriptions would bear. We naturally wish to make the most of what we possess in the smallest quantity, and to seize with avidity on a single word which may help us through the obscurity of antiquity, or enable us to establish a favourite hypothesis. The testimony of the ancients who have been on the spot must of course be placed far above those who merely copy others, whose statements, however high their rank in literature may be, must be received with much caution; and when their descriptions in either case

do not accord with what we now see, it is much safer to say that they were mistaken, than to attempt forcing a resemblance. It would require a separate memoir to prosecute this subject to the extent which would be necessary to show the various causes of error, give examples of the mistakes and inaccuracies even of professed travellers, and prove how often we have rendered the ancients accountable for much more than they ever dreamt of themselves. I the more readily refrain from such an inquiry at present, as it is not necessary to my subject to carry it so far. I have thought it requisite to state my general opinion of the ancients as topographical authorities ; but in reconciling the present remains of Babylon to their accounts, I shall not have occasion to contend for the latitude which may commonly be allowed to them. I shall on the contrary show that I am willing to adhere much closer to the only one of them whose authority is of any value in this case, than Major Rennel seems to be aware of.

Those who have investigated the antiquities of Babylon have laid much stress on the authority of Diodorus, probably adverting more to the quantity than the quality of the information he supplies. He never was on the spot: he lived in an age when, as he himself tells us, its area was ploughed over :

he has therefore recourse to Ctesias; and it must be owned that the want of discrimination in the ancients, and the credulity of Diodorus himself, were never more strongly exemplified than in his choice of a writer who confounds the Euphrates with the Tigris, and tells us that Semiramis erected a monument to her husband, which from the dimensions he specifies must have been of superior elevation to Mount Vesuvius, and nearly equal to Mount Hecla. (A.) If these are not "fairy tales," I certainly know not to what the term can be applied. When an author can in so many instances be clearly convicted of ignorance and exaggeration, we are certainly not justified in altering what is already before our eyes, to suit it to his description. We have only the very questionable authority of Ctesias for the second palace, and the wonderful tunnel under the river; but even he does not say whether the Tower of Belus stood on the east or west side. Herodotus, who will ever appear to greater advantage the more he is examined and understood, is the only historian who visited Babylon in person; and he is in every respect the best authority for its state in his time. The circumference he assigns to it has been generally deemed exaggerated; but after all we cannot prove it to be so. He says nothing to determine the situation of the Palace (for he speaks

but of one) and Temple; he has no mention of east or west, or of proximity to the river. It is true, it has been attempted to establish from him, that the Temple was exactly in the centre of one of the halves into which the city was divided by the river; which, by the way, if clearly made out, would not agree with Major Rennel's position of it on the river's banks: but the error appears to have arisen from translating μέσος, *centre*. Herodotus's words are, ἐν δὲ Φάρσει ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ, ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆϊα, περιβόλῳ τε μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ, Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, κ. τ. λ. (Herod. Wessel. p. 85.), in which I do not see the necessity of adopting so mathematical a signification. (B.) Strabo, as might be expected, contains much fewer particulars than Herodotus; and the other Grecian and Roman historians still less: they are consequently of little use in a topographical inquiry. It appears, therefore, that none of the ancients say whether the Tower of Belus was on the east or the west of the Euphrates; that its position in the centre of the city, or even of one of its divisions, is by no means clearly made out; and that while the description of the best ancient author involves no difficulties, the only particulars which embarrass us are supported by the sole testimony of the worst.

It appears to me that Major Rennel's error (if I may be allowed to use such an expression) proceeds from his having fixed upon the Mujelibè to represent the Tower of Belus (an opinion which the more I consider the appearance of that ruin the less I am inclined to agree with), and reducing every other part of Babylon to that centre. Having settled this point, adopting the system of Diodorus, he refers the remaining ruins to the old and new Palaces ; but in order to justify this arrangement, he is obliged to resort to the supposition of a change in the course of the river. "The several particulars of the remains on the site required only the presence of the river in a particular line of course to complete the general description given by the ancients*." The supposed change would therefore certainly cut the Gordian knot, if we believe the ruins on the east to be the only remains of Babylon ; but there are no traces whatever on the ground in support of such an assumption. I carefully examined the whole of the ground between Hilla and the Mujelibè, with a view to ascertain the possibility of a change ; but I was totally unable to discover the smallest vestiges indicative of it. The same examination was made by others, during my stay

* "Remarks," p. 6.

there, and since that time, with the same result. I have long been accustomed to observe the changes in the courses of rivers, from having lived ten years on the banks of one subject to them in a most remarkable degree. The Euphrates is by no means so variable: the lowness of its banks affording a facility for its discharging the superabundance of its waters by the means of canals and inundations, renders it not liable to a complete alteration of its course. The strong embankment built by the Babylonian monarchs was intended to prevent the overflow, not to secure its running in one channel; and ever since the embankment was ruined, the river has expended itself in periodical inundations. This is the case in many parts of its progress; for instance, at Feluja, the inundation from whence covers the whole face of the country as far as the walls of Bagdad; and the river itself has, to the best of my information, constantly flowed at that place in the same channel, without any variation. At Hilla, notwithstanding the numerous canals drawn from it, when it rises it overflows many parts of the western desert; and on the east it insinuates itself into all the hollows and more level parts of the ruins, converting them into lakes and morasses. This will sufficiently account for many appearances in those ruins, which might sur-

prise those who had not adverted to the circumstance. The Khezail district at such times is in many parts completely inundated; and still further down, since a dyke which used to be kept up at a considerable expense has been broken, the river flows over the country as far as Bussora. But in no part of the Euphrates have I ever been able to discover traces of its having altered its course. On the other hand, the Tigris, which is much more rapid than the Euphrates, has none of these regulating valves to draw off its superfluous water, which consequently breaks down its own banks. This is the case during its course through the upper and middle parts of the Pashalik, where it is confined between high banks, and cannot be expended in inundations, or drawn off by canals; but in the southern districts, where it runs through the lowest part of the Beni Lam country, the banks are level, there are many drains, and it overflows readily. In those places it is not subject to the variations of channel which characterize it during the earlier part of its course.

Having shown that the first part of Major Rennel's theory is contradicted by a survey of the ground, I have to state the reasons which induce me equally to disagree with him in his second conjecture. This part of the subject requires to be treated at some length.

As some of the ruins now seen would obstruct the course of the Euphrates, supposed by Major Rennel, he removes this difficulty by referring them to another town. "The whole of the remains visible in the form of mounds, &c. do not belong exclusively to the ancient city, but in part to a subsequent establishment, not recorded in history, and perhaps of a date previous to the Mahometan conquest." (p. 5.) To this assumption I object,

1. The mounds or ruins rejected by Major Rennel differ in no respect from those he admits; they appear to form a part of the plan which they help to explain; they are connected with, or dependent on, the primitive mounds; and no sort of evidence can be drawn from their appearance or composition to call in question their being of equal antiquity.

2. It is granted by all, that the mounds of the Kasr and Amran, with some others among them, are a part of ancient Babylon. It appears very improbable that any one should attempt to build on such masses of decayed edifices, even in their present state, when they have doubtless diminished, and subsided into much greater solidity than at the period Major R. assigns to his city. If ever a town existed in this neighbourhood, it certainly would not have been among or upon these heaps of rub-

bish. The only mound which could have undergone a revolution of this nature is the Mujelibè, which, whatever it may have been, certainly now bears a striking resemblance to fortified artificial mounts, like the castles of Kerkook, Arbil, and many other places in these countries;—it might even now be restored to its castellated state. I am clearly of opinion, as I think every one must be who has visited the spot, that either the whole of the eastern ruins are Babylon, or they must be referred entirely to another establishment, and Babylon left out of the question. The Mujelibè, as before observed, might possibly be excepted from this decision, were it necessary, as it appears to be, like the ruin at Nineveh*, rather an artificial mount than a mass of decayed building.

3. One reason assigned by Major Rennel for supposing a more recent town is, “that it is difficult to reconcile the circular and other mounds of earth with the description of the regular distribution of streets in ancient Babylon” (p. 5.); though, in the *Geography of Herodotus*, he is willing to allow that there existed in each quarter of Babylon a circular space surrounded by a wall†. I admit for a moment this regular distribution of streets. But Major

* See Note A.

† *Geography of Herod.* p. 337.

Rennel receives the eastern ruins as the Temple and Palaces. Now it is clear that the regular distribution of streets could never have been observed in or near these buildings; and so far from excluding the boundary wall on account of its not falling in with it, had any symptoms of such an arrangement been observed here, it would have been reason sufficient to pronounce at once that the eastern ruins could neither represent the Palaces nor the Tower.—After all, I find a difficulty in believing that the whole area of Babylon was divided into regular compartments by the intersection of lines of houses at right angles, like the surface of a chess-board. This savours strongly of an imaginary arrangement. It might have been nearly true of some divisions or quarters, yet I would nowhere vouch for its mathematical accuracy. The area of Babylon, we have every reason to believe, was at all times very far from being thickly built on; a very considerable proportion of it was occupied by cultivation; and the care with which the river was fortified with an embattled wall and brazen gates, guarding each bank through the whole extent of the town, seems indicative of the scantiness of the houses, even on the river; which seems further illustrated by the ease with which Cyrus turned the river, unknown to the in-

habitants, entered by its dry channel, and lodged his army safely in the town, within the fortifications by which it was guarded on the water side, before the Babylonians suspected what he was about.

Major Rennel in another part of the "Remarks" (p. 17-18) says, he cannot persuade himself that the parts of a *building* named the Kasr is a Babylonian structure. He believes it to be "one of a much later date, possibly coeval with the circular and other mounds of earth before mentioned;" i. e. subsequent to old Babylon, but before the time of Islam. His principal objection is, that it looks too fresh, "which," he observes, "is not the character of ruins more than 2000 years old." Neither is it the character of buildings of the age which he assigns to his supposed town, i. e. prior to the introduction of Islam; and if it be allowed to have preserved its freshness so long, there can certainly be no difficulty in granting it the additional number of years. In this pure and dry climate, other evidence than its being fresh and unworn is required to dispute the antiquity of a ruin which has till very lately remained entirely covered up. Whatever may be its appearance, the difficulties which oppose its rejection from the ruins of Babylon are very great, independent of the improbabi-

lity of such a building having been erected on a heap of rubbish. But it does not stand *on* the mound which I have named after it, and which is allowed to be Babylonian; it is inclosed within the mass, and has been covered by it. The rubbish has only been cleared off its top part; and its side walls, though not perfectly laid open, yet are seen to reach down very far below the general surface of the mound, as my drawing shows. This building is indisputably connected with walls and fragments similar to it, to be seen in various parts of the same mound, quite in its heart, and at a great depth, and which have been discovered in piercing and hollowing out the heaps to find bricks:—some of these walls are, I believe, on a level with the plain itself. I cannot therefore doubt that the walls are coeval with the mound itself by which they have been covered; or at least erected before the buildings whose ruins formed the mound had crumbled into rubbish (for it is not pretended to refer every ruin which remains of ancient Babylon to the age of Nebuchadnezzar); and if *they* are condemned, the mound itself, consequently, and all the mounds or heaps attached to it, cannot be admitted to be a part of ancient Babylon.—I shall in the sequel have occasion to return to this subject.

As Major Rennel appears generally inclined to

receive so literally the statements of the ancients, even of Diodorus, it is a little surprising that he has not adverted to the dimensions assigned by that writer to the Palaces: he would have seen, that so far from warranting the belief of the eastern ruins comprising the remains of all the public edifices of Babylon (*viz.* the new Palace of 60 stades in circumference, the old one of 30 stades, and the Temple of Belus of 8 stades), it is evident that they will only answer to the new Palace, with its Acropolis. It is true, Diodorus places his largest palace on the west: but an author who confounds the Tigris with the Euphrates may without injustice be suspected of a topographical inaccuracy of this nature. (C.) Indeed, whether we do or do not admit the authority of Diodorus, the best conclusion to be drawn from the appearance and plan of these ruins is, that they represent the whole of the royal precincts, including the hanging gardens*. The ruins of the Palace of Babylon might well resemble in every respect those we see on the eastern bank of the Eu-

* We should form a very incorrect notion of the residence of an eastern monarch, if we imagined it was one building which in its decay would leave a single mound, or mass of ruins. Such establishments always consist of a fortified inclosure, the area of which is occupied by many buildings of various kinds, without symmetry or general design, and with large vacant spaces between them.

phrates: the mound called by Major Rennel "the rampart of new Babylon" will answer perfectly to the outer wall of the Palace, for which its extent is by no means too great; and thus all difficulties immediately vanish, without the necessity of turning the river or building a new town. This could hardly have failed striking Major Rennel also, had he not set out by assuming the Mujelibè to be the Tower of Belus; which, if the supposition of the Palace having been situated here be just, must certainly be looked for in a different direction—each being said to be seated within its own division of the city. In fact, there is not the slightest reason to believe that the Tower was situated on or near the river, though we may safely infer that such a stream must have been taken advantage of in placing the Palace. Had the Palace and Tower been so very near each other, it would probably have been remarked by Herodotus, whose authority Major Rennel is willing to abandon in this particular. From what I have before said, it may be seen that I cannot receive the Mujelibè as the Tower of Belus, even independent of its position.

Having said so much of the general state of the eastern ruins, I have but a few words to add concerning the particular parts of them, about which Major Rennel seems to think I have not been suf-

ficiently explicit in my former Memoir. I was fearful of becoming tedious by expatiating on misshapen heaps of rubbish, which are much better understood by a drawing, except—like the mound of the Kassr—they happen to contain within their general mass some peculiarity worthy of remark. It is on this account, and not because I had not examined them, that I passed the little heaps which lie between the Kassr and the Mujelibè without particular mention, after having satisfied myself that they contained nothing which required one. They are in fact nothing more than low heaps, or traces of building extending in that direction, of no elevation or determined form, precisely as I have laid them down in my plan. Major Rennel seems, however, to consider them as requisite to the formation of his theory. He calls them the “north-east mounds,” in the sketch of the site of ancient Babylon (drawn chiefly from the information contained in my Memoir) which he has prefixed to his “Remarks;” has assigned them a place, form, and magnitude to which they are by no means entitled*, and conjectures them to be the ruins of the least and oldest of the palaces mentioned by Diodorus.

I observe some other alterations from my plan,

* Vide the Sketch prefixed to his “Remarks,” &c. (D.)

which are not wholly immaterial : especially an opening between the south-west angle of the mound called the Kassr, and the arm which ought to connect it with the north-west angle of that of Amran. I suppose I have to attribute these to the person who engraved the plan for the English edition of my Memoir, as Major Rennel would doubtless have noticed the alterations, had they come from himself. But there is another error, which I have to attribute to my own want of precision. The mounds placed to the right and left of the Mohawil road by Major Rennel should be by no means so frequent, or of such magnitude : he was probably deceived by the looseness of my expression, that “the whole country between Mohawil and Hillah exhibits at *intervals* traces of building.” But there should have been none at all south of Jumjuma, or between the ruins laid down in my plan and the town of Hilla.

Of the mound of Amran I was not aware that it was possible to say any thing more, after having described its form and general appearance, as it offers no peculiarity meriting attention. It is composed, like the rest, of earth, or rubbish formed by the decomposition of bricks and other materials. The canal of Mohawil Major Rennel seems inclined to think may have been the ditch of Baby-

lon. I confess this is a probability which did not strike me when I was on the spot; and I saw no reason to doubt its ever having been different from what it is at present,—a canal cut from the Euphrates to water some government lands which are let out for an annual rent. It is crossed by a bridge of one small arch, and differs in no respect from the multitude of other canals which traverse this country.

In the foregoing remarks I have taken for granted, what indeed appears to be now the general belief, that the ruins at Hilla are those of Babylon. I have myself no doubt of the fact: but as Major Rennel has hinted a possibility of there having been another town here, I think it but fair to state all that can be urged in favour of such a supposition. The canals which run along the southern side of the Mujelibè are called New and Old Neel, the latter of which is said to be very ancient. This fact becomes interesting when we find Al Neel mentioned in history as the name of a place or district; but the notices we have of this place are very few and meager. Abulfeda* says Al Neel is *a place* between Bagdad and Coufah. In Assemani I find a Bishop of Al Neel, Nilus, in Babylonia mentioned

* *Takweem ul Boldan.*

in A.D. 1028. He was one of the suffragans in the Patriarch's own province. Amrus, in the Life of St. Elias, says there was but one bishop for Naamania, Al Neel, and Badraya (a village near Koche); from which there is some reason to infer that those places were near each other*. The Turkish geographer mentions Al Neel in his list of the districts of Bagdad; and in the particular description says no more than "Nil is a district containing several villages, with much cultivation and many gardens†:" but he does not say where it is situated. D'Herbelot mentions a christian Arabian poet, surnamed Al Neelè, A.H. 608. D'Anville marks in his map of the Euphrates and Tigris a place named Nil, or Nilus, on the west bank of the Euphrates, below Hilla, at the mouth of the canal of Coufah‡. I am ignorant of the authority on which he has introduced this place into his Memoir and map: but as he places Kassr Ibn Hobeira on the same canal, it is to be inferred that he is mistaken as to its position. Seif ud Doulah is said to have succeeded in A.H. 479 to his father's possessions, the districts of Hilla, Al Neel, &c.§

* Assemani, vol. iii. p. 766.

† Jehan Numa, p. 462.

‡ D'Anville, *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 126.

§ Modern Universal History, vol. iv. p. 372.

I am not able to trace Al Neel further back in history than 1000 of Christ.

These, it must be confessed, will at first sight appear but very scanty materials to form any decisive judgement on so important a point. When we consider them attentively, however, several particulars may be inferred from them of considerable use in the present question. The obscurity in which it is involved is in itself a presumptive proof of its little importance. The name is evidently derived from the canal. This latter circumstance might lead us to infer that there was no town at all of this name, but that it was merely a canal and district containing several villages, as indeed is expressly stated by the Turkish geographer. Such are the modern districts of this country, which take their names from the canal which waters it; but none contain any town which would leave the slightest traces a few years after its destruction. As instances, I may mention Dujjeil and Khalis, neither of which districts contains any place with these names. The expression of Abulfeda is one of those equivocal words which occur too often in the Oriental languages. بلدة may mean either a district or town: and a person now commonly says he is going to Khalis, or he has lived at Dujjeil; by which he may mean any of the villages contained

within that district ; and its having been a bishopric is in the East no proof of its size—either a whole district or a very insignificant village may have enjoyed this honour ; and we see that at one period the bishopric of Al Neel was united with two others. I have myself no doubt that Al Neel was always, as it is now, the name of a district, and that it contained no remarkable place ; in which belief I am further justified by the information obligingly communicated to me by H. H. the Pasha, from the register office of Bagdad. But as some people may possibly differ with me, I shall consider it also under a different point of view, and endeavour to anticipate every objection.

I think it will readily be conceded that Al Neel—supposing it to have been a town named after the canal—could not have been a place of any magnitude : or, to speak more precisely, there is not the slightest reason to believe it could have been as large as Hilla. We have no records which give it any high antiquity ; nor is there any necessity for placing it at the mouth of the canal. We have indeed examples of the contrary in Nahrouan, Naher Malcha, and many other places. We thus come at some important conclusions. Whatever ruins the town of Neel—if ever such a place existed—may be believed to have left, we have no positive reason

for supposing them to occupy this spot : and a place even much larger and more important than Hilla could not leave remains in any degree resembling, either in magnitude or composition, those we now see on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Were it necessary, innumerable instances might be adduced from the ruins of well-known places in this neighbourhood in support of this assertion : and to show that the eastern ruins must be wholly the remains of public buildings, the large cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia will suffice ;—neither of them has left vestiges of more than their walls (if we except the Tank Kesra), and indeed those of Seleucia have almost totally disappeared.

I will go further, and state my opinion that, even should it be imagined by any one that there was a town on the north side of the canal and at the base of the Mujelibè (the only spot where it could have been situated), and that it was considerable enough to have had a castle the size of that curious ruin,—this supposition makes no difference whatever in the opinion I have expressed. I will take for an example the modern town of Arbil, which has an artificial mount at least as large as the Mujelibè, and much higher. This mount, which is of the highest antiquity, and probably existed in the days of Alexander, has been crowned by a succession of castles in different ages. The present is

a Turkish building, and contains within its walls (as the others doubtless did) a portion of the town, consisting of two mahallas or parishes: the remainder of the town is situated at the foot of the mount, and would, if abandoned, in a few years leave not a single vestige behind. Precisely the same observation holds good of the still more considerable city and castle of Kerkook. We may therefore, I presume, safely decide, that in no case is there the slightest reason to confound the ruins of Al Neel, whatever that place may have been, with the remains on the eastern side of the Euphrates, and which I have ventured to call the Palace of Babylon.

I am aware that some people may at first possibly conceive a hasty idea that Al Neel is the town whose existence was supposed by Major Rennel, in order to remove the obstacles to his theory of the change in the course of the river. In the former part of this Memoir I have shown the impossibility of buildings being placed in mounds which are themselves decayed buildings. It is, besides, out of the question to suppose that a town of a size sufficient to require an inclosure like that which I believe to have been the wall of the Palace, and Major Rennel "the rampart of new Babylon," should have been inserted, as it were, in the different hol-

lows and vacant spaces of the ruins, with no reason in the world to choose so awkward and inconvenient a situation ; and any villages which may have been placed within the inclosure (like the one we now find there) are obviously of no account. The only situation, as I have already remarked, where a town could have been placed, is either at Hilla or to the north of the Neel.

Before the foundation, or rather augmentation, of Hilla by Seif ud Doulah, A.H. 495, there was a place there, named Al Jamaein, or The two Mosques*. The name Hilla, which was given it after its having been enlarged and fortified, is derived from an Arabic root, signifying to rest, or take up one's abode.

I therefore repeat my belief, formed from the inspection of the ruins about Hilla, that they are of one character, and must be received altogether as a part of Babylon, or wholly rejected without reserve. And I must here state what seems to me to be the best evidence for their antiquity, independent of their appearance, dimensions, and correspondence with the descriptions of the ancients.—The burnt bricks of which the ruins are principally composed, and which have inscriptions

* Abulfeda.

on them in the cuneiform character, only found in Babylon and Persepolis, are all invariably placed in a similar manner, *viz.* with their faces or written sides downwards. This argues some design in placing them, though what that might have been it is now impossible to say. It, however, proves sufficiently that the buildings must have been erected when the bricks were made, and the very ancient and peculiar form of characters on them in use. When these bricks are found in more modern constructions, as in Bagdad and Hilla, they are of course placed indifferently, without regard to the writing on them. In the greatest depth in the excavations at the Kassr, at the subterraneous passage or canal, I have myself found small pieces of baked clay covered with cuneiform writing, and sometimes with figures indisputably Babylonian :—these shall be described when I come to speak of the Babylonian antiques. Had the ruins been more recent than is here presumed, these inscriptions would not have been found in this order and manner, and we should in all probability have found others in the character or language then in use. Thus, had the town been Mahometan or Christian, we might reasonably expect to meet with fragments of Coufic or Stranghelo. There is another equally remarkable circumstance in these ruins, and which is al-

most conclusive with respect to their antiquity. In the very heart of the mound called the Kassr, and also in the ruins on the bank of the river, which have been crumbled and shivered by the action of the water, I saw earthen urns filled with ashes, with some small fragments of bones in them ; and in the northern face of the Mujelibè I discovered a gallery filled with skeletons inclosed in wooden coffins. Of the high antiquity of the sepulchral urns no one will for an instant doubt ; and that of the skeletons is sufficiently ascertained, both from the mode of burial, which has never been practised in this country since the introduction of Islam, and still more by a curious brass ornament which I found in one of the coffins. These discoveries are of the most interesting nature ; and though it is certainly difficult to reconcile them with any theory of these ruins, yet in themselves they sufficiently establish their antiquity. The two separate modes of burial too are highly worthy of attention. There is, I believe, no reason to suppose that the Babylonians burned their dead ; the old Persians we know never did. It is not impossible that the difference may indicate the several usages of the Babylonians and Greeks, and that the urns may contain the ashes of the soldiers of Alexander and of his successors.

I have now done with the eastern ruins.—Major Rennel considers me as the first who established the fact of there being no ruins on the western banks of the river: but Beauchamp states the same fact in the clearest and most positive manner. His words are, “Je me suis soigneusement informé des Arabes dont la profession est d’enlever les briques de ces ruines pour construire les edifices de Hella, si en creusant la terre de l’autre côté du fleuve, c’est à dire de la rive occidentale du fleuve, on y trouvait des briques—ils m’ont repondu non*.” And he goes so far as to express an opinion that Babylon never occupied both sides of the river—“Je ne suis pas tout-à-fait du sentiment de M. d’Anville, qui partage Babylone de deux côtés du fleuve.” (*Mem. de l’Academie des Inscriptions*, v. 48. Notes to M. de St^e Croix’s Dissertation on Babylon.) (E.)

It now remains for me to notice the most interesting and remarkable of all the Babylonian remains, viz. the Birs Nemroud.—If any building may be supposed to have left considerable traces, it is certainly the Pyramid or Tower of Belus; which

* It is true, indeed, that Beauchamp speaks only from information which he received from others, and which applies rather to subterranean remains than to ruins on the surface of the earth.

by its form, dimensions, and the solidity of its construction, was well calculated to resist the ravages of time; and, if human force had not been employed, would in all probability have remained to the present day, in nearly as perfect a state as the pyramids of Egypt. Even under the dilapidation which we know it to have undergone at a very early period, we might reasonably look for traces of it after every other vestige of Babylon had vanished from the face of the earth. When, therefore, we see within a short distance from the spot fixed on, both by geographers and antiquarians, and the tradition of the country, to be the site of ancient Babylon, a stupendous pile, which appears to have been built in receding stages, which bears the most indisputable traces both of the violence of man and the lapse of ages, and yet continues to tower over the desert, the wonder of successive generations,—it is impossible that their perfect correspondence with all the accounts of the Tower of Belus should not strike the most careless observer, and induce him to attempt clearing away the difficulties which have been suggested by Major Rennel against its reception within the limits of Babylon. I am of opinion that this ruin is of a nature to fix of itself the locality of Babylon, even to the exclusion of those on the eastern side of the river: and if the

ancients had actually assigned a position to the Tower irreconcilable with the Birs, it would be more reasonable to suppose that some error had crept into their accounts, than to reject this most remarkable of all the ruins. But there is no necessity for either supposition. From the view of the ancient historians I have taken in the foregoing part of this Memoir, it will appear that none of them has positively fixed the spot where the Tower of Belus stood; and if we receive the dimensions of Babylon assigned by the best of the ancient historians—himself an eye-witness—both the Birs and the eastern ruins will fairly come within its limits. Against receiving his testimony we have only our own notions of probability. We have reduced the dimensions merely because they do not accord with our ideas of the size of a city: but we know Babylon to have been rather an inclosed district than a city; and there can of course be no hesitation in abandoning less accurate evidence, and receiving the statement of Herodotus, if there be any traces on the spot to justify it.

The whole height of the Birs Nemroud above the plain to the summit of the brick wall is two hundred and thirty-five feet (235). The brick wall itself which stands on the edge of the summit, and was undoubtedly the face of another stage, is thirty-

seven (37) feet high. In the side of the pile a little below the summit is very clearly to be seen part of another brick wall, precisely resembling the fragment which crowns the summit, but which still encases and supports its part of the mound. This is clearly indicative of another stage of greater extent. The masonry is infinitely superior to any thing of the kind I have ever seen ; and leaving out of the question any conjecture relative to the original destination of this ruin, the impression made by a sight of it is, that it was a solid pile, composed in the interior of unburnt brick, and perhaps earth or rubbish ; that it was constructed in receding stages, and faced with fine burnt bricks, having inscriptions on them, laid in a very thin layer of lime cement ; and that it was reduced by violence to its present ruinous condition. The upper stories have been forcibly broken down, and fire has been employed as an instrument of destruction, though it is not easy to say precisely how or why. The facing of fine bricks has partly been removed, and partly covered by the falling down of the mass which it supported and kept together. I speak with the greater confidence of the different stages of this pile, from my own observations having been recently confirmed and extended by an intelligent traveller*, who is of

* Mr. Buckingham.

opinion that the traces of *four* stages are clearly discernible. As I believe it is his intention to lay the account of his travels before the world, I am unwilling to forestall any of his observations; but I must not omit to notice a remarkable result arising out of them. The Tower of Belus was a stadium in height; therefore, if we suppose the eight towers or stages which composed the Pyramid of Belus to have been of equal height, according to Major Rennel's idea, which is preferable to that of the Count de Caylus (see *Mém. de l'Académie*, vol. xxxi.), we ought to find traces of four of them in the fragment which remains, whose elevation is 235 feet; and this is precisely the number which Mr. Buckingham believes he has discovered. This result is the more worthy attention, as it did not occur to Mr. B. himself.

The Birs Nemroud is apparently the Tower of Belus of Benjamin of Tudela, who says it was destroyed by fire from heaven—a curious remark, as it proves he must have observed the vitrified masses on the summit. M. Beauchamp speaks of it under the appellation of Brouss (F): he never visited it himself; indeed the undertaking is not always practicable without a strong escort. The excellent Niebuhr, whose intelligence, industry, and accuracy cannot be too often praised, suspects the Birs to

have been the Tower of Belus. He gives a very good account of it even from the hasty view which circumstances would allow of his taking: "Au sud ouest de Helle à $1\frac{1}{4}$ mille, et par conséquent à l'ouest de l'Euphrate, on trouve encore d'autres restes de l'ancienne Babylone : ici il y a toute une colline de ces belles pierres de murailles dont j'ai parlé ; et au dessus il y a une tour qui à ce qui paraît est intérieurement aussi toute remplie de ces pierres de murailles cuites ; mais les pierres de dehors (qui sait combien de pieds d'épaisseur) sont perdues par le tems dans cette épaisse muraille, ou plutôt dans ces grands tas de pierres : il y a ici et là de petits trous qui percent d'un côté jusqu'à l'autre ; sans doute pour y donner un libre passage à l'air, et pour empêcher au dedans l'humidité, qui auroit pu nuire au bâtiment." (*Voyage*, vol. ii. p. 236.) In this description the Birs may be recognised, even through the obscurity of a job translation.

After this, I was certainly surprised to find that Major Rennel not only excludes it from the limits of Babylon, but even doubts the mound being artificial. So indisputably evident is the fact of the whole mass being from top to bottom artificial, that I should as soon have thought of writing a dissertation to prove that the Pyramids are the work of human hands, as of dwelling on this point. Indeed, were there any

thing equivocal in the appearance of the mound itself, the principles of physical geography utterly forbid the supposition of there being an isolated hill of natural formation in ground formed by the depositions of a river; and therefore, if any traveller fancied he saw a natural hill at Musseil, or any other place in that direction, he was most unquestionably mistaken.

The same reasons prove that there could never have been bitumen springs in Babylon. (See Geog. of Herod. p. 369.) Diodorus, indeed, does not say, as Major Rennel supposes, that bitumen was found in Babylón,—but in Babylonia, which is a very different thing.

The Birs Nemroud is in all likelihood at present pretty nearly in the state in which Alexander saw it; if we give any credit to the report that ten thousand men could only remove the rubbish, preparatory to repairing it, in two months. If, indeed, it required one half of that number to disencumber it, the state of dilapidation must have been complete. The immense masses of vitrified brick which are seen on the top of the mount appear to have marked its summit since the time of its destruction. The rubbish about its base was probably in much greater quantities, the weather having dissipated much of it in the course of so many revolving ages; and,

possibly, portions of the exterior facing of fine brick may have disappeared at different periods.

In the foregoing observations I have endeavoured to show that the ruins of Babylon in their present state may be perfectly reconciled with the best descriptions of the Grecian writers, without doing violence to either. I feel persuaded that the more the subject is investigated the stronger will the conformity be found; but it is one in which the spirit of system would be peculiarly misplaced: and I am so far from being bigoted to my own opinions, that should I in the course of my researches happen to discover particulars which may reasonably appear to militate against them, I will be the first to lay them before the public.

BAGDAD, July 1817.

P.S. Since writing the above I have received an extract from the Supplement to the fifth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, containing a summary of my former accounts of Babylon, with the author's own ideas on the subject. It is peculiarly gratifying to me to find that my opinions have the confirmation of such a writer.

NOTES.

(A.) Page 7.

If, rejecting the measurements of Ctesias, it be admitted that there was at Nineveh a monument of this very ancient and durable form, I think the remains of it are still to be seen among traces which yet exist of that city. Opposite the town of Mousoul is an inclosure of a rectangular form, corresponding with the cardinal points of the compass; the eastern and western sides being the longest, the latter facing the river. The area, which is now cultivated and offers no vestiges of building, is too small to have contained a town larger than Mousoul; but it may be supposed to answer to the Palace of Nineveh. The boundary, which may be perfectly traced all round, now looks like an embankment of earth or rubbish, of small elevation; and has attached to it, and in its line, at several places, mounds of greater size and solidity. The first of these forms the south-west angle; and on it is built the village of Nebbi Yunus (described and delineated by Niebuhr as Nurica), where they show the tomb of the prophet Jonas, much revered by the Mahometans.

The next, and largest of all, is the one which may be supposed to be the monument of Ninus. It is situated near the centre of the western face of the inclosure, and is joined like the others by the boundary wall;—the na-

tives call it Koyunjuk Tepè. Its form is that of a truncated pyramid, with regular steep sides and a flat top : it is composed, as I ascertained, from some excavations of stones and earth, the latter predominating sufficiently to admit of the summit being cultivated by the inhabitants of the village of Koyunjuk, which is built on it at the north-east extremity. The only means I had at the time I visited it of ascertaining its dimensions was by a cord which I procured from Mousoul. This gave 178 feet for the greatest height, 1850 feet the length of the summit east and west, and 1147 for its breadth north and south. In the measurement of the length I have less confidence than in the others, as I fear the straight line was not very correctly preserved ; and the east side is in a less perfect condition than the others. The other mounds on the boundary wall offer nothing worthy of remark in this place. Out of one in the north face of the boundary was dug, a short time ago, an immense block of stone, on which were sculptured the figures of men and animals. So remarkable was this fragment of antiquity, that even Turkish apathy was roused, and the Pasha and most of the principal people of Mousoul came out to see it. One of the spectators particularly recollected, among the sculptures of this stone, the figure of a man on horseback with a long lance in his hand, followed by a great many others on foot. The stone was soon afterwards cut into small pieces for repairing the buildings of Mousoul, and this inestimable specimen of the arts and manners of the earliest ages irrecoverably lost. Cylinders like those of Babylon, and some other antiques, are occasionally found here ; but I have never seen or heard of inscriptions. From the assurances given me by the

Pasha of Mousoul, I entertain great hopes that any monument which may be hereafter discovered will be rescued from destruction. A ruined city, as Major Rennel justly observes, is a quarry above ground. It is very likely that a considerable part of Mousoul, at least of the public works, was constructed with the materials found at Nineveh. Koyunjuk Tepè has been dug into in some places in search of them; and to this day stones of very large dimensions, which sufficiently attest their high antiquity, are found in or at the foot of the mound which forms the boundary. These the Turks break into small fragments, to employ in the construction of their edifices. The permanent part of the bridge of Mousoul was built by a late Pasha wholly with stones found in the part of the boundary which connects the Koyunjuk with Nebbi Yunus, and which is the least considerable of all. The small river Khausar traverses the area above described from east to west, and divides it nearly into two equal parts: it makes a sweep round the east and south sides of Koyunjuk Tepè, and then discharges itself into the Tigris above the bridge of Mousoul. It is almost superfluous to add that the mount of Koyunjuk Tepè is wholly artificial.

I hope to make Nineveh the subject of a future Memoir. It is possible that the Larissa of Xenophon, with its pyramid, whose base was one plethron, and height two, was no other than Nineveh with the sepulchre of Ninus (see *Anabasis*, lib. 3).—I cannot quit this subject without remarking a curious coincidence; At Messila, a Median town six parasangs above Larissa, Xenophon saw the base of a wall built of *hewn shelly stone*, *Ἡν δὲ ἡ κρηπὶς λίθου ξιστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, κ. τ. λ.* At Mousoul I have

seen pieces of this stone, which is a complete conglomerate of small shells.

(B.) Page 8.

When I remarked in my former Memoir that the words of Herodotus, stating the basement story of the Tower of Belus to be *σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος*, should be translated “of a stadium in length and breadth” and not “height and breadth,” I had not seen Wesseling’s edition of Herodotus; by which I find that the reading which makes Herodotus guilty of an absurdity that would reduce him to a level with Ctesias, originated in an error which had long ago been exploded. (Vide Herod. Wess. p. 85, note.)

(C.) Page 17.

Some observations occur here respecting the Palace or Palaces, which ought not to be omitted. In the Geography of Herodotus, p. 355, it is said (from Diodorus) that the lesser palace is on the east, where is also the brazen statue of Belus. Lest it should be conceived that this statement contains some allusion to the Temple of Belus, and consequently be used to establish the position of that building, it is proper to give the whole passage from Diodorus: “In place of the fictile earthen images of beasts (which ornament the walls of the large palace) are here. (in the smaller palace) the brazen statues of Ninus and Semiramis, of the prefects, and also of Jupiter who is named by the Babylonians Belus.” (Diod. lib. ii. c. 8.)

In the same work, p. 337, Major Rennel, in giving an account of Babylon according to the notions of Herodotus, says: "In the centre of each division of the city is a *circular* space, surrounded by a wall; in one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space: the Temple of Jupiter occupies the other." And yet in the "Remarks" he objects to the inclosure which I suppose may have contained the Palace, on account of its being circular. Neither is the description he has given from Herodotus, as quoted above, reconcilable with what he says a little further on, on the authority of Diodorus,—that the Palace was a *square* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. (See Geog. of Herod. p. 354.) But the truth is, that neither does Herodotus mention the circle, nor Diodorus the square. There is certainly no reason to believe that the Palace was of the latter form.

(D.) Page 19.

I must here remark that Tauk Kesra, the palace of the Sassanian kings, is not built of Babylonian bricks, as has been supposed; and that the masonry is strikingly inferior to that of Babylon.

(E.) Page 30.

The same note to the curious and learned Memoir of M. de Sainte Croix contains a discussion concerning the latitude and longitude of Hilla, and its distance from Bagdad, by M. Beauchamp. Niebuhr gives the latitude of Hilla $32^{\circ} 28'$, which would make its distance from Bagdad amount to $21\frac{2}{3}$ leagues of 25 to a degree.

M. Beauchamp, from an observation of the transit of Mercury over the sun, on the 5th November 1789, makes it 5 degrees to the west of Bagdad, which he calls being very nearly under the same meridian—"sous le même méridien à très peu près." He is of opinion that the distance given by Niebuhr's observation (22 leagues) is a little too much, because only 18 leagues are reckoned in performing the journey, the whole of the way being over a desert as flat as a table. He says that in two journeys he made from Bagdad to Hilla he counted $16\frac{1}{2}$ hours ordinary pace of a caravan. Niebuhr supposes 13 to 14 German miles, $13\frac{1}{2}$ of which would be just $22\frac{1}{4}$ leagues of 25 to the degree. From this distance, which appears overrated, M. Beauchamp concludes that Niebuhr's latitude is too small: his own observation gave $32^{\circ} 40'$; but he deducts $5'$ for the error of his instrument, which error he did not ascertain, but only supposed—he does not say why. This, he says, will be found to correspond better with the reckoned distance. The latitude of Babylon will then, according to him, be $32^{\circ} 37'$. He observes that even if the rate of going of a horseman at a walk be reckoned at one league of 20 to a degree (and which I believe will generally be found to come near the truth), it will bring the latitude of Hilla to $32^{\circ} 32'$ and Babylon to $32^{\circ} 34'$, which comes nearer his observation than that of Niebuhr. (See *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* vol. xlviii. p. 31.) I hope on my next visit to Babylon to ascertain correctly its longitude and latitude, both by astronomical observations and measurement. In my sketch the magnetic variation was not allowed; it is at Bagdad $8^{\circ} 44'$ west, and at Bussora 9° .

(F.) Page 34.

It appears on examination that the Brouss or Broussa of M. Beauchamp* is no other than the Birs Nemroud (which Major Rennel calls throughout the "Remarks" Nimrod Birs). The situation two leagues south-east of Hilla, and the name, which seems to be only a corrupt pronounciation of Birs or Burs, all sufficiently point out the correspondence between the Birs Nemroud and Brouss. It is true, Beauchamp says it is only one league from the banks of the river; and Major Rennel, in his sketch, makes it rather more than two: but Beauchamp was never at the Birs himself; and he must either speak from mere conjecture, or from the careless report of some person of the country.

Major Rennel says that the Broussa of Beauchamp is called Bursa by the Arabs, and he concludes it to be the Barsita of Ptolemy, or Borsippa of Strabo. It would appear that he has some other authority for *Boursa*, which he does not mention. Bursa in Arabic means a sandy desert, or the dwelling-places of evil spirits, either being very remote from the appellation of Celestial, which d'Anville gives it in fixing it at Samawa, much lower down the Euphrates. In my first Memoir I speak of the ruins of Bursa near the village of Jerbouiya, which is about four leagues below Hilla, and about half an hour from the river. I only met with one man at Hilla who recognised the name of *Boursa*; and he was found out for me by the governor. It is necessary here to explain that I asked for *Boursa* by name, from having

* Geog. of Herod. p. 370. *Mém. de l'Acad.* vol. xlviii.

just read the passage in the Geography of Herodotus relating to it. This I am aware is a mode of inquiry which sometimes in the East leads to error; but whatever may be thought of the *name*, I have no doubt concerning the ruins at Jerbouiya, which I have heard described by several persons who had visited them. Should any one be tempted to imagine, from the similarity of names, and the conjecture that Boursa is Borsippa, that the ruins at the Birs Nemroud are those of the sacred Tower of the Chaldeans, I can only appeal to the appearance of the Birs itself. To suppose that the Birs is Borsippa, and not Babylon, would be to believe that there existed a Temple and Tower at the former place perfectly resembling the gigantic monument of Belus, both in form and proportions; and that the Temple of Borsippa has resisted the hand of time, which has obliterated that of Babylon.

I must not finish this Memoir without correcting two inaccuracies of my former one. Tahmasia was, I find, built by Shah Tahmas, and not by Nadir Shah, as I was inaccurately informed at Hilla; and the Khan half way between Bagdad and Hilla is not called Khan Bir Yunus, or Jonas's Well, but Bir-un-nous (incorrectly for *nisf*), *i. e.* The Well of the Half-way.

APPENDIX

REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE

It is given an account of the history of the
and perhaps be expected that I should describe
the nature of the state, manners and religion of
the people who are found among them, and which
it is not but imperfectly known to the public. It is
to give fully into this subject would require an ex-
tension of which I am not now capable, and thus
much I have it not in my power to bestow. I must
therefore at present content myself with merely re-
fering specimens of some of the most interesting of
these fragments, and I cannot myself with the hope
that I may thus supply some materials to those who
are desirous to see the people in more detail than I can
ever expect to do.

It is the duty of the student to
throughout all his country, especially on the banks
of the Euphrates, from Hama to Samarra. The

* I have also been informed that the Euphrates River
is not a single River, but that it is composed of many
of them in the East in other parts.

APPENDIX.

BABYLONIAN ANTIQUES.

HAVING given an account of the ruins of Babylon, it will perhaps be expected that I should describe the monuments of the arts, manners, and religion of past ages which are found among them, and which are as yet but imperfectly known to the public. But to enter fully into this subject would require an attention of which I am not now capable, and time which I have it not in my power to bestow. I must therefore at present content myself with merely offering specimens of some of the most interesting of these fragments; and I console myself with the hope that I may thus supply some materials to those who are infinitely more capable of using them than I can ever expect to be.

Hilla is the general depôt for antiques found throughout all this country, especially on the banks of the Euphrates, from Raka to Samawa*. The

* I have even been offered at Hilla English and Russian copper coins, common European seals of false carnelian, and a head of Frederic the Great in blue glass!

most interesting of these antiques are the Sassanian and Babylonian. It is of the latter only of which I now propose to speak. Most of them contain specimens of the very curious and primitive system of writing found only in the Babylonian monuments ; and those of Persia of the age of its history*. The cuneiform, or, as it has sometimes been called, the arrow-headed, character baffled the ingenuity of the decypherer, till Dr. Grotefend of Frankfort, undeterred by the ill success of his predecessors, applied himself to the task with a judgement and resolution which secured success. The result, so creditable to his industry and learning, and the process by which he obtained it, which he very ingenuously submits

* In the first period of the history of Persia I include the whole of its sovereigns down to the extinction of the native race by the Macedonian conquest, without any reference to the fanciful divisions of Ferdusi in his string of romances, which has by some unaccountably been entitled an epic poem, and by others a history. It probably bears the same relation to the ancient history of Persia as the romances of Brute and the acts of Arthur's worthies do to that of Britain. Dr. Grotefend's first efforts have already done something towards maintaining the veracity of the venerable historians of Greece against the fictions of Mohammedan Persian literature ; and much more may be expected, provided we can obtain a more intimate acquaintance with the Zend and other ancient languages of Persia, which is an object highly worthy the attention of our learned countrymen in India.

to the public, are to be found partly in Prof. Heeren's work on the Politics, Intercourse, and Commerce of the principal Nations of Antiquity*, and partly in the fourth and fifth volumes of the *Mines de l'Orient*; but it is to be hoped that he will soon be prevailed upon to communicate to the world his valuable labours in a separate and more perfect form.

Dr. Grotefend, who professes to be rather the decypherer than the translator of the cuneiform inscriptions, and who engages merely to open the way to those whose attention has been much devoted to the study of the ancient languages of Persia, has however succeeded in translating some of the inscriptions on the ruins of Persepolis, and one from those of Pasargadæ. He observes that there are three varieties of those inscriptions, distinguished from each other by the greater complication of the characters formed by the radical signs of a wedge (or arrow) and an angle. Each inscription is repeated in all the three species. The first or simplest species, decyphered by Dr. Grotefend, is in Zend, the language of Ecbatana; and there are grounds for believing that the remaining ones are translations

* *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt*, by Prof. A. H. L. Heeren, 3d edition, Gottingen, 1815,—a very interesting work, which ought to be translated into English.

into the languages of the other capitals of the Persian empire, Susa and Babylon. This conjecture acquires force from the fact of one of the species of cuneiform writing discovered at Babylon corresponding, or nearly so, with one of the Persepolitan species.

The cuneiform is the most ancient character of which we have any knowledge. It is difficult to say in what country it was invented ; but its use was common to the great nations of antiquity, the Median, Persian, and Assyrian ; and, as Prof. Heeren very justly observes, it is in all likelihood the *Assyrian writing* of Herodotus, and that which Darius Hystaspis engraved on the pillars which he set up on the banks of the Bosphorus. The inscriptions decyphered by Dr. Grotefend are of the times of Cyrus, Darius Hystaspis, and Xerxes. Notwithstanding the obscurity in which its history is involved, it is not difficult to fix the period in which it fell into disuse. From its peculiar form it is evident that it must have been confined, like the sacred character of the Egyptians, to inscriptions on stone and other hard substances ; and there must consequently have been another mode of writing better calculated for ordinary use, which probably resembled the Zend character of Anquetil-Duperron. The sacred or lapidary character must have fallen into

disuse upon Alexander's conquest, when neither the Persians nor Babylonians had any monuments to erect or events to record. The native princes who wrested the throne of Persia from his feeble successors adopted the Greek language and character in their coins and inscriptions; and all recollection of the cuneiform writing must have perished during the long period in which they held the sceptre of Iran. The Sassanians, the professed restorers of the ancient rites and usages of Persia, could not therefore have had it in their power to recall the use of this obsolete mode of writing; and accordingly we find the monuments and coins of that dynasty inscribed with a character having an analogy with the Hebrew, Phenician, or Palmyrene, which has been decyphered by the first orientalist of any age or country, in whose excellent work, "*Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*," the fullest information on the Sassanian antiquities may be found.

The foregoing observations relate to the Persepolitan inscriptions. With respect to those of Babylon, Dr. Grotefend, from the scarcity of specimens, is yet only acquainted with two kinds; and he has not attempted to decypher them, though he has furnished some useful tables of comparison for those who may be inclined to attempt the task*.

* See *Mines de l'Orient*, vol. iv. and v.

Adopting his principles of classification, I shall divide the Babylonian inscriptions into three species, in the order of their complication. I have attempted to account for the coexistence of three different writings and languages in the Persepolitan inscriptions. For the reason of there being three species of Babylonian writing, of which one only corresponds with those of Persepolis, I cannot offer any probable conjecture. They are never found together, or in the same antiques, as in Persia; but the supposition of different ages will not solve the difficulty. A strict comparison of the different kinds will show whether or no they express different languages*.

No. 1 is a black stone of an irregular shape (in part broken and defaced), about one foot in length and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The figures on it, *a* and *b*, have been supposed to represent the zodiac of the Babylonians: *c* is all that is now legible of the inscription, which once covered the lower part of the

* In the moment of sending off this Memoir I saw a letter from Dr. Grotefend, by which it appears that that learned and ingenious person, from a close examination of some specimens which have recently been communicated to him, is of opinion that the three species of Babylonian writing here spoken of are only varieties of different modes of writing the same characters, and that there is in fact but one real kind of Babylonian cuneiform writing. Those who consider the importance of the undertaking will rejoice to learn that Dr. Grotefend is prosecuting his inquiries with unremitting ardour.

stone, and is in the first species of Babylonian cuneiform writing. I saw an antique perfectly resembling this in the Royal Library at Paris, and I believe it has been described by Mr. Millin and noticed by Dr. Grotefend. This stone was brought to me by a peasant while I was examining the ruins of Babylon.

No. 2 is a stone two feet in length, nineteen in breadth, and nine inches in thickness: it is broken at the bottom. On the front is the sculpture *a*, and on the right side the inscription *b* belonging to the first species.

No. 3 is a head of red granate, a little larger than the drawing. It contains the inscription *b*, which is somewhat defaced, but which also appears to be of the first species. The antique *c* is a brass ornament which I found in a coffin with a skeleton in the Mujelibè, and is introduced here for the purpose of comparison with *a*. Both appear to have been destined for the same use; and in place of the ring or shank by which the brass ornament was suspended, there is a hole drilled through *a*. The age of *b* is sufficiently evident from its character and appearance; and that of *a* is placed beyond all doubt by the cuneiform inscription: from both, the antiquity of the skeleton may be inferred. *a* was brought to me at Bagdad from Hilla, but I have not been able to discover in what part of the ruins it

was found. The first species of Babylonian cuneiform writing agrees with the third Persepolitan.

No. 4 is an inscription copied from a piece of baked clay, in shape like a barrel, being thicker in the centre than at the ends. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter. The inscription is perfect, and the lacunæ which are seen in the copy are not illegible places, but exist in the original. The character is in the second species of cuneiform-writing, of which no specimen has hitherto been published. This species also occurs on small pieces of baked clay of a darker and finer quality than the bricks; they are generally covered with writing, and have also sometimes figures on the edges in slight relief. I found some of these pieces of clay in the sewer or subterranean canal at the foundations of the Kassr, the antiquity of which is thus in some measure established. To ascertain in what particular part of the ruins each antique is found, is a curious and important subject of investigation; but one which the little reliance that can be placed on the words of the natives, and the extraordinary manner in which they sometimes deceive without the slightest apparent motive, render very difficult. I shall, however, never lose sight of it.

No. 5 is a small piece of clay of this size, which contains an inscription only on one side. The writ-

ing is of the second species, and the letters slope a little, which is frequently the case in inscriptions of this kind.

I have lately received a small piece of brick of a very fine quality, with a varnished surface, from Mousoul. It was found among the ruins of Nineveh, and contains an inscription in cuneiform letters so minute and difficult to read that I have not yet been able to determine to what class it is to be assigned.

The third class of Babylonian writing is that found on the bricks and cylinders. The Babylonian bricks have been described in other places, and some specimens of them are already before the public. The antiquary is aware that the custom of stamping letters on bricks was not peculiar to Babylon, and that examples of it occur in the ruins of Greece. Among the scanty remains of Seleucia on the Tigris I found numbers of bricks with impressions on them; but from the coarseness of the materials and inferiority of workmanship I have never been able to discover any writing. The stamps with which the bricks of Babylon are impressed, are on the contrary cut very neatly and applied with care; and even some precaution appears to have been taken to preserve the writing, for they are all placed with their faces or written part downwards; and what is very remarkable, when laid in bitumen,

that cement is never found adhering to the face, though it always sticks to the back of the brick. The people employed in the ruins of Babylon to procure bricks, told me that this was effected by strewing some powdered lime over the bitumen when the brick was laid on its face in it; but I know not what authority they have for this opinion. In my first Memoir I doubted that reeds had ever been employed where bitumen was used; I have since seen some bricks with bitumen adhering to them, on which the impression of a reed mat was so strongly marked as to induce me to change my opinion.

The number and variety of the stamps bear no proportion to the number of the bricks. I have as yet only seen four kinds, with some varieties of each.

No. 6 is an inscription of seven lines, of which Dr. Grotefend has only seen an imperfect copy. Septilinear inscription is the most common of all: out of nineteen bricks taken at random, fourteen were of this sort. There are several varieties of this kind, differing from each other only in a character or two.

No. 7 is an inscription of six lines. The specimen here given is remarkable by deviating in many places from the other kind of brick inscriptions, especially in the omission of almost the whole series

of characters which forms the fifth line in the septilinear inscriptions.

No. 8 is an inscription of three lines. One of this kind has been seen by Dr. Grotefend, from which this specimen differs a little.

No. 9 is an inscription in four lines, which is the rarest kind of all, and no specimen of it has ever been published.

The Babylonian cylinders are among the most remarkable and interesting of the antiques. They are from one to three inches in length: some are of stone, and others apparently of paste or composition of various kinds. Sculptures from several of these cylinders have been published in different works; and Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are specimens of my own collection. Some of them have cuneiform writing on them (as in Nos. 12 and 13) which is of the third species; but has the remarkable peculiarity that it is reversed, or written from right to left, every other kind of cuneiform writing being incontestably to be read from left to right. This can only be accounted for by supposing they were intended to roll off impressions. The cylinder No. 11 was found in the site of Nineveh. I must not omit mentioning in this place, that a Babylonian cylinder was not long ago found in digging in the field of Marathon, and is now in the possession of Mr. Fauvel of Athens.

The cylinders are said to be chiefly found in the ruins at Jerbouiya. The people of this country are fond of using them as amulets, and the Persian pilgrims who come to the shrines of Ali and Hossein frequently carry back with them some of these curiosities.

Small figures of brass or copper are also found at Babylon. No Babylonian coins have as yet been discovered, nor have I ever seen any Darics brought from Hilla. The true Babylonian antiques are generally finished with the utmost care and delicacy, whilst the Sassanian (which may possibly form the subject of a further Memoir) are of the rudest design and execution.

THE END.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND ARTHUR TAYLOR.



*Books of Travels published by Longman, Hurst,
Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-row.*

1. MEMOIR on the RUINS of BABYLON. By CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH, Esq., Resident for the Honourable East India Company at the Court of Bagdad. With three plates. Second edit.

2. MEMOIRS on EUROPEAN and ASIATIC TURKEY, from the Manuscript Journals of modern Travellers in those Countries. Edited by ROBERT WALPOLE, A.M. Second edition. In one vol. 4to. Illustrated with plates. Price 3*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

This Work contains Manuscript Journals, and Remarks on parts of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, by late Travellers; and the Statistics, Antiquities, Natural History, and Geography of those Countries are elucidated by Drawings and Observations, which have never yet been before the Public, and which will communicate information, as correct as it is new.

3. A JOURNEY through PERSIA to CONSTANTINOPLE in the years 1808 and 1809, in royal 4to, with twenty-eight maps, and engravings. By JAMES MORIER, Esq. Price 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* bds.

4. A SECOND JOURNEY through PERSIA to CONSTANTINOPLE, between the years 1810 and 1816. With a Journal of the Voyage by the BRAZILS and BOMBAY to the PERSIAN GULPH; together with an Account of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Embassy under His Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. K.S.L. By JAMES MORIER, Esq., late His Majesty's Secretary of Embassy and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia. In royal 4to, with maps, coloured costumes, and other engravings from the designs of the author. Price 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* bds.

5. A JOURNEY from INDIA to ENGLAND, through Persia, Georgia, Russia, Poland, and Prussia, in the year 1817. By LIEUT.-COL. JOHNSON, C.B. In 4to, illustrated with numerous engravings. Price 2*l.* 2*s.* bds.

6. A DESCRIPTION of the CHARACTER, MANNERS, and CUSTOMS of the PEOPLE of INDIA, and their Institutions, Religious and Civil. By the Abbé J. A. DUBOIS, Missionary in the Mysore. Translated from the French Manuscript. In 4to. Price 2*l.* 2*s.* bds.

“During the long period that I remained amongst the natives

(between 17 and 18 years), I made it my constant rule *to live as they did*, conforming exactly in all things to their manners, to their style of living and clothing, and even to most of their prejudices. In this way I became quite familiar with the various tribes that compose the Indian nation, and acquired the confidence of those whose aid was most necessary for the purpose of my work."—*Preface, page 15.*

7. An ACCOUNT of the KINGDOM of CAUBUL, and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India; comprising a View of the Afghaun Nation, and a History of the Dooraunee Monarchy. By the Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, of the Hon. East India Company's Service, Resident at the Court of Poona, and late Envoy to the King of Caubul. Price 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* bds. In one vol. 4to, illustrated by two maps and fourteen plates, thirteen of which are coloured.

8. TRAVELS in BELOOCHISTAN and SINDE; accompanied by a Geographical and Historical Account of those Countries. By Lieut. HENRY POTTINGER, of the Hon. East India Company's Service, Assistant to the Resident at the Court of His Highness the Peishwa, and late Assistant and Surveyor with the Missions to Sinde and Persia. In 4to, with a large two-sheet map of the country, &c. Price 2*l.* 5*s.* bds.

9. TRAVELS of ALI BEY, in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, between the years 1803 and 1807. Written by HIMSELF. In two vols., 4to, with nearly 100 engravings. Price 6*l.* 6*s.* bds.

10. JOURNAL of a RESIDENCE in INDIA. By MARIA GRAHAM. In one vol., 4to. The second edition. Price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* bds., illustrated by engravings.

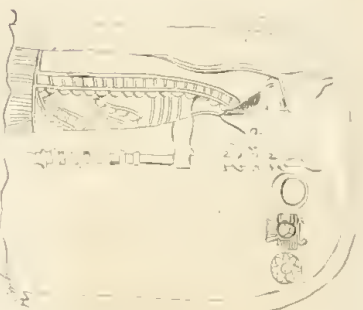
11. LETTERS on INDIA. By MARIA GRAHAM. In 8vo, with nine etchings and a map of the North of India. Price 14*s.* bds.

12. TRAVELS to discover the SOURCE of the NILE, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773. By JAMES BRUCE, of Kinnaird, Esq. F.R.S. The third edition, corrected and enlarged. To which is prefixed The LIFE of the AUTHOR, by ALEXANDER MURRAY, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Edinburgh. In seven vols., 8vo, with an eighth volume, in royal 4to, consisting of engravings, chiefly by Heath. Price 6*l.* 6*s.* bds.

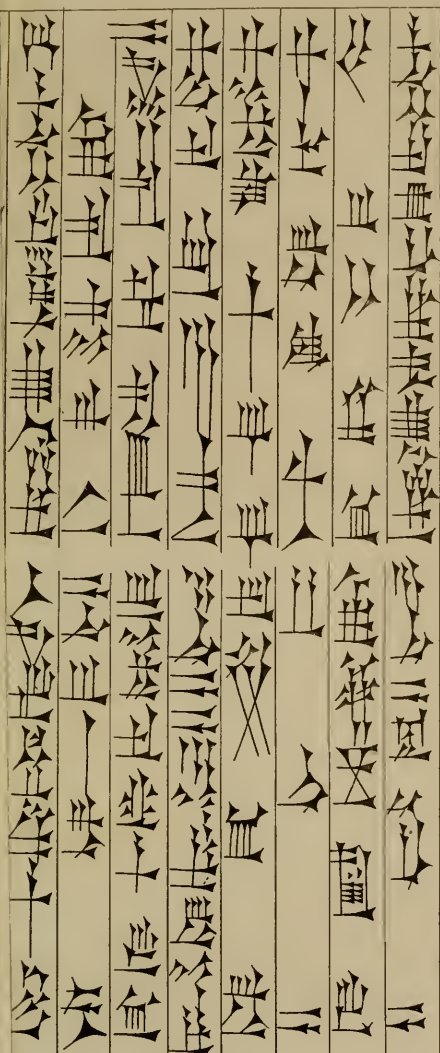
一
 二
 三
 四
 五
 六
 七
 八
 九
 十
 十一
 十二
 十三
 十四
 十五
 十六
 十七
 十八
 十九
 二十
 二十一
 二十二
 二十三
 二十四
 二十五
 二十六
 二十七
 二十八
 二十九
 三十
 三十一
 三十二
 三十三
 三十四
 三十五
 三十六
 三十七
 三十八
 三十九
 四十
 四十一
 四十二
 四十三
 四十四
 四十五
 四十六
 四十七
 四十八
 四十九
 五十
 五十一
 五十二
 五十三
 五十四
 五十五
 五十六
 五十七
 五十八
 五十九
 六十
 六十一
 六十二
 六十三
 六十四
 六十五
 六十六
 六十七
 六十八
 六十九
 七十
 七十一
 七十二
 七十三
 七十四
 七十五
 七十六
 七十七
 七十八
 七十九
 八十
 八十一
 八十二
 八十三
 八十四
 八十五
 八十六
 八十七
 八十八
 八十九
 九十
 九十一
 九十二
 九十三
 九十四
 九十五
 九十六
 九十七
 九十八
 九十九
 一百



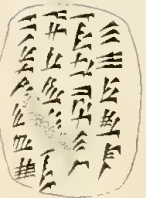
三十五

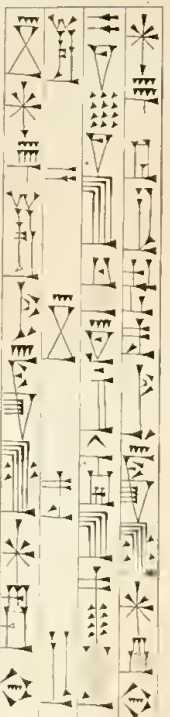
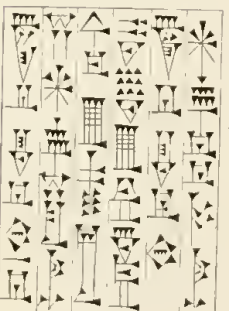
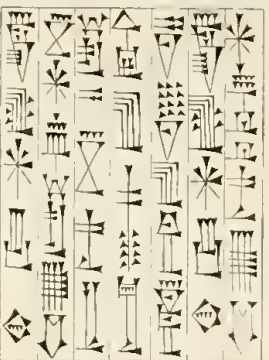
[illegible][illegible]

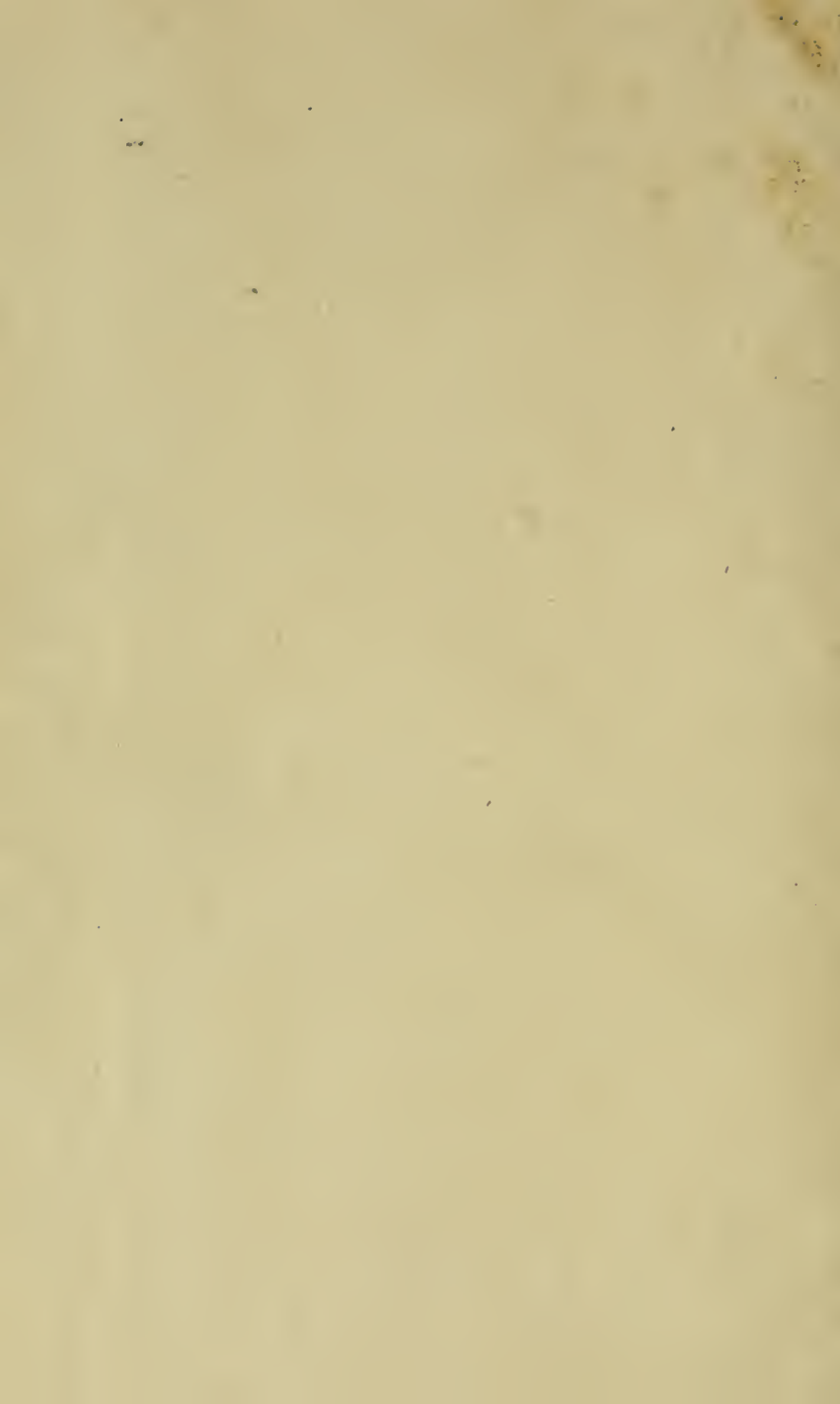
五十五
五十六
五十七
五十八
五十九
六十
六十一
六十二
六十三
六十四
六十五
六十六
六十七
六十八
六十九
七十
七十一
七十二
七十三
七十四
七十五
七十六
七十七
七十八
七十九
八十
八十一
八十二
八十三
八十四
八十五
八十六
八十七
八十八
八十九
九十
九十一
九十二
九十三
九十四
九十五
九十六
九十七
九十八
九十九
一百



1







EXIAL 88.B
300.10

