





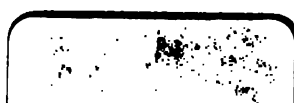
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TRAVELS
IN
MESOPOTAMIA.

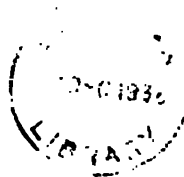
INCLUDING A
JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO, ACROSS THE EUPHRATES TO ORFAH,
(THE UR OF THE CHALDEES,)
THROUGH THE PLAINS OF THE TURCOMANS, TO DIARBEKR,
IN
ASIA MINOR;
FROM THENCE
TO MARDIN, ON THE BORDERS OF THE GREAT DESERT,
AND
BY THE TIGRIS TO MOUSUL AND BAGDAD:
WITH
RESEARCHES ON THE RUINS OF BABYLON,
NINEVEH, ARBELA, CTESIPHON, AND SELEUCIA.

BY J. S. BUCKINGHAM,
AUTHOR OF TRAVELS IN PALESTINE AND THE COUNTRIES EAST OF THE JORDAN;
TRAVELS AMONG THE ARAB TRIBES; MEMBER OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES OF BOMBAY AND MADRAS,
AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

LONDON:
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1827.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LADY HESTER LUCY STANHOPE,

ONE OF THE BRIGHTEST ORNAMENTS OF HER SEX AND STATION,

THIS VOLUME OF TRAVELS IN MESOPOTAMIA,

PERFORMED SOON AFTER QUITTING HER HOSPITABLE RESIDENCE IN SYRIA,

IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED, AS A MEMENTO OF THE HIGH RESPECT

AND UNAFFECTED ESTEEM

OF HER OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

IN laying before the world the present account of a Journey through Mesopotamia, I feel a stronger assurance of its being acceptable to the generality of readers, than I could venture to indulge on either of the two former occasions on which I had to present to the public eye the result of my researches and observations in other countries of the East. The "TRAVELS IN PALESTINE" appeared under the greatest disadvantages: notwithstanding which, their success, and the almost universal commendation they obtained, was as encouraging to future labours, as flattering in its approbation of the past. The same unfavourable circumstances continued, when the "TRAVELS AMONG THE ARAB TRIBES" succeeded: but these also met with a reception so favourable, as to make me think more lightly of the obstacles which had hitherto impeded my progress than I had before felt justified in doing.

These disadvantages no longer exist. A severe and patient investigation, extended through nearly four years, into the accumulated and reiterated charges, by which the rivals as well as enemies of my reputation had endeavoured to impress the world

with an opinion of my bad faith as an author, my worthlessness as a man, and my utter incompetency as a Traveller, either to observe accurately what I heard and saw, or to describe intelligibly even the ordinary objects of curiosity or interest, has led to the most satisfactory result. Two of the individuals who first dared to give utterance to these aspersions, have, in a British Court of Justice, voluntarily confessed their falsehood, apologized for their misconduct, and submitted to verdicts being recorded against them; and the third has been convicted, before a crowded tribunal, and a jury of his countrymen, of being a false, scandalous, and malicious libeller, by a verdict which adjudged him to pay Four Hundred Pounds damages, and his full portion of the expenses of the legal proceedings, the whole of which, on the three actions tried, are understood to be upwards of Five Thousand Pounds sterling.

The details of the origin, progress, and termination of these trials, are given, for the satisfaction of the curious, in an APPENDIX at the end of the present volume. It is here thought sufficient, therefore, merely to record the fact, in order that the reader may be satisfied, before he enters on the perusal of the present Work, that its author, whatever may be his qualifications, is at least innocent of the charges framed and propagated by his accusers, and is worthy of the faith and confidence of his fellow-countrymen, as to the originality and fidelity of his descriptions and details. For the rest, he cheerfully submits this portion of his labours, as he has always readily done every other, to the ordeal of Public Opinion, to be neglected, censured, or approved, as its defects or merits may determine.

The circumstances under which this Journey was entered upon

and completed being fully explained in the Narrative itself, it is only necessary to premise that it was performed without the pleasure and advantage of a European friend, companion, interpreter, servant, or attendant of any sort; that the dress, manners, and language of the country, were adopted, and continued throughout the whole of the way; and that the utmost care was taken to ensure as much accuracy as was attainable, by recording all the observations that suggested themselves while fresh on the memory, and amid the scenes and events which gave them birth.

It would scarcely be imagined, by those who have not taken the trouble to consult the authors whose accounts of this country exist, how scanty and imperfect is the information they collectively contain on the state and condition of Mesopotamia, even at the periods in which they wrote. Whether it was, that the difficulty of penetrating across its desert tracts, which has always been considerable, occupied all the attention of travellers in providing for their personal safety—or, that journeying as subjects of a different nation, and a different faith, they were unable to escape sufficiently from the observation of those around them, to record their researches without interruption—it is not easy to determine. Perhaps both of these causes may have operated to prevent their bringing away with them the ample details which it has been my good fortune to amass, respecting the interior of this interesting region, through which I travelled under all the advantages of respect and confidence from those around me, and with sufficient leisure and safety to enjoy unmolested opportunities of recording whatever appeared worthy of observation, before one series of impressions was obliterated by a succeeding train of objects and thoughts.

The principal Travellers who have made Mesopotamia the scene of their wanderings, have been the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, an enterprising Jew, who, as early as the year 1170 of the Christian era, visited many countries of the East, and wrote his observations in the Hebrew tongue, from which they have been subsequently translated into two of the languages of Europe; Dr. Leonhardt Rauwolff, a German, who went, by the Euphrates, from Bir to Babylon, and returned from Bagdad to Aleppo, by land, about the year 1530; Pietro Della Valle, an Italian, who was in that country about 1620; Otter, a Frenchman, who travelled in 1730; and the celebrated Danish engineer, Niebuhr, about thirty years later. Since this last period, now nearly a century ago, there has been no Traveller of eminence, with whose works I am acquainted, who has had any opportunity of examining the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, which strictly comprises the region of Mesopotamia; though many have passed from Constantinople, east of the latter river, through Georgia, Armenia, and Koordistan, to Bagdad and Persia.

I have reason to believe, therefore, that my account of Mesopotamia will be more ample than that of the Travellers named, as I have had an opportunity of consulting each of their works, and seeing the extent of their materials; and I am not without a hope, also, that it may be found as new and interesting, as it must be admitted to be copious and diffuse. On a country, however, of which so little has been said by ancient travellers, and still less by modern ones, I considered that abundance, and even minuteness of detail, would be an error on the safe side; and, under this impression, I have permitted my observations, made

on the way, to remain with little or no retrenchment: the opportunities of writing, which I enjoyed during this protracted journey, rendering it unnecessary to wait for further leisure, for the purpose of adding illustrations, or filling up the outline of the Narrative written on the spot. Such as the Journal of the Route, was, therefore, on terminating the Journey at Bagdad, such is it now presented to the Reader; and if he should, from this state of the Narrative, be enabled to enter more readily into the views, and participate more freely in the feelings, of the writer, it cannot fail to increase the pleasure of both.

The map of Mesopotamia, with a Sketch of the Author's Route, has been constructed by Mr. Sidney Hall, from the original notes of bearings, distances, and time, recorded on the march; the Plan and Views of the existing Ruins of ancient Babylon are from the pencil of Mr. Rich, originally designed for his valuable and interesting Memoir, inserted in a Continental Work, under the direction of Baron von Hammer, entitled "*Les Mines de l'Orient*;" and the Illustrations at the Heads of Chapters, which embrace the most interesting of the many sketches taken on the journey, have been drawn on the wood by Mr. W. H. Brooke, whose reputation, in this department of graphic productions, is fully maintained by his present labours, and engraved by the several individuals whose names are placed opposite the respective subjects on the list; while the peculiarly perfect manner in which the impressions are taken from the blocks, does much credit to the Printer.

Of the matter, style, and general literary character of the Work, the Public will form their own estimate. It would be affectation

in me to pretend, after the ordinary custom of the age, that I had been persuaded, by the earnest solicitations of indulgent friends, and in opposition to my own judgment, to give these materials to the world; and on that ground to deprecate criticism, and seek shelter from scrutiny. I candidly confess, that I have been induced, by two more powerful considerations, to the execution of my task; first, the general approbation with which my former labours have been received; and secondly, the desire, which never forsakes me, of contributing—as far as my opportunities of observation, means of recording them, and capacity to render them intelligible, admit—my full share towards that accumulating stock of general instruction, which is now happily so largely drawn upon by all classes of the community, through which philanthropy and patriotism alike co-operate to encourage its diffusion. If this Offering, which I now lay with pleasure, not unmixed with hope, on the Altar of Public Information, be acceptable to those who see, in the extension of Knowledge, the surest means of ameliorating the condition of mankind, I shall be abundantly rewarded.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

TAVISTOCK SQUARE,
FEBRUARY 5, 1827.

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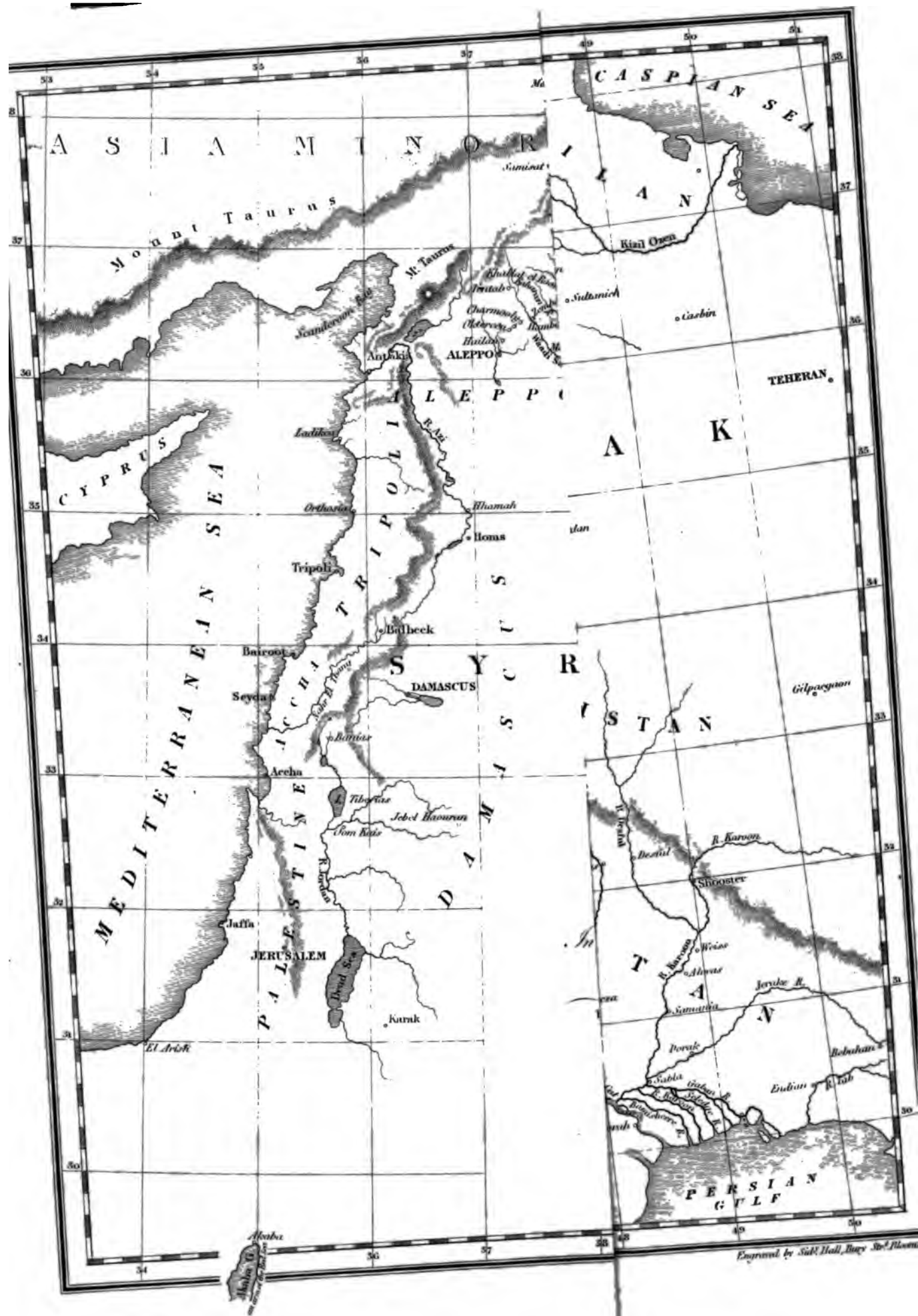
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1





CHAPTER I.

JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO TO THE BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES.

AFTER a long and perilous journey from Egypt, through Palestine, Syria, and the untravelled countries East of the Jordan and Orontes, I enjoyed a repose of some days, in the city of Aleppo : from whence, however, I soon prepared again to depart for the equally interesting regions of Mesopotamia, on my progress to the farther East. The state of the city itself was, at this period, sufficiently tranquil ; but the whole of the surrounding country was in a state of turbulent commotion, so that travelling, either singly or in small parties, was impossible, without imminent risk of plunder, and perhaps destruction ; and the difficulty of assembling sufficient numbers, to form a caravan of strength enough to force a passage through the Desert, was such as to leave little hope of that being

accomplished till the return of more tranquil times. It was in the month of May, 1816, that hostilities had broken out between the Anazie Arabs, and another tribe, each belonging to the great division of this people which had embraced the new and reforming doctrines of the Wahābees, a sect of deistical puritans, who had, for some time past, disturbed the peace of Arabia, by their conversions and their wars. The immediate cause of this rupture was stated to be this: that one of the warm-blooded sons of Mahānna, the great Chief of the Anazies, who assumed to himself the title of Sultan of the Desert, had stolen away, by force, from a neighbouring camp, a beautiful virgin, of whom, at first sight, as is not uncommon with Orientals, he had become passionately enamoured. This Trojan treachery had roused the whole of the surrounding country to arms: and the most romantic tales of heroism, love, and self-devotion, with all the exaggerations which Eastern fancies give to such traits of character, were repeated by every tongue, and greedily drank in by every ear.

As a detail of preparations for a journey through rarely frequented countries is not only beneficial to those who may contemplate pursuing the same route at any future period, but instructive to all who desire to see the modes of thinking and the manners of acting, which prevail in distant countries, exhibited in the freshness of their original colouring; and to be transported, as it were, to the immediate scene, so as to become a co-spectator and a co-actor, as far as sympathy can effect this, with the Traveller himself, this detail will be given, and will serve at once to introduce to the reader's attention the characters in whose society, and the circumstances under which, the Journey about to be described was undertaken.

The great regular caravan from Aleppo to Bagdad, across the Syrian Desert, was not expected to leave the former city until September; but a smaller one had been formed, for the purpose of going, by a more circuitous route, to Mardin, and Mousul on the Tigris. This caravan was, indeed, now on the point of departure.

Mr. Vigoroux, a French gentleman, recently appointed consul for Bussorah, in the Persian Gulph, and whom I had seen some months before at Alexandria, in Egypt, had gone by the same way not more than ten days before my arrival at Aleppo; but accounts had already reached this, of certain arbitrary demands being made on him, as a Frank or European traveller, by the governors of the different stations on the road; and Mr. Barker, the British Consul at this city, spoke also of the route by Mardin and Mousul being extremely troublesome and vexatious on account of such exactions, of which he had heard much during his residence here.

My anxiety to enter upon the journey, and the faint prospect which presented itself of any better occasion, determined me, however, to accept this, whatever might be its disadvantages. I accordingly obtained an introduction to a merchant of Mousul, named Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, who was returning by this caravan to his native city, with merchandize from the pilgrimage at Mecca. For the respect which, as he said, he bore the English nation, from having always traded with them until the decline of their commerce at Aleppo, he consented to admit me into his party, the only condition exacted of me being, that I should conform myself, in every respect, to his advice and direction, and take no servant of my own to disturb the good understanding of his personal dependants. This was readily assented to, and it was stipulated, that I should furnish my horse and its trappings only, and for the rest, that I should be considered, in every respect, as one of the Hadjee's own family, as well for our general security from interruption on the road, as for my own comfort, which was likely to be much increased by my being placed on this familiar footing.

As it was thought that Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān was a person of too great respectability to accept for himself any sum of money, as a compensation for this favor, it was agreed between Mr. Barker the Consul, on my part, and the Hadjee's Factor at Aleppo, that I should give, before our departure, the sum of 150 piastres to the chief camel-driver of the Hadjee's party, who would put my small portion of

baggage among the merchandize of his master, to be free from examination and prying curiosity, so that I should have nothing but my horse to look after; and, on my safe arrival at Mousul, it would be sufficient to make some handsome acknowledgement to the Hadjee himself, proportionate to the service he might have rendered me, with a proper distribution of presents among such of his servants as had been attentive and useful to me on the way.

My dress and arms were like those of his nephew, Hadjee Abdel-Ateef, a young man of twenty-five, who had accompanied his venerable uncle on the pilgrimage. The former consisted of the blue cloth sherwal, jubba, and benish, of the Arab costume; a large overhanging tarboosh, or red cap, falling over the neck and shoulders behind; a white muslin turban, and a red silk sash: the latter, of a Damascus sabre, a Turkish musket, small carbine, and pistols, with ammunition for each. The conveniences borne on my own horse were, a pipe and tobacco-bag, a metal drinking cup, a pocket-compass, memorandum books, and ink-stand, on one side of a pair of small khoordj, or Eastern travelling-bags; and on the other, the maraboot, or chain-fastenings and irons for securing the horse, by spiking him at night to the earth, on plains where there are no shrubs or trees. A small Turkey carpet, which was to serve for bed, for table, and for prayers; and a woollen cloak for a coverlid during the cold nights, in which we should have to repose on the ground, without covering or shelter, were rolled up behind the seat of the saddle with straps; and my equipment, for any length of route, was thus thought to be complete. The supplies I had taken with me for the journey, included a bill of exchange for 6000 piastres (then about 100*l.* sterling) on a merchant at Bagdad; and nearly 2000 piastres in small gold coin, which, with such papers as I considered of importance to me, I carried concealed in an inner girdle round my waist, called, by the people, a khummr, and generally used for this purpose, as it cannot be lost, or taken from a traveller, without his being absolutely stripped.

All my own arrangements being completed, I took leave of Mr.

Barker's family about noon, and, accompanied by his son, and one of his native assistants, named Nahoom, we assembled, with the friends of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, at a fountain on the public road, about a mile from Mr. Barker's country residence, in the environs of Aleppo. Having taken coffee here together, as a pledge of our future union, and watered our horses, we remounted and set out on our way. The friends of each party still accompanied us for a few miles on the road, when, at last, our final separation took place, with many warm and friendly adieus, and we now felt ourselves to be fairly on our journey.

Our route lay nearly north, along the eastern edge of the river of Aleppo, which ran on our left. The only appearance of verdure seen about its banks, is that created by the winding course of the stream itself, the borders of which are fringed with trees and gardens, very thickly planted. Beyond its immediate banks, the soil is dry, and the hills bare and stoney throughout the whole of the way to its source, which we reached about sun-set. Here several winding streams, all rising from the same spring, watered a small hollow plain in which a Turcoman horde was encamped.

The form and arrangement of the tents of these people, and the general aspect of the whole of their camp, was extremely different from that of the Arabs, among whom I had so recently sojourned. With the latter, it is the custom to have their tents mostly of an oblong form, closed on three sides, and open on the fourth; made altogether of hair cloth; and the several tents generally arranged in the form of a great circle, for the sake of preventing the escape of the animals confined within its limits. Here, among the Turcomans, the form of most of the tents seemed nearly round, instead of oblong, with a small door of entrance, instead of one entirely open front; or, when otherwise, it was open only at one of the narrow ends, and not at the side, with an awning, or porch, at the door-way. The roofs of these tents were the only parts formed of hair cloth (of which material the tents of the Desert Arabs are entirely made); the sides of these of the Turcomans being formed of matted reeds. Neither

was there any order in the arrangement of the tents themselves, as they were scattered quite at random over the plain. Besides goats and camels, the usual inmates of these camps, there were here an abundance of sheep, asses, bullocks, horses, and even buffaloes and fowls; animals which belong only to a stationary life, and which marked the people among whom they were found, as of less wandering habits than their southern neighbours, the Arabs. They were, indeed, a stouter and better-fed race; and even their dogs, the guardians of their camps, were larger, more hairy, and, altogether, characterized by the greater abundance amidst which both they and their masters lived.

In our way from Aleppo thus far, we had passed several ruined villages, leaving them all on our left, and had remarked that the houses were distinguished by a high pointed dome of brick-work, rising from the square of their base. We lost sight of these, however, as we ascended from this place of encampment over a bare rising ground, and then gradually sunk our level by a very slow descent.

As it was now dark, and so cloudy that even the stars were hidden from our view, we soon lost the beaten track, and wandered about to the right and left, according to the directing voice which for the moment prevailed. It was in this state of confusion that we were alarmed by a sudden shout from persons whom we could not yet perceive; and this being suspected to be a signal of attack upon our party, we closed our ranks, and rushed forward together to receive it. Two muskets were discharged at us, but their balls passed without wounding any person, though not without being returned threefold by our party, seemingly with as little execution. This display of vigilance had the effect, however, of repressing any future attempt; and the men who were seen, heading the attack, speedily dispersed and fled.

It was nearly midnight before we reached the great body of the caravan; and we then only discovered its place of encampment, by sending off one of our own party to each of the four quarters of the

horizon, to shout and discharge a musket, which being at length heard, the returning of the signal directed us to the spot.

We found a tent erected for the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and his suite, in which the embers of a fire were still burning; when, taking shelter beneath it, we were welcomed by a cup of coffee and the congratulations of friends, and sank, soon after, to repose.

MAY 28th.—Every individual of the caravan was seen stirring with the earliest dawn; and as this was the first morning of our departure from a station beyond the town, a considerable degree of bustle prevailed among the servants and camel-drivers, and an equal anxiety among the merchants or owners of the property embarked, to see it safely laden, and to take care that nothing remained behind.

At sun-rise we were all in motion, to the number, perhaps, of four hundred camels, which was thought rather a small caravan: the asses, mules, and horses that accompanied it, might amount to another hundred; and the whole number of persons, including men, women, and children, were about three hundred at least.

Our course had been nearly north, throughout the whole of the preceding day, but it now bent towards the north-east, in pursuing which direction we reached, in an hour after setting out, a village called Oktereen. There was a smaller one, about a mile to the north of it, which bore the same name, and both were at this moment inhabited by peasants who cultivated rich corn lands on a fine red soil, and of great extent. The style of building in both of these villages, like that of the ruined ones we had already passed, was remarkable, each separate dwelling having a high pointed dome of unburnt bricks, raised on a square fabric of stone; so that, at a little distance, they resembled a cluster of bee-hives on square pedestals.

In the village through which we passed, was a khan or caravan-serai of Mohammedan construction, and good masonry, though now seldom resorted to by travellers. Near it was a high round eminence, enclosed by a circular wall, formed of very large masses of unhewn stone, rudely put together without cement. This is called the

Castle, but over all the hill there appear no other vestiges of building than this, which I should consider to be a work of the very earliest ages of antiquity. The stones are, in general, much too large to be moved by mere manual labour, estimating the strength of man at its present standard; and yet one would conceive, that if the people, by whom they were placed here, used the aid of any instruments for that purpose, they would also have hewn them into regular forms, for additional strength. But, like most other works of ancient labour, the very simplicity of their construction excites problems the most difficult of solution.

Near the foot of the hill, but without its wall of enclosure, are deep wells, containing excellent water, of which we drank, as we passed, from the pitchers of some women of the neighbourhood. The vessels used by them are broad at the bottom, narrow at the top, and about two feet high, with a thick handle on each side. They are all of copper, tinned within and without; nor did we see a single vessel of earthenware among them. The dress of the females was mostly of blue cotton cloth; some of the younger girls were pretty, and all had fairer and more ruddy complexions than we had lately been accustomed to see.

From hence, the high range of Mount Taurus was visible on our left, to the north-west, and seemed to be nearly in a line with our route, or to run in a north-east and south-west direction. Many of its rugged summits were covered with snow; and from their appearance, as they intercepted our horizon but slightly in that quarter, it was evident that our own level was also a very elevated one.

While halting at the well of Oktereen, there came to drink a poor ass of our own caravan, who had lost from the thickest part of his thighs behind, between the knee and the tail, at least an English pound of flesh from each, and yet still walked freely, without any apparent suffering. The blood remained clotted in streams below the wounds; and, on inquiry, it appeared that he had been torn in this manner, only two nights before, by a hyæna, while the caravan was encamped at Hailân, a few hours' distance from Aleppo. Bruce's

account of the Abyssinians cutting steaks from a live ox, sewing up the wound, and driving the beast on his journey, had always, until now, appeared to me difficult of belief; not from the cruelty of the act, for that would weigh but little with people of their character, but from my conceiving that no animal could, after being so treated, pursue its march. Here, however, I saw before me a similar fact, one which I confess surprised me, but to which I could not refuse credence, as it was confirmed by the evidence of my senses.

In an hour from Oktereen, we came to another village of the same name, each of these being called by that of the district in which they stand. The pointed dome-tops to the dwellings were now no longer seen, all the houses being flat-roofed, with terraces. As we stopped at this place to drink milk, we had an opportunity of seeing the method followed by its inhabitants in making butter. The milk is first put into a goat's skin, without being scalded, and a small space is left in this for air and motion; the skin is then hung by cords to a peg in the side of the wall, or suspended to a sort of sheers, formed by three poles, in the open court; it is then pushed to and fro, until its motion in the skin shall have been sufficient to churn it; when the watery part is thrown off, and the thick part stirred by the hand until it becomes of the oiliness and consistency required.* Such of the women as we saw here were really handsome; all of them were unveiled, and displayed blooming complexions and agreeable features, not disfigured by stains of any kind. As an additional charm, they were remarkably clean and well dressed, with white or red trowsers, white upper garments, wreaths of gold coin across their foreheads, and their long black hair hanging in tresses over their shoulders.

* The Bedouin Arabs practise the same method.—“Dans une peau de chèvre, encore garnie de ses poils, ils mettent le lait, comme dans une outre. Une femme Bedouine, après avoir fortement noué les deux bouts, et suspendu le tout à une branche d'arbre, en secouant l'outre de toute sa force, parvient à faire le beurre.”—CASTELLAN, *Mœurs des Ottomans*. t. vi. p. 60.

In an hour from hence, we came again to a small elevation, which had seemingly been once enclosed with a wall around its base, it being now covered with narrow blocks of stone. These, however, were well hewn, and of a much smaller size than those described at Oktereen, though probably, like that mound, this might have been the site of some old fortress of a later age.

It was about noon when we reached a wide plain, in which were encamped a horde of Turcomans, to the number of about five hundred tents; and near these it was decided that we should take up our station for the night. It was on entering this plain, that we first began to perceive the black porous basalt so common in the Haurān, lying here, however, in rounded and detached masses, thickly placed, like those in the plain between Hhoms and Hhussan, and in the vallies of the Orontes and the Jordan. Our present position was nearly in the same meridian of longitude as the Haurān, though it is on a higher level; and there was a general resemblance between its soil and stones, except that the latter are here in detached or insulated masses, while to the south they are principally in continuous ridges of rock.

When our tents were pitched, we could see, from the place of our encampment, the range of Taurus to the west-north-west of us. Its highest part, which, in general form, was thought to resemble Lebanon near the Cedars, was covered with snow. It now bore from us west by north, three quarters north, distant about fifty miles, and preserved nearly the same appearance from hence, as it presents to the traveller approaching Aleppo from the west.

The place of our encampment was called Chamoorly, from a ruined Mahommedan village of that name. In this village, besides many dwellings of stone, were the remains of a mosque with pointed arches, its southern niche for prayer still perfect. Between it, and the spot on which our halt was made, rose a high, steep, and round hill, larger than either of those we had yet passed, though, like them, it was apparently artificial. Around its base were scattered blocks of black stone, probably used in its wall of enclosure,

now destroyed, and marking it as having been a fortified post. These stones were all of the basaltic kind, and the greater number of them were stuck endwise into the ground, like the perpendicular head-pieces of modern sepulchres in England.

Before us, we had an extensive plain, watered by a small stream near our halting-place, and covered with the richest pasture. In the distance, the mountains shewed their blue and pointed summits; and as the sky was clear, the northern wind fresh, and the climate as delightfully pure and healthy as could be wished, our situation united many charms.

Among the diversions of the afternoon, we caught a beautiful bird, about the size of a turtle dove, called, in Arabic, "Ghatter." It had a white breast, with dark bands across it; a granivorous beak, and a large black spot descending from the root of the beak downward on the throat; fine yellowish-red eyes, and small head; wings speckled with brown and white above, and of the purest white beneath; with a fine tail, similarly speckled as to colour, but with smaller spots and a long thin feather growing out of its centre, at least a foot and a half beyond the rest.

A lamb was killed for supper, and, for the morrow, we purchased from some shepherds near us, a fine fat sheep for a gold roobeah, or about half an English crown. We entertained some pilgrims at our tent, who were from the eastern parts of Afghanistan, and who had come all the way from thence by land to go to Mecca. One of them was from Cashmeer, and one from Lahore, the only places I recognised by name; and several of them spoke Hindoostanee, in which language I was able to converse with them, much to their joy and satisfaction. As they went onward to Aleppo, I profited by their departure, to send letters by way of that city to England.

Our tent was struck, and every thing packed up at sun-set to be ready for instant departure in the morning. At supper, we had a party of fifteen persons besides the servants, all of them apparently fed, during the journey, by the hospitable Hadjee. When the new moon appeared, all the Moslems offered up a short prayer

at the first sight of this auspicious guide, for which they have a strongly religious, as well as poetical and romantic veneration.

We slept in the open air beneath a starry canopy of unusual brilliance; and the purity of the atmosphere, with the sweet odour of the fresh young grass, was such as to make even perfumed halls and downy couches inferior by the contrast. The servants, who had slept during the day, were destined to watch in the night; and the horses and mules were all brought within a circle, formed by the camels kneeling around, to secure them from the Turcomans of the neighbouring camp.

MAY 29th.—Our departure was as early as on the preceding day, and we now directed our course nearly east over the plain. At sunrise, we came to some artificial caves in a rock on our left, probably ancient places of burial; and, at intervals of about an hour each, we passed three ruined villages, the dwellings of which were generally of sun-burnt brick, with some few of black stones, and the houses all flat-roofed.

At nine, we reached Shahaboora, a large inhabited village; and, as the caravan passed directly through it, most of the passengers halted without alighting, when all who desired it were served by the villagers with bowls of *lebbeh*, or curdled sour milk. As far as I could perceive, this was an act of pure hospitality, for which no payment was either asked or offered; though, if frequently repeated, it must form a heavy charge on those who exercise it.

The men at this place were dressed nearly as in those through which we had already passed. The women wore on their heads the large red Syrian *tarboosh*, the loose part overhanging before, while the men permit it to fall behind. These Turcoman females were much better dressed than the Arab women ever are; some of them having red and others white trowsers; striped silk upper robes, gold ornaments about their head, their hair hanging in long tresses, as in the towns; and their whole appearance neat and interesting. The language used here was Turkish; and, indeed,

scarcely any other was heard in the caravan, as the Arabs speak Turkish much more frequently than the Turks do Arabic, from the superior ranks of the military and the government being filled by Turks, who are too proud and too indolent to learn; while the necessities of the others compel them to acquire the language of their masters.

We had scarcely left Shahaboos an hour behind us, before we were alarmed by a troop of horsemen making towards the caravan, in full speed, from the southward. The camels were widely scattered, so much so, that there seemed to be a distance of nearly two miles between their extremes. The design of the enemy being to attack and cut off the rear, all who were mounted rushed towards that quarter, leaving only the men on foot, who were armed, to protect the other parts. The enemy checked their horses, advanced, retreated, wheeled, and manœuvred on the plain, with great skill; and, as they were all mounted on very beautiful animals, it formed as fine a display of horsemanship as I had ever witnessed.

On the other hand, nothing could exceed the confusion and disorder which prevailed in our train. As there was no acknowledged leader, a hundred voices were heard at once, all angry at not being attended to; the women and children shrieked, the asses brayed at the noise of other animals, and the men set up the wildest shouts of defiance. When our enemies, however, betrayed fear, it was the moment chosen by those attacked, to affect courage; and, accordingly, all who were dismounted, young and old, came out from among the camels, behind which they had before taken shelter: and those who had muskets without powder, of which there were several, borrowed a charge or two of their neighbours, and idly wasted it in the air. There were at least two hundred balls discharged in this way, in the course of the hour that the Turcomans harassed us by changing their apparent point of attack, and flying round us with the velocity of the wind.

This skirmish had, at least, the effect of exciting exaggerated ideas of our force, and of inducing the enemy to abandon their

design, though they were twice near enough for us to distinguish their features, or within short pistol-shot; but, from the rapidity of their movements, they all escaped unhurt. Their number, as nearly as we could estimate them, seemed to be about fifty; all well mounted, and armed with a short lance, a musket, pistols, and sabre. Had they persevered in their original design, and not given us time to form, their success would have been easy: for, in the whole of our party, we did not muster more than a hundred stand of arms; and these were so disunited, and so unskilfully used, that they must have failed in repelling, though they might have annoyed, the attacking force. The alarm, however, was in some degree a benefit, as it occasioned the straggling individuals of the caravan to keep closer order; for, before this, each seemed to follow his own pace, without reference to the general security, and undisturbed by any thought of danger.

In about an hour from the time of this predatory troop quitting us, we passed through a small village on an elevation, from the heights of which the women and children were viewing the attack. As there was not a single man to be seen among them, and they seemed to avoid our salutes, they were, most probably, the wives and daughters of the horsemen themselves, of whom this eminence was, perhaps, merely a temporary habitation.

It was noon when we reached a small village, of a round form, called Waadi Sajoor, through which wound a full stream, of the same name, about fifty feet wide, and so deep as to be scarcely fordable. The whole of this district was cultivated with corn, and several small villages were seen scattered over it.

As we halted for a moment to water, and to collect the animals in close order, on the opposite side of the stream, most of the people gave loose to their joy, and triumphed in their late escape. In the expression of these feelings, some danced with their naked swords and khandjars, or dirks, in their hands, singing the wildest songs at the time, like the guards of the Dolas, or chiefs of the Arab towns in the Yemen, when they precede their Governors in their

march;* and others discharged their pieces in the air. This display of warlike disposition at length terminated in occasioning two or three frays in the caravan, by exciting disputes, as to who had been the foremost and the bravest among them, in repelling the late attack: the consequences were serious, for not less than five persons were, more or less, hurt or wounded in this affair among friends; though not one had received any injury in the attack of the enemy.

On leaving the Waadi Sajoor, and ascending a gentle hill, we continued, again, our easterly course, over plains of great extent and fertility, seeing, to the north of us, low chalky hills, and losing sight of the range of Mount Taurus altogether.

About one o'clock we reached a small village called Zemboor, near which we halted on an elevated ground, and encamped for the night, for the sake of the supply of water, which the wells here afforded us. There were, at this place, nearly as many tents as houses. The chief himself dwelt in one of the former, of a very large size, supported by sixteen small poles, in four rows of four

* The habit of chaunting rude songs, on occasions of joy or of danger, has, we find, prevailed, from the remotest antiquity, among all barbarous nations. Tacitus, speaking of the ancient Germans, has the following passage:—"The Germans abound with rude strains of verse, the reciters of which, in the language of the country, are called Bards. With this barbarous poetry, they inflame their minds with ardour in the day of action, and prognosticate the event, from the impression which it happens to make on the minds of the soldiers, who grow terrible to the enemy, or despair of success, as the war-song produces an animated or a feeble sound. Nor can their manner of chaunting this savage prelude be called the tone of human organs; it is rather a furious uproar—a wild chorus of military virtue. The vociferation used upon these occasions is uncouth and harsh; at intervals, interrupted by the application of their bucklers to their mouths, and, by the repercussion, bursting out with redoubled force."—*Manners of the Germans. Murphy's Translation.* Xenophon likewise relates, in the Fourth Book of the *Anabasis*, that, on an occasion of rejoicing, the Mosynœcians, a barbarous people on the Euxine, expressed their satisfaction by dancing and singing in a wild manner:—"Cutting off the heads of the slain, they shewed them both to the Greeks and to the Mosynœcians, their enemies (the nation was divided into two hostile tribes); dancing, at the time, and singing a particular tune."

each, the points of which thrusting up the roof, appear like so many Chinese domes. In front of this, was an open place of reception for strangers, and behind it the apartment for females, enclosed all around by a partition of reeds, sewn together by black worsted, in crossed diagonal lines. The tent, and its outer porch, were furnished with beds, cushions, and carpets. The language used here was Turkish; the Arabic being scarcely understood.

As the disposition for feats of arms still reigned among the greater number of our companions, and weapons of some kind were in almost every one's hands, several parties were formed for hunting and shooting, instead of prosecuting further quarrels among each other. By the camel-drivers of our own party, we had a ghazelle brought to us from the plain. It was dressed for supper, and partaken of by many more than our own immediate circle, from its being as highly esteemed here as game is in England. Its flesh was dark, and of a strong taste and smell, but it was much relished by all present.

MAY 30th.—Our departure was delayed until the day was fairly opened, the alarm of yesterday not having yet subsided. As there was no Director of the caravan, and every one followed his own way, some were in motion earlier and others later than usual, probably both from the same motive of fear; so that, from front or rear, the opposite end of the long line of the camels was scarcely discernible.

In less than an hour after commencing our march, we passed a village about half a mile on our left; and half an hour further on, we came to a similar one, on the side of an artificial hill, both of them having brick-built houses, white-washed on the outside. In another hour we reached a third village, the people of which sold dried black raisins and tobacco, by the way-side, to the passengers of the caravan, and gave, liberally, of milk and lebben, to all who desired it.

About nine o'clock, we reached a fourth village, larger than the

rest, where we halted for the rear of the caravan to come up with us. We alighted at the tent of the Chief, for here, as in many of the other villages that we had passed, the tents were almost as numerous as the houses, and formed by far the most comfortable dwellings. The whole of these settlements were called by the general name of Barak, from the plain on which they stood, and were all inhabited by Turkish peasants, who cultivated a fertile soil, which now promised them an abundant harvest.

This great Plain, as it is called, was under the direction of the Sheikh, who received the tax from his people, and paid it to the Pasha of Aleppo, and who pitched his tent at different periods near all the villages and wells of his territory in succession. When we alighted at his tent-door, our horses were taken from us by his son, a young man well dressed in a scarlet cloth benish, and a shawl of silk for a turban. The Sheikh, his father, was sitting beneath the awning in front of the tent itself, and when we entered, rose up to receive us, exchanging the salute of welcome, and not seating himself until all his guests were accommodated.

The tent occupied a space of about thirty feet square, and was formed by one large awning, supported by twenty-four small poles in four rows of six each, the ends of the awning being drawn out by cords fastened to pegs in the ground. Each of these poles giving a pointed form to the part of the awning which it supported, the outside looked like a number of umbrella tops, or small Chinese spires. The half of this square was open in front and at the sides, having two rows of poles clear, and the third was closed by a reeded partition, behind which was the apartment for the females, surrounded entirely by the same kind of matting.

It thus gave a perfect outline of the most ancient temples, and as these tents were certainly still more ancient as dwellings of men, if not as places of worship to gods, than any buildings of stone, it struck me forcibly on the spot, as a probable model from which the first architectural works of these countries were taken. We had here an open portico of an oblong form, with two rows of columns of

six each in front, and the third engaged in the wall that enclosed the body of the tent all around; the first corresponding to the porticoes of temples; and the last, as well in its design as in the sacredness of its appropriation, to the sanctuaries of the most remote antiquity.*

The Sheikh, whose name was Ramadān, was an old man of eighty, of fine features, combining the characteristics of the Turkish and Arabic race, with large expressive eyes. His complexion was darker than that of the people of Yemen, though somewhat less so than that of the common order of Abyssinians, and this was strongly contrasted by a long beard of silvery white. His divan was spread out with mats and cushions, covered with silk: his dress and arms were plain, yet of the best qualities of their kind; before his tent were two fine mares, well caparisoned, and every thing about his establishment wore an appearance of wealth and comfort.

Others of the caravan, seeing us halted here as they passed, alighted likewise, and took their seats without invitation, all being received with the same welcome salute, until the party amounted to twenty-six in number. While we were talking of the Turcomans, who had alarmed us on our way, a meal was preparing within; and soon afterwards, warm cakes baked on the hearth cream, honey, dried raisins, butter, lebben, and wheat boiled in milk, were served to the company. Neither the Sheikh himself nor any of his family partook with us, but stood around, to wait upon their guests, though among those who sat down to eat, were two Indian fakirs, or beggars, a Christian pilgrim from Jerusalem, and the slaves and servants of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, all dipping their fingers into the same dish. Coffee was served to us in gilded china cups, and silver stands or finjans, and the pipes of the Sheikh and his son were filled and offered to those who had none.

If there could be traced a resemblance between the form of this tent, and that of the most ancient buildings of which we have any

* See the representations of the primitive huts, in Vitruvius.

knowledge, our reception there no less exactly corresponded to the picture of the most ancient manners, of which we have any detail. When the three angels are said to have appeared to Abraham in the plains of Mamre, he is represented, as sitting in the tent-door in the heat of the day.* “And when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent-door, and bowed himself towards the ground.” “And Abraham hastened *into* the tent, unto Sarah, and said, ‘Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth.’ And he took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them, and he *stood by them* under the tree, and they did eat.” When inquiry was made after his wife, he replied, “Behold, she is *in* the tent.” And when it was promised him, that Sarah should have a son, it is said, “And Sarah heard in the tent-door, which was *behind* him.” The angels are represented, as merely passengers in their journey, like ourselves: for the rites of hospitality were shewn to them, *before* they had made their mission known. At first sight they were desired to halt and repose, to wash their feet, as they had apparently walked, and rest beneath the tree, while bread should be brought them to comfort their hearts. “And after that,” said the good old Patriarch, “shall ye pass on, for *therefore* are ye come unto your servant;” so that the duty of hospitality to strangers seems to have been as well and as mutually understood in the earliest days, as it is in the same country at present.

The form of Abraham’s tent, as thus described, seems to have been exactly like the one in which we sit; for in both, there was a shaded open front, in which he could sit in the heat of the day, and yet be seen from afar off; and the apartment of the females, where Sarah was, when he stated her to be *within* the tent, was immediately *behind* this, wherein she prepared the meal for the guests, and from whence she listened to their prophetic declaration.

I have noted these points of resemblance, chiefly because the

* See Genesis, chap. 18, where the interview is described.

tents of the Turcomans here are different from all those of the Arabs that I have ever seen in the countries of the south: these latter being of an oblong form, and divided in the middle, so as to form two compartments by the side of each other, both of them open in front, and closed at the back and sides, but without either a shaded porch or door before them, or an apartment of any kind behind.

The Turcomans, on the borders of Turkey, seem to hold the same position as the Bedouins on the borders of Syria. They dwell chiefly in the plains, south of the range of Mount Taurus, and extend from the sea-coast, near Antioch, to the borders of the Euphrates. They are, however, more wealthy than the Arabs, from having richer pastures, and more numerous flocks, and from being cultivators, as well as shepherds. They are, therefore, also more fixed in their stations, and live both in tents and in villages. There are among them peculiar tribes, as among the Arabs, some remaining almost stationary, and others mounted on fleet mares, scouring the plains, and living more by depredations on caravans, and even on single passengers, than by agriculture or pastoral labours.

Some of their customs and opinions are too singular and peculiar to be passed over in silence. Their horror of a certain indiscretion is said to be so great, that the most violent pains, occasioned by a suppression of it, will not induce them to commit so heinous an offence. Mr. Maseyk, formerly the Dutch Consul of Aleppo, related to me, that being once on a journey with another Frank, of the same city, they halted at a Turcoman's tent. The latter, from fatigue, a hearty meal, and a cramped attitude, had the misfortune to be unable to prevent the sudden escape of a noise loud enough to be heard. Every one looked with astonishment on each other, and, from that moment, shunned communication with the offender. About four years after this event, one of the men who were of this party, coming to Aleppo on business, called on Mr. Maseyk, when, by accident, his friend was with him. The Turcoman blushed on

recognizing this disgraced individual, when Mr. Maseyk, asking him if he had known him before, he replied with indignation, "Yes, is it not the wretch who defiled our tent?"*

Their custom of curing a fever, is to sew the patient tightly up in the hot skin of an ox, freshly flayed for the occasion; afterwards to cover him with blankets and carpets, and then, sometimes, even to sit upon him until he is in danger of suffocation. It often happens, however, from the strength of his constitution, that the patient recovers even after this rude treatment.

Their women, who are in general fair, ruddy, and handsome, neither disfigure themselves by blue stains, nor veil themselves, after the manner of the Arabs. The jealousy of the men, regarding their honour, is, however, still stronger. Mr. Maseyk, who, it should be added, is a Dutch merchant of the highest respectability, and has resided at Aleppo for forty years, and made journeys through every part of the surrounding country, told me an instance in proof of this, which I should scarcely have believed, if I had not heard it from his own mouth.

Two young persons of the same tribe, loved each other, and were betrothed in marriage: their passion was open and avowed, and known to all their friends, who had consented to their union, and even fixed the period for its celebration. It happened, one evening, that they met, accidentally, alone, but in sight of all the tents: they stopped a moment to speak to each other; and were on the point of passing on, when the brothers of the girl perceiving it, rushed out, with arms in their hands, to avenge their disgrace. The young man took to flight, and escaped with a musket-wound; but the

* D'Arvieux and Niebuhr both allude to this singular trait of manners among the Arabs. The latter, in his "*Description de l'Arabie*," 4to. p. 27, gives a very extraordinary anecdote of an opposite kind: but he adds, in alluding to the general abhorrence excited by this indiscretion, or offence,—"*Dans quelques tribus entre Basra et Hâlep l'impolitesse dont je parle est si choquante, que celui à qui elle échappe une fois, sert pour toujours de jeu et de risée aux autres: on assure même, qu'un des Bellâdsjes, sur les frontières de Perse, fut contraint de quitter sa tribu par cette seule raison.*"

poor girl received five balls in her body, besides being mangled by the daggers of her own brothers, who had aimed to plunge them in her heart; and, when she fell, they abandoned her carcase to the dogs!

The young man gained the tent of a powerful friend, the chief of another tribe, encamped near them, and told his story; begging that he would assist him with a troop of horse, to enable him to rescue the body of his love from its present degradation. He went, accompanied by some of his own people, and found life still remaining. He then repaired to the tent of her enraged brothers, and asked them why they had done this? They replied, that they could not suffer their sister to survive the loss of her honour, which had been stained by her stopping to talk with her intended husband, on the public road, before her marriage. The lover demanded her body for burial; when her brothers, suspecting the motive, exclaimed, "What, is she not yet lifeless?—then we will finish this work of death;" and were rushing out to execute their purpose, when the youth caused the troop of horsemen, sent to aid his purpose, to appear, and threatened instant death to him who should first stir to interrupt his design. The young girl was conveyed to his tent, and, after a series of kind attentions, slowly recovered.

During her illness, the distracted lover, now expelled from his own tribe, came, under cover of the night, to see her; and, weeping over her wounds, continually regretted that he had been so base as to seek his safety in flight, and not to have died in defending her. She as heroically replied, "No! No! It is my highest happiness that I have suffered, and that you have escaped; we shall both live, and Heaven will yet bless us with many pledges of our lasting love." This really happened; the girl recovered, was married to her impassioned swain, and they are still both alive, with a numerous family of children.

So romantic a tale of love, jealousy, revenge, fidelity, and heroism, would have been incredible, were it not that all the parties were

known to Mr. Maseyk, who related it; that he did so in the presence of many other persons born in Aleppo, and acquainted, by report, with the fact; and that the veracity of the narrator may be regarded as unquestionable.

When we remounted, to quit the hospitable tent of the Sheikh of Barak, we continued our way, on a course of east-north-east, over an unequal plain of less fertility than usual, being composed of a whitish dry soil, interspersed with scattered eminences of a chalky appearance. From some of these we again saw the high range of Taurus, now seeming to stretch from west to east, more lofty than before, and, in some parts, completely sheeted over with unbroken snow; so that these points, at least, were probably higher than any part of Lebanon.

In about an hour, gradually descending, we came to a valley through which ran a stream called Nahr-el-Kahareen, having its sources in the northern mountains, and flowing from hence, south-easterly, into the Euphrates. It was here about thirty feet broad, its current running at the rate of a mile-and-a-half per hour, and its stream too deep to be forded. Its waters were of a dull yellowish colour, from the soil over which their course lay; but soft, and of a sweet taste.

We crossed this river by a lofty and narrow bridge, of three pointed arches, apparently a modern work; after which we continued to ascend, for half an hour, over a white dry ground, when we came again to a plain, of great extent and fertility, the soil of which was a fine brown mould, and nearly the whole of it covered with corn. When at the summit of this gentle ascent, which brought us to the top of the plain, we saw a Turkish tomb, with two white domes, on the left of the road; and, on the right, directly opposite to it, were some humbler graves, the upright stones of which were marked with a cross, deeply cut, so that they probably contained the bodies of some Christian passengers, who had died on the road, and whose surviving friends had placed no other memorial of them there, than the emblem of the faith in which they had lived.

In pursuing our way across this plain, we passed a party of husbandmen gathering in the harvest, the greater portion of the grain being now fully ripe. They plucked up the corn by the roots, instead of reaping it, a practice often spoken of in the Scriptures,* though reaping seems to be made the earliest and most frequent mention of. On seeing the caravan, one of the labourers ran from his companions, and, approaching us, danced, stood on his hands, with his feet aloft in the air, and gave other demonstrations of joy, when he presented us with an ear of corn and a flower, as an offering of the first-fruits of the year; another remnant also of a very ancient usage in the "wave offering" of the sheaf and the ear of corn, commanded to the Israelites by Moses.† We returned for it a handful of paras, or small tin coin, and answered the shout of joy which echoed from the field, by acclamations from the caravan.

We continued across this plain for nearly three hours, seeing several large wells in the way, but no dwellings, though the soil was cultivated throughout, and the harvest nearly ripe for gathering; when, soon after noon, we reached the village of Humbārak, seated on a little hill, beneath which we halted to encamp.

Notwithstanding the danger from which we had so narrowly es-

* Psalm 129, v. 6.—Maundrell, in his "Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem," in the same month of the year as the present, though upwards of a century ago, (May 11, 1697,) noticed the same practice, in the following passage: "All that occurred to us new in these days' travel, was a particular way used by the country people in gathering their corn: it being now harvest-time, they plucked it up by handfuls from the roots; leaving the most fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had ever grown on them. This was the practice in all places of the East that I have seen, and the reason is, that they may lose none of their straw, which is generally very short, and necessary for the sustenance of their cattle, no hay being here made. I mention this, because it seems to give light to that expression of the Psalmist, 129, v. 6, 'which withereth before it be *plucked up*,' where there seems to be a manifest allusion to this custom. Our new translation renders this place otherwise; but in so doing, it differs from most or all other copies; and here we may truly say, *the old is the better*. There is, indeed, mention of a mower in the next verse; but then it is such a mower as fills not his hand, which confirms rather than weakens the preceding interpretation."—p. 144, Oxford, sixth edition, 8vo.

† See the Jewish offerings, in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

caped on the preceding day, in consequence of our being so widely scattered, the caravan had made to-day an equally straggling and disorderly march. One division of it halted at least two miles before us, and another part was nearly half that distance behind us; while we preferred the vicinity of these dwellings, for greater safety, and the supplies of a peopled spot. Here, as we had noticed in other Turcoman villages, were as many tents as houses; a burying-ground, with turbanned tomb-stones, and inscriptions in the Turkish language; and, near the village, in the plain below, was a high, oblong, artificial mound, like an ancient tumulus, from the summit of which we obtained the first sight of the bed of the Euphrates, a few miles only to the eastward of our halting-place.



CHAPTER II.

PASSAGE OF THE RIVER EUPHRATES, AT BEER.

WE quitted our station with the dawn, and going, for about half an hour, over a fertile plain, opened a full view of the Euphrates, winding in its course to the southward.

Descending gradually for an hour more, and going nearly east, over a dry white soil, we came near the water's edge, close by a small hamlet of about twenty dwellings. There was, at this place, a ruined Turkish building, with a domed top and four open arches in its square walls, one on each side; it was probably an old well or fountain, as the tombs of the Mohammedans are mostly enclosed.

We went up from hence to the northward, along the west bank of the river, for another half hour, over a flat shelving land, when we came immediately opposite to Beer, which stands on the east

side of the stream. We halted here for some time, in an extensive burying-ground, near which is a khan, for the accommodation of travellers detained on this side of the river. The dead are transported across the stream for interment, and their graves appeared to occupy a very large portion of the plain.

The transport of the caravan, from one side of the Euphrates to the other, was long and tedious, occupying us till nearly noon. There were six large boats, each about forty feet in length, by ten broad, only two feet high at the stern, and about fifteen feet at the prow. The shape of these boats resembled the half of a gourd, divided longitudinally, and hollowed out within; the head of the fruit representing the head of the boat, and the stem of the fruit its stern. The floor or platform was nearly level, and the side timbers rose almost perpendicularly, or at right angles with the floor ones, being many in number, and of a small size. There was neither keel, stem-piece, nor stern-post; the bottom was formed by planks, nailed beneath the cross timbers of the flooring, which, on reaching near the head of the boat, were bent upwards in a rounding form, till they reached the stem, generally tapering away there in breadth, and offering an overhanging bow to the stream, while the stern was merely a gradual rising up of the bottom planks, till they were well cleared of the water, when the trunk of a tree was placed across their ends, like a ship's transom, its top being only two feet from the water's edge.

The stern of the boat being presented to the beach, and from the flatness of its bottom, and little draft of water, almost overhanging the sand, the beasts of burthen got into it with ease, after they were lightened of their loads. Each of these boats carried about two tons of merchandize, besides four camels, a horse or two, three or four asses, and eight or ten passengers, but they were then almost dangerously laden. The crew consisted of four men and two boys; three persons being placed at each extremity, and the cargo and passengers a-midships. Over the high prow went one long oar, formed of the trunk of some slender tree; and this

having to be managed by one person, its thickest end remained in-board, while to its other extremity were nailed two flat pieces of plank, for the blade. This oar was used chiefly as a rudder; and on both bows were smaller oars of the same description, as well as on the quarters, so that they were used either on one side or the other, as occasion required.

When we pushed off from the shore, the lee-oars with regard to the current, or those on the south only, were pulled to impel the boat across the stream; but this was so rapid in its course, as to whirl the boat round four or five times in her passage over, and occasion her to fall at least a quarter of a mile below the point immediately opposite to that from which we started.

We landed on a steep beach, and passed under the arch of one of the buildings close to the water, where we were all detained for examination at the Custom-House, a refinement in which the Turks are inferior to no people in Europe. When this duty was over, we were suffered to pass through the town unmolested; and repairing to a sort of wharf without it, and close to the southern walls, the goods were there landed for examination. This occasioned us another long detention, so that it was nearly evening before all was ended, when we went up through the town, and, going out of its eastern gate, encamped close to the walls for the night.

The town of Beer, which is the BIRTHA of antiquity,* is seated on the east bank of the Euphrates, at the upper part of a reach of that river, which runs nearly north and south, and just below a sharp bend of the stream, where it follows that course, after coming from a long reach flowing more from the westward. The river is here about the general breadth of the Nile, below the first cataract to the sea. It is considerably larger than the Orontes or the Jordan, and is at least equal to the Thames at Blackfriars-bridge.† Its eastern

* D'Anville, *Comp. of Anc. Geog.* vol. i. p. 426. 8vo.

† Rauwolf says, that the Euphrates, when he crossed it at Beer, about the year 1575, was *a mile* broad; Maundrell, that it was as broad, in his time, as the Thames at London. When Otter crossed it, in 1734, its breadth, according to his conjecture,

bank being steep, and its western one flat where we crossed it, the rapidity of its current was very different on opposite sides. On the west, its rate was less than two miles an hour; in the centre, it was full three; and between that and the eastern shore, it ran at the rate of more than four miles an hour. Its greatest depth, as judged by the immersion of the large oars, which often touched the bottom, did not seem to be more than ten or twelve feet. Its waters were of a dull yellowish colour, and were quite as turbid as those of the Nile; though, as I thought at the time, much inferior to them in sweetness of taste. The earth, with which it is discoloured, is much heavier, as it quickly subsided, and left even a sediment in the bottom of the cup, while drinking; whereas the Nile water, from the lightness of its mould, may be drank without perceiving such deposit, if done immediately on being taken from the river.

The people of Beer are, in general, aware of the celebrity of their stream, and think it is the largest in the world. It still preserves its ancient name, with very little corruption, being called by them Shat-el-Fraat, or the River of Fraat.*

exceeded not two hundred common paces; though lower down, upon the plain, it spread, he observes, to the width of five or six hundred paces, at the time of its increase. Travels, vol. i. p. 108—112. The same traveller mentions a tradition, which ascribes the building the fortress of Beer to Alexander the Great; and adds, that there were, in his time, three other remarkable fortresses in the neighbourhood. Nedgem, to the east; Souroudge, to the north-east; and Kalai-Roum, a day's journey to the west. He observes, also, that the Vale of Olives, not far from the town, abounded in springs of water, and in fruit-trees.

* Josephus says, in his description of the four rivers of Paradise; "The Euphrates and the Tigris fall into the sea of Erythras; the Euphrates is called Phora (ΦΟΡΑ), which signifies, by one derivation, *Dispersion*, and by another, a *Flower*; but the Tigris is named Diglath (ΔΙΓΛΑΘ), an appellation which indicates *sharp* and *narrow*." Ant. Jud. lib. 1. c. 1. s. 3. On this passage, which is given in the translation of Dr. Vincent's "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," that writer has the following note.

"Phora, however, in some manuscripts, is written Phorath, like Diglath, and is in reality the modern name Phoráth, Phörát, Forát, F'rat. It has two derivations from the Hebrew פָּרַץ or פָּר, Phar or Pharatz, to *spread*, which indicates (σπερμαδόν or) *dispersion*, or פָּרַח, Pharah, to *produce fruit* or *flowers* (άνθος).

It is known, also, as one of the four rivers of Paradise; and the only one, seemingly, which has preserved its name. The river Gihon, which is mentioned also in the Koran, was thought, by an Indian pilgrim of our party, to be the Gunga of the Hindoos; and the rest

“Diglath is derived, in this form, from קלל, Khalal, *to go swift* (ὁξύ μετὰ σενότητος). This is a coarse etymology, for ὁξύ is not swift, (but ὠκύ), and we have nothing to represent μετὰ σενότητος. Perhaps, Josephus and his countrymen were as bad etymologists as the Greeks.

“Pherat is used frequently in Scripture with the pronoun, as Hu-Pherát פְּרָתְהוּ, the Pherát, or *that* Pherát, by way of pre-eminence; and is derived by the commentators from פָּרָה, Pharah, *to produce fruit*, on account of its fertilizing the country by canals, &c. from פָּר, Phar, and פָּרַץ, Phartz, *to burst or spread*, because it *overflows* its banks, and from פָּרַד, Phras, Phreth, and Phred, *to divide*, because it *separates or bounds* the Desert. The Greeks, as Hoffman justly says, *more suo*, derive Euphrates from εὐφραίνεσθαι.

“Hid-Dekhel is written חִדְקֵל, Kid-Dekhel, and by the Samaritan manuscript חִדְקֵל, Hid-Dekhel, (or rather Hhid-Dekhel, and Ed-Dekhel,) as we are informed, from חָר, *to dart forth*, חָרָה, *loud*, or from חָרַח, Hhed, *to penetrate*, with the addition of קלל, Khalal, which implies *swift* motion; a sense agreeable to the opinion of the Greeks, who interpret the Tigris sometimes *swift*, and sometimes from the Persick, Teir, an arrow.

“If Dekhel had been written with a *g* in Hebrew, like Degel in Arabic, or the Diglath of Josephus, דַּגֵּל, Dagal, signifies *to dazzle*, or *glitter*, &c., an idea not inconsistent with a swift and agitated stream; but all the authorities tend to קלל, Khalal.” 4to. 1807; vol. i. p. 420, 421. Notes.

To this may be added, that the name of the Euphrates, which is written فُرَات in Arabic, signifies also *very fine sweet water*, and both it and the Tigris are called in the dual, فُرَاتَانِ Phratan, or the two Phrats; so that this signification would well apply, but it would be difficult to prove, whether the name was given to these rivers from their containing this fine sweet water, or whether this last was not subsequently expressed by a term, derived from the name of the river itself.

By Richardson, the name of the Tigris is written in Arabic دَجَل but it is pronounced Dejjala. Now, دَجَال Dejal, signifies *gold—the glittering of a sword—a large caravan—liquid pitch*; the first of which might be indicative of the wealth produced by it; the second, the appearance of its rapid stream; the third, the commerce carried on upon it; and the last, the springs of bitumen and naphtha, which abound as much on the banks of this river as on those of the Euphrates. Whether the Arabic or Hebrew etymologies are to be preferred in point of antiquity, or even of appropriateness, is a question that would admit of dispute. In Armenia, where the Tigris rises, the word Tiger is said to signify an arrow.

assented to its being in Hind-el-Juāny, or the Innermost India. It is true, that it is said “to compass the whole land of Ethiopia;” but Herodotus speaks of Indian Ethiopians in his time; and, among the early writers, the word Ethiopia was applied to the country of the black people generally.*

The Euphrates seems to have been thought even superior to the Nile, by a writer, the scenes of whose history were occasionally on both. In describing a communion between Abraham and his God, amid the darkness of the evening, he says,—“In the same day God made a covenant with Abraham, saying,—Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the *Great River*, the river Euphrates.”† It deserves this distinctive appellation, in contrast with rivers generally, though not with the Nile; which may be considered as equally great, whether from the length of its course, or the celebrity of the ancient cities which stood upon its banks.

I made many inquiries here, after the ruins of Hierapolis, now called Yerabolus, but no one knew of such a place, although it is certainly less than a short day’s journey from this town. I should have thought it might have been at a spot called Khallet-el-Room, or the Roman Castle,‡ said to be four hours’ distance up the river, were it not that, from the course of Maundrell’s journey from Aleppo to that place, it would appear to have been to the southward of this.

The principal stations spoken of, between this and Bussorah, are Anah, the ancient Anatho,§ Hit, and Hillah; the former, perhaps, the country of the Anakites—the second, of the Hittites—and the

* “Can the leopard change his spots, or the *Æthiop* his skin?”

† Genesis, chap. xv. v. 18.—The Kennizzites, spoken of in the next verse, may possibly be the great tribe of the Annazies, who occupy all the western banks of the Euphrates, and the eastern frontier of Syria, to this day.

‡ This is said to be the ancient Zeugma, so called from the Grecian term, signifying a Bridge, and not a Bride, as erroneously printed. This was the great passage for the Roman armies into Mesopotamia; and opposite to it, on the east side of the river, was a small town called Apamea.—*Kinneir’s Persia*, p. 316. It is the Kalai-Roum mentioned by Otter.—See Note, p. 29.

§ Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 164.

last, now recognized as the site of the ruined Babylon. There is, at present, no communication by water from Beer, either up or down the Euphrates; partly from the want of proper boats, and the unskilfulness of the people to build them, and partly from the banks being, on both sides, occupied by tribes of Arabs, often at war among themselves, and always in hostilities against strangers who pass that way. The stream is called Shat-el-Fraat, from its source in the mountains of Armenia, until its junction with the Tigris, below Bagdad; when they are jointly called Shat-el-Arab, or the river of the Arabs, to its outlet into the sea.

Just below the town of Beer, the stream divides itself into twenty smaller channels, running between low grassy islets; and opposite the town itself was now a dry bank of mud: but all these, no doubt, change their form, their size, and even their situation, at different periods, according to the state of its waters, as in the Ganges, and the other great rivers of India. The stream undergoes some variation in its height during the course of the year; but this is not regular, as the rains without the tropic are not fixed in the periods of their fall; and if, in winter, these give an accession of waters to the tributary streams, the melting of the snows on Mount Taurus, in the summer, contributes, perhaps, an equal portion.

The banks on both sides, where steep, are of a chalky soil, as seen from hence; and, where flat, they are fertile, and covered with trees and verdure. About two hours below Beer,* and on the eastern bank of the river, is an extensive grove, not of palms, but of some fuller foliaged tree; and near it, on the river's brink, is a high artificial mound, like the site of a fort. To the north, also, are seen woods and green fields; but immediately opposite to the town, is a plain, of bare soil, with a broad beach of fine dark sand, covered with pebbles of white quartz, and other hard stones; and, at the town

* It should be noted here, that the practice of the Orientals is to estimate distances by the time in which a strong and healthy man could walk over them, rather than by any more definite measure. Wherever this standard is used in these pages, an hour's distance may be understood to imply, generally, from three to four miles.

itself, the bank is, in some parts, a steep beach of broken fragments of stone, and in others a high chalky cliff.

The town of Beer may contain about four hundred houses, and from three to four thousand inhabitants. It has five mosques, with tall minarets; a public bath, a caravanserai, a few coffee-houses, and a small, but ill-supplied, bazār. Its western front is washed by the edge of the river, so that the walls of the houses form its defence on that face; and on the other three sides, towards the land, it is encompassed by a good wall of Saracenic work, disfigured in some places by later Mohammedan repairs. As this has been, no doubt, a general pass from Syria into Mesopotamia, for many ages, it was necessarily an important position, both in a military and commercial point of view; and sufficient marks of fortification and building remain, to shew that it had long been so considered.

As the town itself stands on the side of a very steep hill, there are perpendicular cliffs within and around it, in different directions. In these are a number of large caves, and smaller grottoes; none of which, as far as I could examine them, appeared to be sepulchral; so that they may be carried up to as high an antiquity as any other Troglodyte habitations. The cliffs are in general of a hard chalky substance, and have furnished the materials for the buildings in the town; many of the quarries being now caves, closed with a wall of masonry in front, and used as dwellings by the present inhabitants. The houses, and the rocky slope on which they stand, present, from the opposite side of the river, a mass of glaring white, which is painful to look upon in the sun.

In the centre, on a height of the rock, stands an old ruined fortification; and all along the north end of the town, where a perpendicular cliff faces the water, are the walls and towers of a large castle, incorporated with the cliff itself, and presenting, even now, in its state of great dilapidation, an imposing aspect. These are said, anciently, to have contained some curious engines of war, and other antiquities, hastily seen and described by Maundrell. Some of the persons to whom we addressed our inquiries here, regarding

them, contended that they had been since carried away ; others, that they had never been there ; and others, again, that they were still remaining to be seen ; all swearing by their beards, and appealing to God and the prophet for the truth of their opposite statements. My mortification was the greater, inasmuch as I was unable to visit it myself, from the necessary attention which I had to pay to my horse, my baggage, &c. ; and from the many other troublesome duties which fall on every individual of a caravan, on entering a new district. I saw, however, in the porch of one of the gates of the town, two large iron axles for wheels, each of them about six feet long, and nine inches diameter in their thickest parts ; and these were among the articles which Maundrell enumerates.*

The streets of Beer are narrow ; but, from the steepness of the site, and the materials of the buildings, the town is generally clean. Some of the houses are plaistered and white-washed in front, with painted figures, in the Turkish style, over the doors ; and the inscription of ماش الله (Mash-Allah), a common exclamation of wonder and reverence for the Almighty, with the date of their erection, as frequently seen at Aleppo.

The walls appear to have been built of a hard yellow stone, of which there is only a small portion in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, unless time, and the effects of the air, may have changed the colour and texture of the surface. They are of excellent masonry, and are constructed in the rustic manner, in imitation of Roman work. There are towers at the angles, and other parts ; and some portions of the wall climb over very steep acclivities, as at Antioch. Through all parts of it are loop-holes for arrows, and a battlement going all around the summit.

The front of the eastern gate presents many architectural decorations, in good taste, among which are the fan-topped niches, so fashionable in Roman times, and afterwards imitated by the

* Maundrell's visit to Beer was made in the year 1699, and is appended to his Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem.

Saracens. They were always executed by these last, however, with an approximation to the pointed arch, and in a way to be easily distinguished from those of the Roman age. Around the battlements, I observed, also, a sort of frieze, formed of large fleur-de-lys reversed; but whether this ornament had any reference to the defeat of the Christian powers, who bore it among their emblems during the time of the crusades, it would be difficult to determine.

There were here, also, as in most old Mohammedan fortresses, many circular stones jutting out from the walls, like guns projecting through the closed port of a ship's side; and on all these were inscriptions in relief, for which purpose they seemed to have been placed there. In the oldest buildings this is the use to which they are applied, and this was, no doubt, their original intention; though in some, perhaps later buildings, fragments of granite and marble pillars have been used, to project from the walls in this way, when the buildings were erected near the site of any ruined city, and were thus already formed to the builder's hands; but their ends were not then used as inscriptive tablets.

Around the whole of the front of the eastern gate was a long band of smooth stone, containing an inscription in characters of high-relief, and well cut; but it was in such ancient complicated forms that none of our party could understand it, although we had many who could read the old Cufic character with facility, and who understood the most learned style of Arabic in use at the present day.

Beer is under the dominion of the Pasha of Orfah, and is governed by an Aga, who has only a few personal attendants, and no troops. The sum paid on the entrance of goods from Syria, is four piastres and a half, or about half a Spanish dollar per camel-load, of whatever commodity; one hundred paras, or about half-a-crown sterling per head, is also demanded from all Christians returning from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and crossing the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, of which there were several in our caravan.*

* According to Olivier, the passage of the Euphrates at Bir (as it is spelt by him)

Without the eastern walls, where we encamped, was a large cave, supported within by columns, left in the rock; and it appeared to have been once used as a place of shelter for cattle. In the sides of the rock itself, and in every one of its pillars, were holes and bars hollowed out for fastening the halters of the beasts; and these had certainly been used for this purpose during many years, as the originally rough stones were worn quite smooth by continued friction, though it had long ceased to be appropriated to such a purpose.

At this place I saw none of the boats, formed of rafts buoyed up by inflated skins, with which the river Euphrates was anciently navigated from Armenia to Babylon, as described by several of the Greek writers; though an application of the principle still remained in use, probably as a last vestige of its gradual decay.* The stream is often crossed by men and boys, who, stripping off their clothes, place them on their heads, and throw their bodies along on a sheep or goat-skin, tightly filled with air. They completely embrace this highly-buoy-

was performed, in his time, in a large boat, directed by a helm and a long pole. The river, he observes, seemed to resemble the Rhone in size and rapidity; while its volume is considerably increased in the beginning of spring, and in autumn, by the melting of the snows, and the rains which fall in those seasons. The town of Bir contained, according to his conjecture, about three or four thousand inhabitants.—Vol. ii. p. 327. In the time of Otter, Bir was under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of Aleppo.

* In the “Description du Pachalik de Bagdad,” by Mons. Rousseau, formerly Consul for France at that capital, the following passage alludes to this decay:—

“Sans remonter jusqu’à leurs sources, et sans vanter la bonté de leurs eaux, je commencerai par dire que si l’Euphrate et le Tigre eussent traversé la Grèce, ou l’Italie, on auroit vu les poètes s’empresser de chanter à l’envi leur magnifique aspect, et se plaire à célébrer les grâces naïves, et les jeux folâtres des divinités imaginaires, dont auroient été peuplées leurs ondes argentines: alors, ils n’auroient cédé en rien pour la renommée au Pactole, ou au Tibre. Au reste, les deux fleuves dont il s’agit produisent en abondance d’excellens poissons, et sont également navigables, l’Euphrate, depuis Bir, à cinq journées d’Alep, et le Tigre, depuis Moussol, jusqu’à Bassora. *Il y a quarante ans que les communications par eau, entre Bir et Hilla, étoient très-fréquentes: elles sont aujourd’hui totalement interrompues, par la négligence des habitans du premier de ces lieux, qui ont laissé périr tous leurs bateaux, sans vouloir se donner la peine d’en construire de nouveaux, propres à cette navigation.*

ant vessel by clasping their arms around it, near to one extremity, till their hands lock together beneath it, throwing their thighs more loosely over the sides near the other end. By the simply propelling motion of the feet, and the occasional use of one of the hands, as an oar or rudder, they get across faster than the largest boats, and with much less loss of way from the force of the stream.*

The language of Beer is almost entirely Turkish, by far the greater portion of the inhabitants not even understanding Arabic. The dress of the men is nearly the same as at Aleppo; and among them are quite as great a proportion of green-turbanned Shereefs.† It would seem remarkable that these immediate descendants of the Prophet should be so numerous throughout the northern parts of Syria, where neither himself nor any of the family of his own times ever reached, while they are so comparatively few in Yemen and the Hedjâz, his native country, and the scene of his principal exploits, were it not known that this honour is as frequently purchased by money as any other distinction in the Turkish empire. The women of Beer dress like those of Asia Minor, and among the few that I saw loosely veiled, were some as fair as the women of southern Europe, with more healthy ruddiness of colour.

We passed our evening on the summit of the hill above the

* On this singular practice, Monsieur Rousseau has the following passage :—

“ Tous les voyageurs ont parlé avec surprise de la coutume qu’ont les Arabes de ces contrées, de faire de très-longes trajets à la nage, au moyen d’une outre enflée qu’ils s’attachent au ventre. Cette outre n’est autre chose qu’une peau de chèvre dont ils cousent exactement toutes les ouvertures, excepté celle d’une jambe, par laquelle ils soufflent cette peau jusqu’à ce qu’elle soit remplie d’air et bien tendue; ensuite ils tortillent cette partie, et la tiennent bien serrée. Après cette préparation, ils se dépouillent nus, font un paquet de leurs habits qu’ils attachent sur l’épaule, et se posent à plat sur l’outre; de cette manière ils voguent très-lestement à fleur d’eau, en remuant les pieds et se gouvernant avec les mains, tandis qu’ils tiennent à la bouche leur pipe toute allumée. Ce que je viens de dire ne regarde pas les hommes seulement, on voit aussi très-souvent des troupes nombreuses de femmes et de jeunes filles, se transporter d’un rivage à l’autre sur leurs ballons enflés, et faire retentir l’air de leurs chants pendant la traversée.”

† Pretended lineal descendants of the Prophet Mohammed.

town ; where, while we smoked our pipes on the grass, and drank the cool freshness of the western breeze, we were gratified with the most agreeable prospect. Immediately before us were the walls, the towers, and the broken turrets of the Saracenic Town and Castle, with a bright moon throwing her silver touches along the line of its battlements, and producing the finest contrast between the dark outline of their ragged points, and the clear blue sky, on which they were so distinctly traced. Beyond the eastern wall, the camels of the caravan were dimly seen, the twilight of the broad shade in which they reposed, being still more darkened by the smoke of the fires, around which their drivers had assembled to sing away their cares. Behind us, was a white chalky valley, with abrupt cliffs on either side, and well wooded throughout with thick foliaged trees. Before us, at our feet, flowed the majestic Euphrates, winding its way through innumerable little islets. The stream was bordered, on its eastern side, by a narrow slip of plain, filled with productive gardens ; but from its opposite bank, towards the horizon of the west, the eye ranged over a level tract of land, without a marked feature or a prominent object to be seen throughout its illimitable extent.



CHAPTER III.

FROM BEER, ACROSS THE PLAINS OF THE TURCOMANS, TO ORFAH.

JUNE 1st.—We quitted Beer with the dawn, though it was long past sun-rise before all the caravan had cleared the hill above; not so much from its steepness or its length, as from the unfitness of the camel, particularly when loaded, to tread any roads but level ones.

As we were among the last in motion, we were surprised by a party who had been despatched from the Aga to seize a Janissary on his escape from Aleppo, and who laid hold of me as the person in question. It had been observed at the Custom-house, that I had no merchandise in the caravan, and it was therefore concluded that I was not a trader. As I wore the Musulman turban, it was decided that I was not a Christian pilgrim from Jesusalem; my

person being unknown to the different douaniers who were acquainted with all the people that usually pass from Syria into Mesopotamia, I must, they thought, have been a military man of some kind ; and my being well armed, and riding a horse, instead of a mare or gelding, tended rather to confirm this opinion. My ignorance of the Turkish language was thought to be a pretext, merely to protect myself from suspicion : and the conclusion on all these facts was, that I could be no other than a Janissary of Aleppo, flying for some crime, either of a public or a private nature.

I was about to shew my passport, as an Englishman, from the Pasha of Aleppo ; but Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, whom I consulted privately on the affair, advised me, in a whisper, by no means to do so. It would be certain, he thought, of leading to a large demand of entrance-money on coming into the territory of the Pasha of Orfah, as this chief was independant of the Pasha of Aleppo, and even courted opportunities to show how much he despised his authority. To relieve myself from this detention, I endeavoured to persuade them that I really was not a Janissary, but a Muggrebin Trader, who had been unfortunate in the west, and was now seeking to repair my losses by new adventures in the east.

I think that this tale was believed, though the first accusation was still persisted in, until it was at last told me, that if I chose to pay fifty gold roobeahs to the Governor's people, I might depart and join the caravan ; but if not, that I should be detained here until I could give some better account of myself. I desired a moment for consideration, and it was granted me ; when, consulting with the Hadjee, he assured me that he could not possibly wait, as his goods and attendants were gone on, and that if I was detained here alone, I should no doubt be ill-treated and greatly distressed. He offered even to pay the sum himself, rather than suffer this to take place, but advised immediate decision. I accordingly returned, agreeably to his advice, and no longer denied the charge of being really a Janissary, who had lately entered the service, and had come from Cairo, where Turkish is but little spoken. As they had

concluded that, for some mutinous conduct there, I had been obliged to seek my safety in flight, I now threw myself upon the clemency of the Governor, as a brother soldier—pleaded poverty from my being obliged to escape in haste, but put twenty-five gold roobeahs, or about sixty shillings sterling, into his hand, at the time of my kneeling to kiss it, and this in so secret a manner, that no one could see the gift or claim a share. I was then ordered to be set at liberty immediately, and, distributing a few piastres among the servants, was quickly mounted and soon rejoined the caravan.

From the top of the hill above the town, we went onward in nearly an eastern direction, over a hard chalky soil, producing a long slender grass, and cultivated but very slightly in scattered patches. We saw here many large vultures, and some common hawks. The aspect of the country was dull and uninteresting, as there was neither mountain, valley, nor even plain; the whole being an unequal surface, like the high and long waves of a deep sea when subsiding from a tempest into a calm,—and not a tree any where in sight to relieve the monotony of the scene.*

As the animals and their guides were equally fatigued with the exertion of getting clear of the town this morning, our march did not exceed five hours, when we halted in a grassy dell to encamp for the night. The only place at which water could be procured, was from a cistern or tank, near a small hamlet, upwards of a mile off. From thence it was brought by asses, but we could obtain from its inhabitants no other supplies of refreshment.

As we were now reduced to our own resources, our supper consisted of boiled wheat, warm bread, baked on a fire of camels' dung

* The description given of the Plains of Mesopotamia, by Xenophon, is strikingly accurate. "The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of worm-wood: if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees appeared. Of wild creatures, the most numerous were wild asses, and not a few ostriches, besides bustards and roe-deer, (antelopes,) which our horsemen sometimes chased." He then gives a lively description of the mode in which the pursuit was conducted, and its general result.—*See the Anabasis*, book i.

and steeped in clear melted butter, and some wild herbs, gathered from among the grass around us. This was followed by a pipe and a cup of coffee, and afterwards about an ounce of brown sugar, made into a round hard cake, was served to us out of a little tin case. This was the travelling fare of one of the richest merchants of Mousul, who had property to the amount of ten or fifteen thousand pounds sterling in money and goods embarked in the present caravan, and who every night fed, from his own table, not less than twenty poor pilgrims, besides his own immediate dependants.

JUNE 2nd.—We quitted our station just as the moon had set, or near midnight. From thence, until the day broke, our way was easterly, over a country similar to that which we had traversed yesterday, composed of swelling ridges of land, with a dry light soil, scantily covered by grass, and a few patches of corn in the hollows of the plain, but not a tree was any where to be seen.

About eight o'clock we came to a large ruined caravanserai, called Khan Charmellek. It was one of the largest and best constructed that I had yet seen any where out of the cities of Turkey, being constructed with excellent masonry, and furnished with every convenience in rooms, stalls, courts, &c. The pointed arch is seen in the great front door; but, in a range of smaller apertures on each side, the flat Norman arch is used. The roof was formed into a terrace running around the central court, and the cornice over the four sides of the outer front was purely Arabic. In a good building opposite, which is said to have been the station of the custom-master and his proper officers, for examining the goods as they passed, there is equally good masonry. Besides the pointed arch, there is here one window which is formed of three segments of circles; the two lower segments being those of the round arch, and the upper one being slightly pointed, which resembles the Gothic style; and yet these three kinds of arches in the same building are most indisputably contemporary.

There are fine Gothic windows in the Great Saracen Castle of

El-Hhussan, in Syria, of which the date is not known: and in the same place is an inscription in Gothic characters, which could not have been an Arabic work, even if the architecture were Saracenic. There is neither history nor tradition, however, regarding the possession of the Castle of Hhussan, by the Crusaders, though the inscription in the Gothic character renders this highly probable; and, if so, the architecture would be easily accounted for as a repair, or as an addition to the original Saracenic work. The whole history of architecture in these countries is clouded by a thousand doubts, on examining the monuments of the different races who have possessed them. Each style and order has had its day; but, instead of the remains of these elucidating, as might be expected, the history of their succession, every fragment seen tends only to make the rise, progress, perfection, or decline of particular styles and orders of architecture in the East, more obscure than before.

This khan, though very slightly ruined, is now entirely abandoned, as well as a small mud village behind it, the people of which no doubt subsisted, principally, by furnishing it with supplies.

From hence, we turned up on the left to a small Turcoman camp where we procured some milk, which was a welcome refreshment after our long morning's ride. The tents, though smaller, were similar in structure to those recently described.

The men of this camp, as I had noted elsewhere, were fairer, cleaner, better dressed, and more at their ease, than Arabs of the same class; and all of them wore turbans, which were generally of white cloth in broad folds. In most of the countenances that I had yet seen, there seemed to me to exist traces of resemblance to the Tartar physiognomy. The face is short, broad, and flat, with high cheek-bones, small sunken eyes, flat nose, broad mouth, and short neck, with a full black bushy beard. The Malay and the Chinese face are but exaggerated examples of the same cast of countenances seen here, and form perhaps the extreme, of which this is the first marked commencement. In the Arab race, the face is long, narrow, and sharp; the cheek-bones, flat and low; and all have large expressive

eyes, a prominent and aquiline nose, small but full-lipped mouth, long graceful neck, and generally a scanty beard. As a race or caste, the Turcomans are, therefore, widely different from the Arabs; though the same habits of life have brought them from the north and the south, to border upon each other.

The women of this tribe were quite as well dressed as those we had seen before. We noticed one, said to be newly married, who was driving goats to her tent, dressed with red shalloon trowsers and yellow boots, a clean white upper garment, a red tarboosh on her head, overhanging in front, and three rows of gold Venetian sequins bound around her brow. She was fair, ruddy, and her skin was not disfigured by stains; but, above all, she was remarkably clean and perfectly unveiled, two marks of more distinctive difference from the Bedouin women than even those which are noted as separating the male races.

The existing abhorrence of any imputation on their chastity, and the going openly unveiled, in a country where the contrary combinations are much more frequent, are also a singular feature of the Turcoman women; and this, like all else that we had seen of their manners, is strictly conformable to that of the earliest ages. It appears that, then, *harlots* only veiled themselves, to avoid, probably, the disgrace of ever being recognised or personally known; while *modest* females exposed their features to public view. In the story of Judah's unconscious incest with Tamar, his daughter-in-law, it is said, that "she covered herself with a veil, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place by the way-side,—and when Judah saw her, he thought her to be an *harlot*, BECAUSE she had covered her face."* After his communication with her in the public road, it is said, "she arose and went her way, and laid by her veil from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood." When it was told him afterwards, that this same daughter-in-law "had played the harlot, and was with child by whoredom," as she was one over whom he had the

* See Genesis, chap. xxxviii. v. 14—15.

power of a parent, he exclaimed, "Bring her forth, and let her be burnt;"* so that the same jealousy of injured honour, and the same openness with which women appeared before men, existed then, as are still found here among the people now. The contrary customs and manners, which prevail in towns, may be considered, perhaps, as an effect chiefly produced by the seclusion which forms a constant part of the Mohammedan treatment of women.

From this camp, we went on for about an hour and half, when we came to a large cistern, constructed for the reception of rain-water; where we did not find enough, however, to supply our party. It was a reservoir of a circular shape, excavated out of the rock, to a depth of twenty feet below the surface, and was descended to by a flight of steps, hewn down also to that depth. The whole was stuccoed over on the inside, and it was both a useful and a well-executed work. It is called Saireej Kairaat.

About an hour beyond this, we came to a second reservoir, in a spot called Char Merz, where we encamped for the day.

JUNE 3rd.—We departed again with the setting moon, and had lightning and slight showers of rain, which made our way dark and disagreeable until the day broke. Our course was a point or two to the southward of east, and this brought us, at day-light, to a large reservoir for rain-water, with a place for prayer near it.

We were now come into a more uneven country than before: the height of many of the eminences gave them the character of hills; and they were, throughout, formed of lime-stone rock, of a rounded surface, and generally barren. In the vallies, were some few patches of cultivated ground, and the rest was covered with a long wild grass. This furnished sufficient provender, not only for the camels, but for all the mules and asses of our caravan, the horses only requiring corn. In our progress, the road became more stony and bare as we advanced, till, about ten o'clock, we turned out of

* See Genesis, chap. xxxviii. v. 24.

the way to halt by a cistern. There being no water in this, except the small portion yielded by the light showers which had fallen in the night, we were compelled to continue our way again, until we arrived, in about another hour, at a small hollow plain or Wâdi, as it is called, where there was a large hewn reservoir for rain-water, and a smaller one of good masonry in the same plain, distant about a quarter of a mile. As the first of these contained an abundant supply for us all, we pitched our tents here for the day, though we were now not more than an hour's distance from Orfah.

Caravan-travelling, for one whose business required great despatch, was more tedious to me, than could be well imagined; and it was rendered still more so, by my having no hope of being able to avail myself of any other mode. To go alone, as we had already had sufficient proof, was highly dangerous; and, by leading to my being stripped in the way, might prove fatal to all my designs. Messengers of the government, accustomed to carry despatches, and acquainted with by-roads, which they alone frequent, were not to be met with during my stay at Aleppo; and as the government Tartars now go only from Constantinople, through Diarbekr to Bagdad, and Arab messengers directly across the Desert from Aleppo, there seemed no probability of falling in with either of these on the way. Our rate of travelling was so slow, that it scarcely exceeded twelve miles a day, on an average; the least distance being about ten, and the greatest fifteen. The time occupied in this, was from four to six hours, in one continued march, so that our average rate must have been, as nearly as can be estimated, about two and a half geographical miles per hour.

In walking my horse a gentle pace, if I mounted the last in the caravan, I could gain the head of it in two hours, though our line extended nearly two miles in length; when, as was the practice of most of the other horsemen of the party, we dismounted on the grass, suffered our horses to feed there, and either lay down or smoked a pipe for nearly an hour, until the caravan had all passed us again. This was repeated at every similar interval; so that, in

an uninteresting tract of country, where there was no picturesque landscape to charm the sight, not a tree to relieve the monotonous outline of the hills, nor sufficient verdure to clothe their rocky sides,—where either we were lighted only by the stars, or scorched by the sun an hour after its rising,—its tediousness may be easily conceived.

The only advantage to be counterbalanced against all these, is security. But with regard to supplies, as it is more difficult to obtain them for a large number than for a few, and as every one furnishes himself with what he may require on the journey, mutual help in these is scarcely ever thought of, or even practicable, without great inconvenience to one or other of the parties. It is the practice, however, of most of those who can afford it, to dress an ample supper at night, that sufficient may remain for the poor who are in the camp.

From the tent of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, there were not less than twenty such, who were regularly fed, besides those who sat down with him, and were looked upon either as his companions, or immediate dependants, and amounting to fifteen or twenty more. Among these was a Wahābee, from the Nedjed, in the heart of Arabia, who had been redeemed from his deistical and puritanical heresy to the orthodox Islamism of the Turks, by a wound which he had received in his face. This had injured his jaw-bones to such a degree, that he could not open them at all, so that, to enable him to eat, he had been obliged to have four of his front teeth drawn, to open a passage for admitting his food. He never failed, however, to consume his ample share of this, and that too very rapidly, from his losing no time in mastication. Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān had found this man at Mecca, a prisoner, taken from the Wahābees; and, on his return to the faith of his fathers, he had taken him into his service as his inspector of camels.

There were, also, two Indian fakirs from the Punjāb, who had been two years from their homes, having staid two Ramadāns at Mecca. They had come with a caravan straight from Muscat, in the

Persian Gulf, to that city, through the country of the Arabs; and described the face of it as generally desert and destitute of water, and the few tribes of Bedouins there as bad people, generally at war with each other. They had also found a friend in the venerable Hadjee, who offered to take them from Mecca to Mousul on their return, in his own train, free of expense. They walked on foot; but as they suffered nothing from the heat, and performed only short daily journies, this was no inconvenience to them; and they certainly ate, drank, and slept more—and did, in all other respects, considerably less—than any others of the party.

One of them spoke a little Hindoostanee, and told me that he had been at Bombay. He praised the English government very highly, and thought they did right in every thing but that of their flogging fakirs, when they found them wandering naked in the streets.* It was observed, indeed, by many of our circle, as well as by myself, that these, and Indian Mohammedans generally, are more bigoted and fanatic than the believers in the same faith who come from other countries; and that they have more of the forms, with less of the spirit, of their religion, than either Arabs or Turks. It was thus that one of these men would repeat, for an hour together, in quick succession, the Moslem profession of faith, as many times as possible, in one breath; and another would count his beads and mutter sentences unintelligible to the rest, while neither of them ever washed or prayed, according to the prescribed manner. The more reasonably pious of our party were much scandalized at this, and held their practices to be tainted, as they doubtlessly are, with the idolatry of Hindooism.

The state of the thermometer, since our leaving Aleppo, had

* Aurungzebe adopted a more effectual method of terrifying the fakirs into decency. "I was for a long time disgusted, (says Bernier,) with a celebrated fakir, named Sarmet, who paraded the streets of Delhi, as naked as when he came into the world. He despised, equally, the promises and threats of Aureng-Zêbe, and underwent, at length, the punishment of decapitation, from his obstinate refusal to put on wearing apparel."—*Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire*.

been tolerably regular, but was gradually on the advance. The air was extremely dry and light, and the additional heat was, no doubt, partly caused by this, and by the bareness of the earth's surface. During the day, our skies were clear in the zenith, but marked by lines of white clouds all around the horizon; and our nights were beautifully pure and brilliant, with the exception of the last night only, which was clouded between midnight and day-break. At sunrise, we had the thermometer at 78°; at noon, it was 102° in the sun, and 96° in the shade of the tent; at sun-set, it stood at 88° and at midnight, at 76°. During the day, we had strong winds from the north, which considerably tempered the air, as these winds came from the lofty snow-clad ridge of Taurus; and, during the night, it was generally calm, without the slightest perceptible fall of dew, which contributed much toward preserving an equal temperature. There was, indeed, a freshness in the air, both by day and night, which made it as agreeable as we found it healthy.

In the course of the evening, several horsemen alighted at our tent, and were served with the cup of hospitality, as passengers on their way. We at first suspected them to be the spies of some Turcoman troop in the neighbourhood, who had come among us to ascertain our force. They all told the same story, representing themselves as adventurers from Diarbekr, going to seek military service at Aleppo and Damascus. We found this afterwards to be true; for, soon after they had left us, there passed a caravan going to Beer, the leaders of which confirmed to us the truth of their statement, and set our minds at rest. Our condition, indeed, was now more defenceless than before, and gave sufficient reason for alarm, since more than half the caravan, including the lightly-laden beasts, and the horsemen, who were merely passengers without goods, had gone on to Orfah, and left here but a small party encamped with us.

My host, Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, having made friends among those who had left us, by his hospitable treatment of them on the

road, they were grateful enough to return it, by sending out to us, from the town, a very excellent supper, composed of at least fifty dishes, besides two mules laden with ices for making iced sherbets, some white mulberries, quinces, and other fruits, forming altogether a meal and dessert for a sovereign.

We continued up late, in the enjoyment of as much festivity as our means would afford, by hearing the rude music and songs of some, and clapping our hands to the dances of others of our camel-drivers, around a blazing fire. We surrounded this circle, formed by the animals themselves, who, on being driven in from the hills where they feed, are made to kneel down, and are generally arranged in a circular form around the horses, the merchandize, and the people of the caravan, as an outer barrier for general security. Here, though our guards were set on the outposts of the camp, and we had each to relieve the watch in our turn, we sang and danced away our cares, and were as happy as the most sumptuous banquets or gorgeous palaces could have made us



CHAPTER IV.

ENTRY OF THE CARAVAN INTO THE CITY OF ORFAH.

JUNE 4th.—The effects of the preceding night's dissipation (if mirth so temperate as ours could be so named) kept us asleep until the sun rose, and it was not until a full hour afterwards that we commenced our march. The road now became more hilly and stony than before; but, in about an hour and half, on arriving at the top of one of the eminences, and winding down a ravine, we came in sight of Orfah.

As it stood on a lower hill beyond us, and presented little to the westward, except a long bare wall running nearly north and south, the view of it from hence was uninteresting. On the hill itself, from which we first saw it, I remarked a pass cut through the rock, and leaving a perpendicular wall on each side; and from

hence, all the way to the city, a distance of more than a mile, led a broad paved road, winding down the side of the hill, and still in good preservation.

In the cliffs above us, we noticed, both to the right and left, several excavations, which had all the appearance of sepulchral grottoes. Some few of these were arched at their openings, like the tombs at Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes; but the greater number of them had oblong square entrances, like those in the Necropolis of the Egyptian Thebes; and they were all, no doubt, works of high antiquity.

On reaching the foot of the hill, which is composed of lime-stone rock, we went for half an hour over a cultivated plain of good soil, and began to ascend a smaller rising of the land, where the approach to the town is made through an extensive modern cemetery. The tombs were all in the Turkish style, with a tall stone at each end of the grave, and that at the head ornamented with a turban, by the character of which, the sex and class of life of the deceased may be known, even by those who are not able to read the monumental inscriptions.

I thought it remarkable, however, as all the people from this place, whom we had yet seen, wore the overhanging tarboosh of Syria, with a shawl wound high on its front, that the graves here should be decorated with the Turkish kaook, or high-ribbed calpac; which is, in general, peculiar to the Osmanlies, or Turks of Constantinople and its immediate neighbourhood.

The graves were not decked with myrtle by the hands of surviving friends, as at Damascus, nor apparently attended with so much pious remembrance of their silent inmates; but they were, in general, better built, and more expensively ornamented, than the former. The body of the grave, or of the tomb above it, rose in receding stages, one within another, for three or four rows, leaving on the top a space about the length and breadth of the human form, from each end of which rose the perpendicular inscriptive stones. On the sides of these receding stages, ran around sculptured friezes,

formed, invariably, of the little arched niche, so constantly repeated in Arabic and Turkish architecture. They were here, however, in every instance, reversed, with their points downwards; but whether such a reversion of this common ornament, in being peculiarly applied to the sepulchres of the dead, had any reference to the change of state, as well as habitation, of the beings whose remains they contained, I could not learn.

Among these tombs, I saw, for the first time, military trophies depicted. The inner surfaces of the head and footstones of the graves, which fronted each other, were flat; and these were inscribed with many lines, both in Turkish and in Arabic. The letters were cut in high relief, in some gilded on a white ground, and in others painted in black on a green ground; the former, as it was explained to me, being for virgins and youths, dying in a state of innocence, and the latter peculiar to the graves of shereefs, or other persons distinguished for their piety; green being the holy colour of the Prophet. The lines were engraved obliquely, or diagonally upwards, from the right to the left, in the manner of firmans, and other state-writings; and the characters were exceedingly well executed. The outer faces of these same stones were convex; and on them were generally represented various emblems, in gaudy colours.

It was on this part, beneath the turban at the top, that I saw depicted a sword, a shield, a mace, a battle-axe, and other instruments of war, as well grouped as the Roman devices of this kind generally are. They were, however, very imperfectly executed, from their being done in painting, an art of which the Turks are scarcely yet in the infancy. The execution of the turbans was much better, as they were wrought in sculpture; and there were some variations in the fashion of them, which decided the peculiar classes of society to which the dead belonged, as certain forms are worn only by certain ranks of men.

On arriving near the gate of the city, we turned down on the left, and, crossing a small bridge over a rivulet, halted at the Khan Koolâh-Oghlee. This is a large caravanserai, set apart for the use

of those who do not bring their goods into the town, but who remain there only a few days, as passengers on their journey to some other place.

Our camels were unladen at this khan ; but the numerous friends of my protector, who came out to congratulate him on his return from the Hadj, or holy pilgrimage to Mecca, would not suffer us to remain here. As soon, therefore, as all was safely unladen in the great court, and the servants were distributed in the chambers above, we quitted the khan, leaving only the favourite and faithful Abyssinian slave of the Hadjee to guard his master's property.

The invitations were so many, and so pressing, that it was at first thought necessary to refuse them all, for it was impossible to prefer one to another, without giving cause of offence ; so that chambers were prepared for us in a large building, called Khan-el-Goomrook, or the Custom-house Khan, where our friends were to rendezvous. Here, indeed, we were quite as well accommodated, and as much at liberty, as we could possibly have been in any private dwelling, having each of us a chamber apart, and a small one besides, in which to meet our friends, though the congratulators were so many, that it was necessary to receive them on the outside.

This khan consisted of an open court, which was, at least, a hundred feet square, and was paved throughout. On two of its sides, were doors of outlet into covered bazārs ; on the third, was a range of stables and cloaca ; and all around, on the ground-floor, the intervals were filled up by small rooms : flights of steps there led to an upper story, in front of which were open galleries all around, and chambers, in which were carried on manufactories of cotton, as well as the process of printing them. Through the court below, ran a fine broad stream of transparent water, crossing it diagonally from corner to corner ; and as it was descended to by long steps, it served for watering the horses, for the ablutions of the pious, and for the washing of the manufactures above, as they came from the workman's hands, before they were laid out on the flat terrace of the roof to bleach.

This same stream was made contributory, also, to another convenient purpose; all the cloaca being supplied from it with a branch running under them, while it fed a little fountain in each, for the filling a small square cistern, close by the left-hand of the person sitting; so that all impurities were carried off by the stream below, and there was running water always at hand, in which to wash, supplied from above. Another branch of this water filled a reservoir without, from which a supply was procured by cocks, for the convenience of those who might have occasion to use it only in passing. The plan and the arrangement of the whole was excellent, and the masonry of the building was well executed; yet, from the natural aversion of the Turks to labour, it was not so clean as, with all these advantages, it ought to have been.

Our day was almost entirely passed in receiving visits, which were chiefly from the most respectable merchants of the town; and, in the evening, we had to attend a supper-party, formed for us by the Hadjee's friends.

It was before sun-set that we assembled at the house of a green-turbanned descendant of the Prophet, to the number of about thirty persons. We were received in a very handsome room, with gilded ceiling, carpeted divans, furnished with silk cushions, and other marks of the occupier's wealth. Among our party were the two Indian fakirs, who knew their interest too well ever to desert their patron, so that they constantly hung about his person. These men, clad in a bundle of loose rags, scarcely holding together, though bound with many cords and threads, and swarming with vermin, from their never having changed their garments, or perhaps washed their bodies, for the last three years, were seated among the rest along the sofa, and served with exactly the same attention as others of the company.

This practice of admitting the ragged and dirty to an equal place with the well-clad and clean,—as well as that of suffering the servants of the house to sleep on the divan at night, which equally prevails among the Turks,—occasions the houses of the rich to be

almost as subject to vermin as those of the poor. It is thus by no means rare to see the most wealthy and polite among them arrest the crawling intruder in his march over their benishes ; and, rather than defile their nails by killing it on them, as is the practice with the poor in Spain and Portugal, they usually blow it off into the middle of the room. They say that they themselves thus remain clean, and there is but a chance at least of the little crawler's ever reaching them again : whereas, though the practice of killing it at once renders that impossible, yet, in their estimation, this act is in itself too grossly shocking to decency to be permitted.

Our supper was served on a large metal salver, highly ornamented with Arabic devices and inscriptions, and containing at least forty dishes ; the central one of which was, as usual, a pilau, and the surrounding ones stewed meats, fruits, and various made dishes. Among our drinks were, iced milk and lebben ; a fine iced sherbet, made with honey, cinnamon-water, and spices ; and the iced juice of pomegranates of the last year, diluted with water of roses ; so that one could not regret the want of wine to crown the banquet. The napkin which surrounded the salver, so as to leave a portion large enough to cover the knees of all who sat before it, was of fine silk gauze, embroidered at the edges and ends, and was in one piece of six or eight yards long by a yard broad. Water was served to us in a silver cup, called, in Arabic, "tassé ;" and we washed afterwards over silver ewers. Our evening pipes and coffee were taken on the terrace of the house ; which, being lofty, and seated nearly in the centre of the town, gave us a panoramic view of great extent and beauty.

After sun-set, we retired to the Khan Khoolāh-Oghlee, without the town, as the Hadjee still persisted in refusing to give the marked preference of a permanent abode with any of his friends. They all accompanied us, however, to the gate of the khan itself, where we separated. Here, too, we found a party formed for our entertainment, by the servants and charitable dependants of the worthy pilgrim ; and, though of a humbler kind than that which we

had just quitted, it was much more vivacious, and equally entertaining.

The chief personages who figured in this assembly were two Christians, returning, from the Easter festival at Jerusalem, to Mardin, called, by the Turks, Mokhoddesy, and not Hadjee; these titles being derivative from the respective places visited.* The names of these pilgrims were Eesa, or Jesus; and Abdallah, or the Slave of God. The names of Jesus and Mohammed are borne only by the followers of their respective prophets; but Abdallah is common both to Moslems and Christians, though less frequent among the latter, where it is sometimes replaced by the name of Abd-el-Meseeah, or the Slave of the Messiah.

Eesa was crowned with a high-pointed bonnet, fringed at the edge, gilded on the sides, and adorned at the top with a bunch of small tinkling bells. Abdallah made a still more grotesque figure, as he was naked to the waist, and had contrived to decorate his head with coloured feathers and cotton wool, which, added to the blue stains, (the symbols of the holy pilgrimage,) with which his body and arms were covered, gave him an appearance somewhat between that of a savage Indian and an ancient Briton, as they are generally represented to us. To complete the resemblance, these men threw themselves into the wildest attitudes, like those of the aboriginal war-dance of America, and to as rude a music.

The band was composed of a drummer, who beat with the palm and fingers of his hands on a large copper pan, turned bottom upwards, and a fifer, who blew into the upper end of a long cane, holding it as a clarionet, and using six stops, as in a flute. These produced, as may be imagined, no sweet or seductive sounds, though

* The Arabic name of Jerusalem is El Khods, or the Holy: and, by the construction of the language, Mokhoddesy is a name formed to signify persons who have visited it in pilgrimage. In the same manner, El Hadj is the Mohammedan name for the pilgrimage to Mecca; Hedjāz, the name of the Holy Land; and Hadjee, one who has performed the pilgrimage.

they were sufficiently musical to charm most of the party, who kept time by clapping their hands, as is commonly done in Egypt.

Besides these, there was a little slave boy of the Hadjee's, born in his house, of Abyssinian parents, who, though not yet eight years old, had accompanied his master to Mecca, and was addressed by the honorary title of all who visit the Caaba. This child, and one of the camel boys, a lad of fifteen, sang to each other in responsive verses, which were again repeated, at stated intervals, by the harsh chorus of all the voices of the assembly.

The dance then sunk from savage wildness into the most lascivious movements; the men approached each other, by progressive and mutual advances, and, after an imitation of the warmest union, embraced more firmly, and cried aloud in an ecstasy of pleasure. The song and music followed this change, by more characteristic tones; so that the whole was rather like a Thesmophorian exhibition in honour of Ceres, than what one might conceive to be the sober amusements of a grave Moslem pilgrim, returning from the Temple of his Prophet; or the pious practices of Christians, still more recently come out from the Tomb of their Saviour, and from witnessing the scenes of persecution and suffering which preceded the death of their God.*

* The lascivious dance here described to have been performed by the Christian and Mohammedan pilgrims, for the amusement of a grave and pious merchant and his suite, is the same which the late Queen Caroline of England was so much reprobated for permitting her Eastern servant, Mahomet, to perform in her presence, during some portion of her travels abroad. It has always prevailed in the East, from whence, in the time of Augustus, it seems to have been introduced into Italy. The reader will, perhaps, remember the passage in Juvenal, which describes the effects produced by Bathyllus's dancing the *Leda Cheironomos*. It may be referred to, either in the original, or in Dryden's Translation, Sat. 6, v. 3; but cannot be transcribed. This dance, says the Delphin editor, which obtained its appellation from Leda, a famous dancer and mimic, was performed by certain gestures of the body and motions of the hand. It was thought to be the highest incitement and stimulant of lust, and was one of St. Cyprian's strongest reasons for denominating the theatre, where it was always performed among the degenerate Romans, "the Sanctuary of Venus." "The woman," says he, "who visits

JUNE 5th.—Our khan was crowded this morning by the arrival of a caravan, after a journey of two days, from Diarbekr, destined

these spectacles, approaches them, perhaps, with modesty in her heart, but leaves them a prey to impurity and intemperance. They move the senses, soften the heart, and expel robust virtue from the honest breast.”—*Epist. ad Donat.* The Bathyllus, mentioned by Juvenal, was an Alexandrian, and, as some say, the freedman of Mæcenas, by whom he was subjected to unnatural pollution.—*Tacit. Ann.* i. 54. This dance is performed by women in Egypt, and was introduced into Spain by the Moors. Volney speaks of it as follows:—“C’est une representation licentieuse de ce que l’amour a de plus hardi. C’est ce genre de dance qui, portée de Carthage à Rome, y annonça le declin des mœurs republicaines, et qui depuis, renouvelée dans l’Espagne par les Arabes, s’y perpétue encore sous le nom de Fandango. Malgré la liberté de nos mœurs, il serait difficile, sans blesser l’oreille, d’en faire une peinture exacte : c’est assez de dire que la danseuse, les bras étendues, d’un air passionné, chantant et s’accompagnant des castagnettes qu’elle tient aux doigts, exécute, sans changer de place, des mouvemens de corps que la passion même a soin de voiler de l’ombre de la nuit.”—*Voyages*, t. ii. pp. 403, 404. The Fandango, as at present performed in Spain, is thus described by Swinburne:—“Our evening ended with a ball, where we had, for the first time, the pleasure of seeing the Fandango danced. It is odd and entertaining enough, when they execute with precision and agility all the various footings, wheelings of the arms, and crackings of the fingers; but it exceeds in wantonness all the dances I ever beheld. Such motions, such writhings of the body, and positions of the limbs, as no modest eye can look upon without a blush! A good Fandango lady will stand five minutes in one spot, wriggling like a worm that has just been cut in two.”—Vol. i. p. 70. “There were, however, (at Cadiz,) many assemblies and balls of a lower class, where the Fandango was danced *a la ley*, that is, in all the perfection it is capable of. Among the gipseys, there is another dance, called the *Manguindoy*, so lascivious and indecent, that it is prohibited under severe penalties; the tune is quite simple, little more than a constant return of the same set of notes: this, as well as the Fandango, is said to have been imported from the Havannah, being both of negro breed.* I have been told that, upon the coast of Africa, they exhibit a variety of strange dances, pretty similar to these. Whatever may have been the birth-place of the Fandango, it is now so thoroughly naturalized in Spain, that every Spaniard may be said to be born with it in his head and heels: I have seen a child of three years of age dance it to the mother’s singing, with steps and turns scarce to be credited in an infant of that age. Towards the close of the great balls given heretofore in the theatre, when all the company appeared drooping with fatigue and overpowered with sleep, it was a constant trick of the fiddlers to strike up the Fandango. In an instant, as if roused from the slumbers of enchantment by the

* This is an error—they are of *Moorish* breed.

chiefly for Aleppo. It had been thus long on the march, in consequence of the spring, when the mules, of which this was chiefly composed, halt every hour or two to graze. Diarbekr is said to be in nearly a north-east direction from this, and to be six good caravan days' journey off.

We went early into the town, where our day was passed in a round of visits to those who had come to welcome our arrival yesterday, which gave me an opportunity of seeing many of the best houses in the place, as well as many of the upper rank of females. As our train was large, wherever we went the women contrived to get a peep at us from the windows of their apartments, either as we entered or as we quitted the courts of the dwellings, and afforded me as good a sight of themselves in return. This, however, was as purely stolen on my part as on theirs; for as not one of our company ever directed their eyes that way but myself, it was necessary to be the more guarded, to avoid being discovered in the exercise of a curiosity which, however laudable in itself, is here only permitted

magic touch of a fairy's wand, every body started up, and the whole house resounded with the uproar of the clapping of hands, footing, jumping, and snapping of fingers."—Vol. i. pp. 354, 355. If the reader should be curious to see further accounts of this wanton dance, he may consult Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 222; and Lucian, *de Saltatione*. And in Bayle, art. "Bathylle," he will find some very curious particulars respecting its introduction into Italy. From the following passage of Lady Montague's *Letters*, it will be seen that movements, something very similar to those witnessed in the male performers at Orfah, constitute also a portion of the female amusements enjoyed in the privacy of the Harem:—"Her fair maids were ranged below the sofa, to the number of twenty, and put me in mind of the pictures of the ancient nymphs. I did not think all nature could have furnished such a scene of beauty. She made them a sign to play and dance. Four of them immediately began to play some soft airs on instruments between a lute and a guitar, which they accompanied with their voices, while the others danced by turns. This dance was very different from what I had seen before. Nothing could be more artful, or more proper to raise *certain ideas*. The tunes so soft!—the motions so languishing!—accompanied with pauses and dying eyes!—*half falling back*, and then recovering themselves in so artful a manner, that I am very positive, the coldest and most rigid prude upon earth could not have looked upon them without thinking of *something not to be spoken of!*"—Vol. ii. Let. 33.

to the weaker sex. Our constant passage from one quarter of the town to another gave me, also, an opportunity of seeing much of its interior, which it would have been difficult for me to have done otherwise, without a guide, and without the risk of exciting observation.

There was a liberality of conduct displayed towards me by my kind protector, that deserves to be mentioned as peculiar to him. It has been observed, that the term Hadjee is reserved for the true believers in the Koran only; and that Christians, although they have performed their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, are called Mokhoddesy, from El Khods, or the Holy, the Arabic translation of the ancient Hebrew, and present modern name. The salute of "Salām Alaikom," and its answer, "Alaikom Salām," or, "Peace be upon you," and, "Upon you be peace," is permitted to be given and received by Moslems only; as well as the formula before commencing any action, however trifling, "B'ism Illah el Rakhmān el Rakheem." In the name of God, the great and the merciful.* My friend, however, permitted me to be addressed as "Hadjee Aga," or, as we should say, "Sir Pilgrim," by all those who did not know my name, and as "Hadjee Abdallah," by those who did; the latter being the name under which I travelled. When I ate or drank, or washed, or filled my pipe, I constantly repeated the Mohammedan formula; and, on closing the operation, whatever it might be, ended by the grave "Al humd el Illah," or, "To God be praise." This was so far from being thought an infringement on sacred privileges, that I never failed to have the usual blessings of "Aneeah," after drinking; "El Hawāf," after washing; or "Naiman," after rising from sleep; which was given to me by every one of the party, individually, and returned to them by the usual answers in the same way.

* "J'ai lu que les Européens ont savamment recherché: num inter naturalis debiti et conjugalis officii egerium liceat psallere, orare, &c. J'ignore ce que les Mahométans ont écrit sur cette matière; mais on m'a assuré, qu'accoutumés à commencer toutes leurs occupations par ces mots, Bism allah errahman errachhim, ils disent la même chose ante conjugalis officii egerium, et qu'aucun homme de bien ne neglige cette prière."—*Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, 4to. p. 43.

It was thus that few knew of my being an Englishman, and still fewer of my not being a Moslem. There were, indeed, some among our party, who thought that Mohammedanism was the prevailing religion of our country. They had loosely heard that the English were not so stupid as the other Franks, in setting up gold and silver images in the churches, and perfuming their priests with incense; and they were sure that so brave a nation could not think that the Almighty was a vain and weak woman, which they think is implied in the Catholic notion of the Virgin Mary, who is worshipped as a being delighted with gold and silver, and easily charmed into compliance with our wishes, by seducing odours and sweet smells.

At El Assr, the hour of afternoon prayer, which is midway between noon and sunset, the Hadjee and his son wished to go to the Mosque, to pray; and I saw that they were evidently embarrassed how to dispose of me in the interval. As we walked together, however, towards the Mosque itself, which was near one of the most interesting parts of the town, I parted from them at the door, with an engagement to wait for them on the side of the lake, at the brink of which it stands, and where I reposed in the shade until their prayers were ended.

This lake, which is called "Birket el Ibrahim el Khaleel," from being in the native city of that patriarch, "Abraham the Beloved, or the Friend of God,"* is filled from a clear spring which rises in the south-west quarter of the town. It then forms a canal, which is two hundred and twenty-five paces long, by twenty-five paces broad; and generally from five to six feet deep. At the west end, where it commences, a room is built to hang over the stream; and at the east, where a small bridge terminates the greater canal, the waters run into a lesser one, which divides itself into many branches, and is dispersed in streams throughout the town, for the convenience of manufactories, private dwellings, and public khans. On the south side

* It was the birth-place of Abraham and his wife, as well as several of his family, who went out together from this city, Ur of the Chaldees.—See *Genesis*, chap. xi. v. 31.

of the canal is a long causeway, the brink of which is nearly level with the water's edge ; and behind it are gardens full of large white mulberry trees, as tall and full in foliage as the largest of our English elms. On the opposite side, the eastern half of the northern bank is occupied by the grand façade of the Mosque of the Patriarch, whose name it bears ; and its foundations are washed by the waters of the lake, which are also considered to be sacred to him.

The centre of this façade is a square pile of building, from which rise three large domes, of equal size, and a lofty minaret, springing up from amid a cluster of tall and solemn cypress trees. At each end of this central pile, towards the stream, are flights of steps descending to the water's edge, for the ablutions of the pious, each flight occupying the centre of two corresponding open arcades, composed of several arches each. The wings are terminated by two solid masses of building, perfectly uniform in design, and completing one of the most regular edifices of this kind, to be found, perhaps, in Turkey. Beyond this, and extending to the room at the west end of the lake, is a large garden, filled with mulberry and fig trees, and having smaller bushes overhanging the water's surface.

The Birket or Lake, from being considered as consecrated by devotion to the Patriarch, is visited as well from motives of piety as of pleasure, and seldom fails to have several parties on its banks. Like the one of El Bedāwee at Tripoly, on the coast of Syria, this is filled with an incredible number of fine carp, some of which are two feet in length, and of a proportionate thickness. As the water in which they float is beautifully transparent, they are seen to great advantage ; and it is an act of charity, as well as of diversion, for the visitors there to purchase vegetable leaves and scatter them on the surface, by which the fish are collected literally in heaps. As they are forbidden to be caught or molested, they multiply exceedingly : and I certainly do not exaggerate in estimating their present number throughout the whole of the canal, and smaller stream, at twenty thousand at least ; and their numbers are constantly on the increase,

it being regarded as a sacrilege of the most unpardonable kind, for any one to use them as food.*

There are some other delicious spots in the neighbourhood of this beautiful Mosque, in shady walks, gardens, and open places bordered with trees; particularly near another fountain and lake close by, called "Ain el Zilgah." In the Birket el Ibrahim, both men and boys were swimming, some of whom performed that exercise well; and in the lesser lake of Zilgah, we surprised a party of females bathing. The real and unaffected chastity, both of the Hadjee and his son, or at least their prudent exercise of it in all their public deportment, occasioned them to turn instantly aside, and obliged me to follow them, though we might have enjoyed this picture of natural beauty unobserved, and without disturbing for a moment the supposed seclusion of those who had chosen this retreat.

The Lake of Zilgah, as clear as the finest crystal, had its surface unagitated by the slightest breath of air, the calm that reigned becoming still softer and more balmy as the evening closed. Along its borders were full and verdant bushes, which overhung its waters, and cast at once a refreshing fragrance and a welcome shade around. These interesting combinations formed as fine a scene, either for poetry or painting, as any of the fountains of Greece could have done, though all the Naiads of the stream had been conjured up to aid its effect.

* There is every reason to believe, that this abstinence is a relic of the ancient superstition of the country, which taught men to worship Dagon, or Venus, under the form of a fish, and, consequently, to abstain from eating their God. It was somewhere in Mesopotamia, that Venus, flying from the violence of Typhon, was metamorphosed into a fish. See Manilius, *Astronom.* iv. Selden *de Diis Syriis*, Syntagm. ii. c. 3. "Timabant," says Selden, "ne sibi membra, si animalibus hisce vescerentur, à vindicta Deæ intumescerent, ulceribus scaterent, aut tæbe consumerentur."—Ibid. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* iii. and Xenophon, *Anab.* observe, that the superstitious inhabitants of these countries enumerated fishes among their gods: and Clemens, quoted by Selden, remarks, sneeringly, that the Syrophœnicians paid no less worship to their fish than to Jupiter Eleus.

We went from thence to an enclosed cemetery, called also Ibrahim el Kaleel, part of which was overhung by the rocky cliffs of the eminence on which the castle stands, and the rest darkly shaded by the interwoven branches of trees, literally impervious even to the mid-day sun. Besides many dervishes, both at prayers and at play, with chess-boards, shells, &c., there were also several parties of females, most of whom were unveiled, as in a retreat too sacred to be intruded on by men. We turned as abruptly from this as we had done from the former scene; and after halting at some of the coffee-houses in our way, we returned to our chambers in the khan.

We found here in waiting a servant of the Patriarch of the Syrian church, who came to congratulate me, in his master's name, on my arrival at Orfah, and to say that, having been informed by letters from Aleppo of my intended passage this way, his Reverence was desirous of seeing me at his convent.

I accordingly accompanied this man to the residence of his master, towards the south-east quarter of the town, to which the church and the burying-ground of the Christians is attached, and which is surrounded chiefly by Christian dwellings. On being shewn up into his room, I was received by a middle-aged personage, of more natural tranquillity than affected gravity of appearance, who did not move from his place, as is usual on the entry of a supposed equal, but desired me to seat myself opposite to him. His conversation was in so low a tone of voice that it was with difficulty I could understand it, although we were not ten feet apart: it turned chiefly on news, and the state of affairs in general; for, he asked about China, the New World, and the country of the Franks, all in a breath, and seemed more ignorant of them all than any Arab I had yet found.

We were soon relieved from this, by the entry of a Cawass, or silver-stick bearer of the Motesëllem, the Turkish governor of the city, very gaily dressed as a Moslem soldier. My surprise was excited, when I saw him kneel and kiss the Patriarch's hand, until I was told, that though one of the Motesëllem's personal guards, he

was known, and avowed as a Christian. This, and a similar instance at Tripoly, in Syria, are the only ones that have come to my knowledge, of Christians being allowed the same privileges of dress as Mohammedans, even when in the actual service of the government.

Soon afterwards, the priests began to assemble, all of whom kissed the hand of the Patriarch, raised it to their foreheads, and then kissed it again a second time. Some of them, when they approached him, even uncovered their heads,—an act of reverential humility not paid even to sovereigns in Asiatic countries, and observed by the Christians of the East only to their bishops and their God. There were but two of the whole number who could speak Arabic, they being chiefly from the north of Asia Minor, though most of them, except the Patriarch himself, had performed their pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

At sun-set, we ascended the terrace, where we enjoyed an extensive and commanding prospect of the town, from a new point of view, in which it looked still more interesting than before. We saw from hence many of the inner courts of Christian houses, with the females unveiled; among whom, one peculiarity was pointed out to me, namely, that while virgins, they wear a red cloth of cotton over their head, to distinguish them from Moslem girls; but, that when they become mothers, their having borne children entitles them to the same privilege as the women of the country, and from thenceforward they wear white muslin, as is done by Turkish females.

I had been so pressed to remain the night here, that it would have been an ill return for my host's kindness to refuse, so that I sat down with the rest to supper. Previous to the meal, a small plate of fried fish (stolen, it was admitted, from the Birket el Ibrahim,) was placed before us, of which all partook. Rakhee, or brandy distilled from dates, was then served from a rude image of a bird moulded in clay, the stream being made to issue from its mouth, and each of the guests drank from ten to twelve china coffee-cups of this strong spirit, before supper began. In

serving the Patriarch, the same reverence was shewn to him as had been done below. When the cup was given to him, or when it was taken away, when his pipe was presented, or when he wiped his mouth with a napkin after drinking, his hand was invariably kissed by the priests who attended him.

Our supper was composed of several good dishes, and a bright moon was the lamp by which we ate. Towards its close, a cannon was discharged to announce the execution of a Janissary, that mode of proclaiming their death being an honour reserved for their class, as beheading is for the nobility in England, while inferior persons, not belonging to this class, are here sent out of life without such a formality. One of the priests having unfeelingly exclaimed, "Ah! there is another child of the devil gone to his father's bosom," was followed by several others, saying, "Al humd ul Illah," or "Thanks be to God;" and all prayed rather for the destruction, and utter rooting out of the Turks, than for their conversion to a purer faith. In this the Patriarch did not actually join, nor did he, on the other hand, at all rebuke it. It led to a conversation of the most fanatic and blood-breathing kind, in which they seemed to pant only for an occasion to persecute their oppressors with more than tenfold return for injuries received.

From the library of the Patriarch, a sort of General History was then produced, describing in one volume the leading events of the world, from Adam down to the first taking of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans. This was written in the Arabic language, with the Syriac character, and called therefore, "Gurshoonee;" as the Arabic and Syriac are distinct languages, having each a distinct character, while in this dialect they are both mixed together. From this book, some horrid details were read of the cruelties practised on the Christians, and it was then asked, "What! if the occasion offers, shall we not revenge ourselves?" I answered, that the head of that religion himself had said to his followers, "Bless them that persecute you, pray for them that despitefully use you;" and, "if thine enemy smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other,

or if he take away thy cloak from thee, give unto him thy coat also." All of them knew these passages of Scripture well enough, but said they applied only to personal injuries, and not to those inflicted on the cause of their holy faith ; an interpretation which, however ingenious, served only to prove how pre-eminent are the feelings of our nature over doctrines and precepts intended to counteract them.

The remainder of our evening was passed in theological disputes, as bitter as they could well be, though between members of the same church, and on points held to be unimportant, merely appertaining to faith and doctrine, uniformity in which is considered far less essential than in ceremonial rites ; for all were considered by this party to be orthodox Christians, who made the cross and took the sacrament in the same manner with themselves, however much they might differ from them in other respects.



CHAPTER V.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF ORFAH—THE EDESSA OF THE GREEKS,
AND THE UR OF THE CHALDEES.

I ENJOYED a night of delicious rest, in a clean bed and clean linen, with the additional luxury of being undressed, and free from tormenting vermin; as we slept on the highest terrace of the house, in the open air, while the priests reposed below.

Our morning pipe was smoked beneath a fine pomegranate tree, about twenty feet in height, in the middle of the court. Its rich green glossy leaves, contrasted with the fine scarlet flowers of the fruit just budding from their stems, looked fresh and beautiful; and its boughs were visited by black starlings, of which there were a great many here, as familiar and nearly as numerous as the sparrows of the country.

During the remainder of the day, my leisure was employed in arranging the notes which I had made to guide my inquiries in this town; and, after this, in visiting those parts of it which I had not yet seen, and completing the examination of it; in the course of which, I met every where with civility and respect.

Orfah is conceived, by all the learned Jews and Mohammedans, as well as by the most eminent scholars among the Christians, to have been the Ur of the Chaldees, from whence Abraham went forth to dwell in Haran, previous to his being called from thence, by God, to go into Canaan, the land promised to himself, and to his seed for ever.* The Jews say, that this place is called in Scripture Ourcadin, that is, the Fire of Chaldea, out of which, say they, God brought Abraham; and, on this account, the Talmudists affirm that Abraham was here cast into the fire and was miraculously delivered.†

This capital of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Padan Aram and Aram Nahraim of the Hebrews,‡ the Mesopotamia of the Greeks,§ and the Paradise of the Poets,|| received, from its Macedonian conquerors, the name of Edessa; and an abundant fountain which the city enclosed, and called, in Greek, Callirrhoe, communicated this name to the city itself. In later times it was called Roha, or, with the article of the Arabs, Or-rhoa, and by abbreviation, Orha.¶

D'Anville thinks, that this last name may be derived from the Greek term signifying a fountain; or, according to another opinion, it may refer to the founder of this city, whose name is said to

* Genesis, c. xi. v. 3, and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 1, c. 6, s. 5.—“And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there.”

† Pococke, vol. i. p. 159.

‡ Genesis, c. 28, and Josephus.

§ From μέσος, medius; and ποταμός, fluvius.

|| Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

¶ Cellarius *Geographiæ Antiq.*, lib. 3, c. 16.

have been Orrhoi, now retained, with some little corruption, in Orfah, or Urfah.*

Pococke says, "This place seems to have retained its ancient name, as many others have done,—Edessa being the name given to it by the Greeks. However, the name of this city seems to have been changed in honour of the Kings of Syria, of the name of Antiochus, and to have been called Antiochia."† The famous fountain of Callirrhoe being here, distinguished this city from others by the name of "Antiochia ad Callirrhoen;" and there are medals which were struck with this name, though, if it had not been explained by Pliny, it would have been difficult to know what place was meant.‡

Niebuhr, however, observes, that the Turks still call the district here, El-Rohha; because a city of the same name, which had been for the most part ruined, was anciently the residence of the Pasha.§

For myself, I can confidently affirm that it is called Orfah by *all* the Turks, and by the greater part of the Koords and Arabs of the surrounding country; but Rohha by a *few* of the latter only, and these chiefly Christians. I could meet with none, however, among either, who were able to give a satisfactory reason for the retention of this last name,—all of them believing that Orfah was its original appellation in the time of Abraham's dwelling here.||

* *Compendium of Ancient Geography*, v. i. p. 426.

† Pococke, vol. i., part i., c. 17, p. 159, folio.

‡ "Arabia supradicta habet oppida Edessam, quæ quondam Antiochia dicebatur, Callirrhoen a fonte nominatam."—Plin. Nat. lib. 5, 21.

§ Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 332, 4to.

|| Mr. Gibbon erred in supposing Edessa to have been only twenty miles beyond the Euphrates, it being considerably more than that distance from the nearest part of the river in a straight line.—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

D'Anville says, that Edessa was placed in the lat. of 36°, and stood at the head of the river Scirtas; the latest authorities make its latitude about 37° 10' N.

This author adds, regarding its name:—"On lit dans Pline, (ed. in folio, tome i. p. 268, note 8,) parlant d'Edesse en Osroène, nunc vulgo creditur esse *Orpha*, et alio rursum nomine *Rhoa*: sed verius citra Chaborem amnem, cui Orpha imposita est, fuisse veteram Edessam putamus. Quoiq' il soit commun dans l'usage vulgaire d'appeller cette ville Orfa, cela n'empêche pas que son nom pur et sans altération ne

Edessa was thought, even by the early geographers, to be so ancient, that in the time of Isidore of Charax, Nimrod was named as its founder; and the traditions current among the people here, at the present day, ascribe the building of their castle to that "mighty hunter before the Lord."

Before the conquest of this city by the Romans, it was the capital of Osrhoene, an independent kingdom, which occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia, and whose inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians.* This capital, which had taken its name of Edessa under the empire of the Seleucides, from that of a considerable town in Macedonia, still retained it under its change of fortune, as a Roman colony, when it became, from its position, one of the barriers opposed to the Parthians, and to the Persians of the Sassanian dynasty.

It was about the time of Christ that it ceased to be subject to its own princes, as Abgarus is said to have written a letter to Jesus, declaring faith in him, and desiring his presence to cure him of a disease. This same Abgarus was the last King of Edessa, who was sent in chains to Rome, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, when the Roman power was firmly established beyond the Euphrates.†

In the time of Julian the Apostate, or A. D. 361, the sect of the Arians flourished at Edessa, where they committed great disorders, for which the whole property of their church was confiscated; the money being distributed among the soldiers; the lands added to the general domain; and this act of oppression aggravated by the most ungenerous irony.‡

soit *Roha*, que la denomination Grecque, Callir-rhoe, lui a donnée."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 12.

* "The polished citizens of Antioch called those of Edessa mixed barbarians. It was, however, some praise, that of the three dialects of the Syriac, the purest and most elegant (the Aramæan) was spoken at Edessa."—*Gibbon*, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

† *Gibbon*, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

‡ "I shew myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galileans. Their admirable

It is asserted, that Edessa was re-edified, A. D. 545, by Justinian, the great builder of churches to Saints in the East, and during his reign was called, after him, Justinopolis. It was probably too the Antoniopolis, a city of Mesopotamia, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, and so called from the assassination there of Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla. This son of the Emperor Severus—who killed his brother Geta in his mother's arms, married and lived publicly with his own mother, slaughtered some thousands at Alexandria, for jestingly calling him an Œdipus and his wife a Jocasta, and at last assumed the name and dress of Achilles, proclaiming himself the conqueror of provinces which he had never seen—was assassinated at Edessa, by Macrinus, A. D. 217, in the forty-third year of his age, and, on his body being sent to his wife Julia, she also stabbed herself on the spot.*

In the early ages of the Church, Edessa was famous for the possession of a certain image, thought to represent the genuine features of the Son of God, and held up as the Palladium of this honoured city. After a long imprisonment in a niche of the wall, where it had lain in oblivion for five hundred years, this image was released by a bishop, and presented to the devotion of the people. Its first exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of the Persian Chosroes Nushirivan; and it was soon revered, as a pledge of the Divine promise, that Edessa never should be taken by a foreign enemy. It had been exposed on the ramparts during the battle; and the final delivery of the city from its enemies was attributed to its influence; after which, the image itself was not only preserved with respect and gratitude, but hymns were even addressed to it in the full choir of the church.†

law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, when they are relieved, by my assistance, from the load of temporal possessions."—*Gibbon*, vol. iv. c. 23, p. 129.

* Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.

† *Gibbon*, vol. ix. c. 49, p. 119.—The fallen fragments of another celebrated image,

Toward the close of the fifth century, the heresy of the Nestorians was received in the church of Edessa, after it had been driven from Ephesus and Chalcedon.*

Although Edessa had for a considerable period resisted the Persian force, it at length became involved in the common ruin; and after being relied on as the chief protection of the city for three hundred years, the "Palladium" was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred Mussulmans, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edessa.†

It was in the reign of Heraclius, or about A. D. 637, that the Saracens, under the second Khalif Omar, completed the conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia, when the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor and Nushirivan, were levelled in the dust.‡

It again reverted to the Christians, however, some centuries afterwards, when Baldwin, one of the celebrated heroes of the first Crusade, founded there, in the year 1097, the first principality of the Franks, or Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years on the western border of Mesopotamia.§

the Colossus of Rhodes, were sold to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who is said to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the brass.—Vol. ix. c. 51, p. 425.

* Gibbon, vol. viii. c. 47, p. 339.

† The prudent Franciscan, Pagi, in his Criticism, refuses to determine, says Gibbon, whether the Image of Edessa now reposes at Rome or at Genoa; but its repose is inglorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fashionable.—Vol. ix. c. 49, p. 122.

In the mutinies under the reign of Maurice, when the camps, both of Europe and Asia, were agitated with frequent and furious seditions, the enraged soldiers of Edessa pursued with reproaches, with threats, with wounds, their trembling generals; they overturned the statues of the emperor, cast stones against this miraculous image of Christ, and either rejected the yoke of all civil and military laws, or substituted a dangerous model of voluntary subordination.—Vol. viii. c. 46, p. 205.

‡ Ibid. vol. ix. c. 51, p. 424. § Ibid. vol. xi. c. 58, p. 64.

It was during the existence of this principality, that the Counts of Edessa, from

It was then subjected to its present possessors, by the arms of Zenghi, the son of Ascansar, a valiant Turk, who had been so avowedly the favourite of his sovereign Malek Shah, as to have the sole privilege of standing on the right hand of his throne. Zenghi gave the first pledge of his valour against the Franks, in the defeat of Antioch. Thirty campaigns, in the service of the Khalif and the Sultan, established his military fame; and he was invested with the command of Mousul, as the only champion that could avenge the cause of the Prophet. The public hope was not disappointed: after a siege of twenty-five days, he stormed the city of Edessa, and recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Euphrates.*

This event is variously fixed in the years 1142—1144; and thirty years afterwards, Salah-el-din, who had first come out from Armenia,

whom the Courtenay family of France, and now of England, are descended, first arose; although a French knight of some opulence first founded the Castle of Courtenay, about fifty-six miles to the south of Paris. From the reign of Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, the Barons of Courtenay are conspicuous among the immediate vassals of the crown; and Joscelin, the grandson of Atho and a noble dame, is enrolled among the heroes of the first Crusade. He became attached to the standard of his cousin, Baldwin of Bruges, who was the second Count of Edessa; and after the departure of his cousin, Joscelin himself was invested with the county of Edessa, on both sides of the Euphrates. After a holy warfare of thirty years, in which he was alternately a conqueror and a captive, he died like a soldier, in a horse-litter, at the head of his troops; beholding, with his last glance, the flight of his Turkish invaders. His son and successor, of the same name, while enjoying the peaceful luxury of Turbessel, in Syria, neglected the defence of the Christian frontier beyond the Euphrates; and it was in his absence from it that Zenghi, the first of the Attabegs, besieged and stormed his capital, Edessa, and drove Courtenay himself to end his days in the prison of Aleppo. The Countess Dowager of Edessa retired to Jerusalem, with her two children: the daughter, Agnes, became the mother of a king; the son, Joscelin the Third, accepted the office of Seneschal, the first of the kingdom, and held his new estates in Palestine by the service of fifty knights. His name appears with honour in all the transactions of peace and war, but he finally vanishes in the fall of Jerusalem; and the name of Courtenay, in this branch of Edessa, was lost by the marriage of his two daughters with a French and a German baron.—*Gibbon*, vol. ix. c. 61.

* *Ibid.* vol. xi. c. 59, p. 122.

and to whom Nour-ed-din, the Sultan of Syria, had confided the government of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, rendered himself master of Edessa.*

The early travels of the Jewish Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, which were commenced in the year 1173, mention Edessa under the name of Dakia, which would seem to be a Syriac corruption of Antiochia, a name it is said once to have borne.† The whole of Mesopotamia is called by this traveller the Land of Sennaar, as if intended for the Shinar of the Scriptures.‡ Dakia, the ancient Chaln  , is spoken of by him as the commencement of this land, and is said, in his day, to have had many Jews there, with a synagogue, built by Esdras the scribe, on his return from Babylon. This is unquestionably the Orfah or Rahhah of the present day; and if any doubt remained on the subject, it would be set at rest by the fact of Benjamin's describing Hharran, the ancient residence of the Patriarch Abraham, as only two days' journey from thence.§

In the thirteenth century, during the invasion of western Asia by the Moguls or Tartars, from whom the Turks of Constantinople are descended, Edessa was sacked by them during three whole

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 14. 4to. Paris, 1779.

These scattered notices respecting Edessa, or Orfah, having been compiled with some care, are now given in a connected and chronological order, for the purpose of filling up the interval between its scriptural and its present condition, by the intermediate links of its history in the middle ages: especially as Orfah, or Edessa, is one of the cities of the East, of which less appears to be popularly known by readers of the present day, than any other that can be named. We shall soon pass, however, from research to description.

† Independamment du nom d'Edesse, cette ville aurait pris sous les Seleucides le nom d'Antioche. (Polybe, lib. 5.) Quoique, selon les auteurs tr  s graves, comme on verra par la suite, la m  me denomination soit appliqu  e    Nisibis, plus recul  e en Mesopotamie, le temoignage de Pline (lib. 5, c. 24) n'est point   quivoque en faveur d'Edesse. 'Edessa,' dit-il, 'qu   quondam Antiochia vocabatur, Callirrhoen    fonte nominatam.'—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 12.

‡ This land, however, was south of Nineveh, and not far from Babylon, as may be seen in Genesis, c. x. v. 10—11.

§ Benjamin de Tudele, in Bergeron's Collection.

days; and two centuries afterwards, suffered equally from the armies of Timur Beg, or Tamerlane.*

The changes which it has undergone since that period are not easily to be traced. The earliest notice that I have met with of Edessa, in comparatively modern works, is that contained in the Travels of De Haiton. It is there called Rohais, and is said to be a city of the kingdom of Abgar, to whom was sent the image of Veronica, then at Rome.† This city is named, with the Euphrates, as the most western boundary of Mesopotamia, and close to Harran, the country from whence Abraham was called.‡ It is, therefore, undoubtedly the Rahhah of the Arabs, and the Orfah of its present governors, the Turks.

In the year 1644, it was passed through by Tavernier, on his way from Aleppo to Ispahan. He says of it, "Orfah is the capital city of Mesopotamia, built, as they say, in the place where Abraham lived, and where stood the ancient Edessa, where the people of the country report that King Abgarus held his court. There are still to be seen the ruins of a castle, from whence, they add, that the same king sent to Christ for his picture."§

In the summer of 1738, our own celebrated traveller, Pococke, visited it; and, at that period, it seems to have arisen from a ruined state to one of opulence—if the difference be not rather in the details of the narrators than in the state of the place itself. Tavernier had said, "The walls of the city are of freestone, with battlements and towers, but within, the houses are small, ill-built, and ruinous; and there are several void spaces in the city, which makes Orfah to look rather like a desert than a metropolis."|| Pococke, however,

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 14.

† Of the pictures chiefly venerated by the early Christians, the most ambitious aspired to a fraternal relation with the Image of Edessa; and such is the Veronica of Spain, or Rome, or Jerusalem.—*Gibbon*, vol. ix. c. 49, p. 120.

‡ From Bergeron's Collection.

§ Travels of Tavernier. London, 1678, folio, p. 68.

|| Tavernier, p. 68.

describes it as having a great trade in his time, and being very flourishing; and, on his visit to the castle, he says, "From hence, there is a very delightful prospect of the city, the water, the gardens, and the plain to the north, which make it, in every respect, a very charming place."*

In the spring of 1766, the Danish traveller, Niebuhr, passed through this town, on his way from Bagdad to Aleppo, and it was then in an equally flourishing state, though his stay there was too short to admit of his giving any minute details of its condition.†

Orfah is seated on the eastern side of a hill, at the commencement of a plain; so that while its western extremity stands on elevated ground, its eastern is on a lower level; and, with very trifling variations, the whole of the town may be said to be nearly flat. The wall by which it is surrounded encloses a circuit of from three to four miles, and appears to trace out, in its course, an irregular triangle; the west side of which runs nearly north and south; the southern side, east-south-east and west-north-west; and the third, or longest side, on the north-east, connecting the two others by a line of north-west and south-east. The length of the shortest of these sides is a mile, and the space within is well filled; there being few open places in the town, and where trees are seen, they are generally in streets or courts, or before coffee-houses or places of public resort.

The town is bounded on the west, by modern burying-grounds, gardens, hills, and vales; on the north, by rising land; on the east, by a fertile plain, terminating at the foot of a bare ridge of hills; on the north-east, by this same plain, extending to an horizon like the sea, where it runs into the sandy desert; and on the south-west, by a high hill, nearly overlooking the town, and crowned with the walls of a ruined castle. The houses are all built of stone, and are of as good masonry, and as highly ornamented, as those of Aleppo.

* Pococke, vol. ii. part 1, c. 17, p. 160.

† The outline ground-plan which he has given of the city seems to be tolerably accurate.—Vol. ii. p. 330. 4to.

They have mostly a small door of entrance from the street, with an open court, and divans, in recesses below ; while the upper story is laid out in rooms of reception, more expensively furnished. Above this is the terrace, on which, in many instances, are raised central benches, railed around, so as to form sofas, or beds, as occasion may require ; and it is here that the morning pipe is enjoyed, the evening meal taken, and the whole of the night passed, in summer, by the inhabitants. The Harem, or the wives and children of the family,—which that word strictly means, without reference to any number of either,—live here, as much apart from the males as throughout the rest of Turkey, generally occupying a small suite of rooms by themselves, at the other end of the court, into which there is no communication but by passing across that court, and thus being publicly seen by all the inmates of the dwelling.

The streets are narrow, but having a paved causeway on each side, with a central channel for water, and, being more or less on a sloping ground, they are generally clean. On the outer doors of many of the dwellings here, I had observed, as at Beer and Aleppo, the inscription of ماش الله (Mash Allah,) with a date beneath, which I now learned was a privilege granted to pilgrims only. The exclamation itself is one generally used in common discourse, to express wonder and admiration, and has here, no doubt, the same application. The date attached is that of the year of the Hejira in which the pilgrimage of the dweller was performed. In commenting on this practice, they never fail to compare it with what they consider the absurd usage of the Christians, who mark their arms and bodies with various figures of saints and angels, to commemorate a similar event. “Ours,” say they, “is a confession to all who pass our dwelling of the pious work we have performed, and is never concealed even from the eye of the stranger, since we are not ashamed of the precepts of our Prophet. The emblems of the Christian, on the contrary, are not to be seen but when his body is uncovered, and then it is but to shew how men can deface the

beauty of the human form, which came in the perfection of excellence from the hand of its Maker."

The bazārs are numerous and well supplied, and are separated, as usual, into departments, each appropriated to the manufacture and sale of particular commodities. The shoe bazār is small, but peculiarly neat and clean, being wider than the others, and roofed over with a fine arched covering of masonry, whitewashed within, and admitting the light and air from without through grated windows at the top. Most of the other bazārs are also covered, and are always fresh, cool, and sheltered both from rain and sunshine. That in which muslins, cottons, and other piece-goods are sold, is equal to any of the bazārs either at Smyrna, Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo. It is from twenty to twenty-five feet wide, including the benches of the shops on each side, which are all fitted up as divans, with carpets and cushions. It is, at least, from thirty to forty feet high, and covered in throughout its whole length by a range of fine domes, in succession, admitting light and air by a sort of lantern-windows in the roof.

This bazār is amply furnished with the manufactures of India, Persia, and Asiatic Turkey, and with some few Cashmeer shawls and Angora shalloons; but English articles, which are held in the highest estimation, are extremely rare. I repeatedly heard, indeed, expressions of wonder, as well as regret, from dealers in this bazār itself, at the failure of the usual importations of British goods from Aleppo. Formerly, it appears, there were many English merchants established there, who furnished regular supplies of cloths, shalloons, printed cottons, arms, hardware, and glass. At this moment, there is not one of these establishments existing; and the few bales of cloth, which are to be had from the remaining Frank dealers of Aleppo, are complained of, as being of a much worse quality, and higher price, than those they had been accustomed to receive. If the English Factory at Aleppo should ever again recover from its decline, there is little doubt but that its trade would

be soon as extensive as ever, since the superiority of British goods, of every description, seems to have been better learnt by privation of them, than by their actual use.

The khans, or caravanserais, are numerous, and some few excellent. The Khan Khoolah-Oghlee, on the skirts of the town, in which the merchandize of our caravan was lodged, could accommodate, in its central court, a hundred camels, with their lading; in the stables around it, as many horses, mules, and asses; and, in the chambers above, nearly two hundred persons. At the head of it, is a good reservoir of water, replenished by a constant running stream, and overhung by a thick-foliaged tree, beneath which the passengers enjoy the pleasures of water, shade, and repose. The Khan-el-Goomrook, in which we were lodged in the town, has already been described. The chambers below and above could not be less than a hundred, many of them large enough to admit eight or ten persons to sit at a time, most of them furnished with mats, carpets, and cushions, and all forming convenient apartments for the stranger, during the period of his sojourning here. This khan communicates, by one of its gates, with the great domed bazār already described, and by another gate with the street. Over this last, is a mosque, expressly for the accommodation of the devout traveller, since it is never visited but by those within the khan, the passage to it being by flights of steps, ascending upward from its inner court. The stranger is thus furnished with every convenience he can need, without the necessity of quitting the walls of his abode; as he has stabling, water, lodgings, and food, close at hand, to be brought to him prepared in any way he may desire; with a house of prayer, in which to offer up his devotions to his Creator.

The mosques that are crowned with minarets, and seen from without, amount, in number, to about fifteen. That of Ibrahim el Khaleel has already been described: it is the most beautiful in its exterior, though not the largest; and it is also held in the highest reverence and esteem, from its lake teeming with the fish therein preserved in honour of that Patriarch.

The people here believe, that, even if these fish were taken, no process of cooking would make any impression on their bodies, or render them at all fit for food. On my first hearing this, I considered it only as one of the superstitions of the very lowest class, ingeniously imposed upon them, perhaps, to prevent their disturbing a source of supply to the tables of the higher orders of society; but in a party on the banks of the stream itself, composed of some of the most sensible, respectable, and liberal-minded men in the place, I heard this opinion gravely re-echoed from voice to voice, as one of the incontrovertible proofs of the care which the venerable Patriarch took of his native city, and of the approbation with which he looked down on their labours, to embellish, with spreading trees and running waters, the temples which they had reared there to his covenanted God.

I could have assured them, that, only on the preceding evening, I had eaten of some of these fish, which had been stolen from the lake by Christians, who thought it less criminal to commit a theft than to sup without some of those delicate morsels, to relish the arrack, of which they drank so copiously before their supper began. Such a disclosure, however, would have brought them into trouble, and their religion, perhaps, into persecution—two evils, certainly not worth incurring, for the sake of undeceiving men in an error of so harmless a tendency.

The largest of the mosques at Orfah has a square steeple, and this form is also repeated in one of the smaller ones; at the top of which are open double windows in each face, as in the square towers of the Haurān; the division being here made by Corinthian columns, which would seem to mark it as an early Christian work. The general form, however, of the minaret, is circular, with a gallery of open stone work near the top, and the summit is crowned by a pointed cone, surmounted by the crescent of the faith. On many of these, a large bird builds its nest of reeds and bushes, to the size of the head of a small tree, and often as large as the whole diameter of the minaret itself. It is said to be a bird of passage, coming

here in spring to breed its young, and remaining during the summer; when, in winter, it goes away into a southern and warmer clime, either into the Deserts of Arabia, or to some region still more remote. It is called, by the people, "Hadjee Lug lug;" the former, from its making a yearly pilgrimage and building chiefly on mosques; and the latter, from the sound made by its broad and heavy wings when flying. I had seen the bird itself only at a distance, and from thence judged it to be a very large kind of stork; not, however, so large as the immense bird called the Adjutant, which makes similar periodical visits to the banks of the Ganges, and the lakes of Bengal.

The baths of Orfah, of which there are four or five, are large, and some are reported to be extremely good. The one into which I went, being the nearest to our khan, was spacious, but dirty and badly attended. It is true, that it was in the afternoon, when many of the male attendants were gone; as it is the custom in all the large towns for the baths to be open from daybreak until El Assr for the men, and from that time till sunset for the women. On our leaving it, the female attendants were already assembling in the outer room, preparing the beds and cushions; and at the porch without, were a large party of ladies chattering aloud, and expressing their impatience for our removal, that they might be admitted.

The manufactories of the town are confined chiefly to articles of the first necessity, among which cotton and woollen cloths have the pre-eminence in extent of consumption. The first of these are about the quality of coarse English dowlas, and are used in their original state for the shirts and drawers of men, for the inner garments of women, and for many domestic purposes. When printed, they are convertible to more various uses, as they are then made into gowns, or outer robes, for females, shawls for the head, and coverings for beds and sofas; and by being printed of a peculiar pattern, they are used for the fronts of the large cushions that surround a Turkish divan.

The process of printing their cottons is very slow and tedious,

and renders the cloth in that state nearly double the price that it bears when white. A number of men and boys were arranged along one of the upper galleries of the Goomrook-Khan, seated on the ground, and having before them low tables, perhaps a foot in height. Beside each person was a kettle, containing the ink, or dye, of the colour required. On his left hand was bound a block of wood, of the size and shape of a clothes-brush, and the under face of this was covered with the pattern to be stamped, like the printing blocks of the Chinese. This, being dipped in the ink, was placed on the cloth, the left hand closed into a fist resting above it, and by a blow on it with the fist of the right hand, the impression was made. As this was repeated for every colour, and every new form, and not more than from four to six square inches were printed at a blow, the patterns were, of course, imperfectly executed, and the whole process very slowly performed.

While examining this manufactory, I represented myself as a Muggrebin, or Barbary merchant, who had been in Europe, and described to them, as well as I could, the improved methods used among us for all these operations. Their admiration was very powerfully excited, and the director of the establishment made me an offer of a very handsome remuneration, if I would remain a few weeks at Orfah, to superintend such improvements as the mechanics of the town might make, under my direction. I would have gladly accepted it, had I been free from other engagements; as there is no way, perhaps, in which men can be more usefully employed, than in advancing the domestic arts, in improving the labours, and in increasing the comforts of their fellow-creatures, of whatever country, climate, or religion they may be. Missionaries dispersed into different quarters of the globe for this purpose, would do more in a few years towards civilizing and uniting the discordant parts of it, than all the merely religious societies have done since their first establishment.

The woollen cloths made here are of a still coarser kind than the cotton, and about equal to that used in England for sailors' winter jackets. It is mostly brown, from the original colour of the wool,

though sometimes it is dyed with indigo. It is used only for the commonest purposes.

A few carpets are made, of a very good quality ; some hair-cloth, for sacks and bags ; and silk bands and tapes, of an excellent kind. Every description of sadlery and smith's work is well executed ; and the labours of the mason and the carpenter are equal to those of the largest Turkish cities.

The cook-shops and coffee-houses are abundant, in proportion to the size of the town. In the former are prepared, mutton, and sausages without skins, called kabaub ; these last are formed of meat cut into small pieces, which are first strung on a thread, and then wound round an iron skewer, and roasted at the fire. Another kind of food, having a round ball of paste without, and mixed ingredients within, is called koobbé ; besides which, are other little *pâtés* of minced meat. These are to be had at every moment ; and at half an hour's notice, a meal may be prepared, of any dishes one might desire, and either eaten in the cook-shop, or at a coffee-house, a khan, or a private dwelling.

Among other vegetables abounding here, is a fine large lettuce of which people eat at all hours of the day, without salt, or any other accompaniment ; and leeks, or onions, in their raw state, are generally served up with meat.

In the coffee-houses, nargeels, an instrument for smoking through water, may be had, though the long Turkish pipe is in more general use ; this last is always furnished by the smoker, which the nargeel is not, perhaps from the ease of carrying the former, and the inconvenience of bearing about the latter, from place to place. During all the summer, there is also an abundant supply of solid ice, brought down from the summits of Mount Taurus, in a journey of a day and night. About an English pound of this is sold at present for a para or a farthing, and is a cheap and healthy refreshment, accessible to the poorest of the people. Iced milks, and sherbets of honey, cinnamon water, and perfumes, are also made for the rich, and furnish a great luxury during the heat of the day. I sought diligently in

the ice-shops for some fragment of stone, which might have been brought down with the snow, for the sake of ascertaining of what material the range of Taurus is composed, but could obtain only some very small pieces, which were all of lime.

The fruits of Orfah are chiefly the white mulberry, the quince, the apricot, the fig, the pistachio nut, the grape, and the pomegranate; the three first of these were now in perfection, and the latter were just beginning to form. There are neither lemons, oranges, nor melons to be seen.

In the streets are often trees, beneath the shade of which the inhabitants repose—to take fruit or ice, or a pipe and coffee. Here they sing to the stream that runs by, accompanied sometimes by a Turkish guitar; or play at chess or some other game, and pass away their hours in great apparent happiness.

The population of Orfah may be estimated at fifty thousand inhabitants, among whom are about two thousand Christians, and five hundred Jews; the rest being all Mohammedans.

The Christians are chiefly Armenians and Syrians, each of whom have a separate church, and live in a separate quarter; and are so distinct, that, besides their different rites, their language, and the very character in which it is written, are totally unlike each other. The Armenian and Syriac tongues are confined, however, to their domestic circles and their religious duties; for in their intercourse with strangers, Turkish is the language chiefly used by the former, and Arabic the tongue spoken by the latter. Both the Christians and the Jews are merchants and traders; the one moving more frequently from place to place with caravans, and the other remaining stationary in the bazārs. I could not learn with certainty whether the Jews have a synagogue here or not; but should think, from their number, that they possessed some place of worship apart from their dwellings.

The tradition of the Image of Edessa, and the story of Abgarus, seem to be almost forgotten, both by the Christians and Jews; though the well, in which was placed the letter of Abgarus addressed to Christ, is still pointed out.

Among the Moslems, the men dress more like the people of Damascus than of any other town ; the large overhanging tarboosh is universally worn, and the shawls are generally large, of bright and lively colours, and fringed and tasselled at the edges and corners. The "coat of many colours," with the reversed pyramid on its back and shoulders, is also worn here, and the whole of the dress is of corresponding gaiety. The only marked peculiarity which I noticed was, that the sleeves of the shirt, which in other places are usually cut round even at the wrist, have here one side cut away to a point reaching long enough to touch the ground. While walking, or using the arms in any way, these points are brought to meet, and are tied together behind the neck, by which means they keep up the loose outer sleeves over the arm. When sitting on the divan, however, they are loosened, and are then often used as a towel, or a handkerchief, to wipe the mouth and hands ; though it is still the fashion here, as elsewhere, to carry an embroidered towel for that purpose, hanging from the sash, or girdle, behind. The women dress with white outer robes, and are veiled by a black stiff gauze, which projects several inches from the face, and gives them more liberty of air and sight than is enjoyed by those who wear the Constantinopolitan costume.

All classes of people resident at Orfah are extremely subject to eruptions in the face, like those which are common at Aleppo, but in a much more extensive degree. Among the inhabitants of this place, I did not see one in five exempt from it ; while at Aleppo, not more than half the population, perhaps, have been affected by it. Here, too, the marks left by the eruptions were more numerous and deforming, sometimes covering the whole face, often preventing the growth of the beard in particular spots, and otherwise detracting much from the beauty of the people, who are, in all other respects, a well-made and handsome race. At Aleppo, this eruption, or the worm which occasions it, is thought to be engendered by the water, and here it is conceived to be done by the air ; both, probably, vague means of accounting for what is but

imperfectly examined into, or known. At Orfah, other causes may contribute to it:—such as the quantity of ice consumed by all classes, from the lowest to the highest; the abundance of raw lettuces eaten at all times and seasons, without bread, salt, or other ingredient; the equal abuse of mulberries, eaten often in an unripe state; and the quality of the water of the Lake of Abraham, filled as it is by so many thousands of fish, which must render it less wholesome: but which of these causes may contribute most to the evil, it is not easy to pronounce.

The government of Orfah is under the Pasha of Diarbekr, who pays an occasional visit to it, with his troops, and in his absence deposes a Motesëllem, or Governor, with a few personal guards. As at Aleppo, the great mass of the people are Janissaries and Shereefs, who predominate alternately, but who were, at this moment, both in tranquil subjection to the reigning governor—a man personally respected and feared by all.

The language of Orfah is mostly Turkish. In the bazârs scarcely any other tongue is understood; but Hebrew, Armenian, Syriac, Koordish, Arabic, and Persian, are all spoken by their respective classes of people. The native inhabitants, as far as I had an opportunity of seeing their manners, in their familiar intercourse among themselves, are well-bred, complimentary, yet perfectly at ease in the exercise of their politeness, and tolerant to strangers and men of different faiths.

JUNE 7th.—After taking our morning meal, in a party of about thirty persons, at the house of a rich merchant, I embraced an opportunity, while they were discussing some affairs of business, to steal away from their society, and make a visit to the castle, as much for the purpose of enjoying from thence a more extensive view of the town, as of seeing the ruins of that edifice itself.

The castle is seated on the summit of a long narrow hill of rock, on the south-west of the town, near the Birket Ibrahim el

Khaleel, and the Ain el Zilkah.* The ascent to it, on the north-east, is by a very steep and winding path, scarped in some places into steps, in the side of the rock. The entrance is by an arched gateway, and a paved passage; but the whole of the interior presents only a scene of confused ruins.

The enclosed part of this hill is nearly a quarter of a mile long, though not more than one hundred yards broad. It is defended on the south and west by a ditch, in many parts full fifty feet deep, and about twenty wide, hewn down out of the solid rock, and presenting a work of great labour. On the other quarters, it is secure by the steepness of its ascent. The wall, which rises in some places from the side of the rock below, so as to form a casing to it, has every appearance of being Saracenic, from the style of its masonry and square towers. The rustic work is seen in some parts of it, but of that inferior kind which might have been executed in any age, except the present very degenerate one as to architecture, among the Turks.

The interior, which is now occupied by a few poor families only, presents a scene of the most complete desolation. There are two fine Corinthian columns with their capitals still erect, and these are seen at a great distance from every point of view. The people here called them the pillars of the gate of Nimrod's Palace, for which one may easily forgive them.† They are evidently, however, the portion of some considerable Roman edifice, but whether of a

* This is most probably the Scirtos of the ancients, though it hardly corresponds to the description of this stream, by D'Anville. In speaking of the sieges which Edessa had sustained, he says, "Elle est exposée à un autre fleau que ceux de fer et de feu, qui est d'être submergée par un petit fleuve, qui, ayant reçu des écoulemens de vingt-cinq torrens, comme le rapporte M. Assemani, se répand dans cette ville. Il est appelé Daisân, en usant d'une terme de la langue Syriaque, qui répond au terme Grec, Skirtos; en Latin, Saltator, ou Sauteur."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphr. et le Tigre*, p. 11.

† Pococke says, there is a tradition, that the throne of Nimrod stood on these pillars. It is certain, however, that Tamerlane erected some trophies on them.—*Descr. of the East*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 160, folio.

temple, or of some other building, there are not now sufficient remains left to decide. These columns are without pedestals, are executed in good taste, and of a proportion in height that pleases the eye, though they are upwards of six feet in diameter. A defect in their construction is, that their shafts are composed of many pieces, each perhaps thirty in number, like so many millstones heaped one on another; and from each of these, are left little projecting knobs of the stone, as in the Ionic circus and the Corinthian colonnade at Jerash. The proportions, however, being chaste, the size large, the shafts standing without pedestals, and the capitals of good workmanship, there are, upon the whole, stronger marks of pure taste, than there are peculiarities of a defective nature to be seen in them. They stand from twenty to thirty feet distant from each other, and had probably a column or columns between them, belonging to a portico of which they formed a part. Behind them, some of the masonry of the lower part of the edifice to which they belonged is seen; this is smooth and good, and is of the kind generally used in temples, rather than that found in buildings of state or palaces.

Not far from this, I noticed a portion of a ruined building, with many small square and large circular windows in its walls, which, in the general style of its construction, resembled many of the ruined Christian churches in the Haurān, and was very probably itself an edifice of that kind, but of a still later age.

All the rest of the ruins are Mohammedan, the most perfect among them being a mosque, with its oratory, and niche of prayer in the southern wall, and its windows looking out on the deep excavated ditch which surrounds the castle.

On the north-east, this fortress completely commanded the town, and before the use of artillery was known, might be considered to be impregnable. At present, however, even if in its original state of repair, it would be of no defensive strength, as it is itself commanded by a higher hill on the south and south-west.

In the cliffs and sloping sides of this hill are either the ancient burying-places of the people of "Ur of the Chaldees," from among

whom Abraham was called, or the Necropolis of the Romans, when this was one of the settlements of their widely extended Empire. Those having their fronts in the perpendicular cliff, are mostly entered by oblong square door-ways, as the sepulchres of Thebes, at Gournou on the Nile; but some few of them are arched, and one particularly has a large central arch, with two smaller side ones, like the usual form of Roman gateways. Those in the side of the hill below are descended to by sloping passages, like the tombs at Oom Kais or Gamala, in the Decapolis; and others at Tartoose and Latikeea, on the Syrian coast. The whole of these grottoes may amount to two hundred in number, besides those noted to the west of the town, on the morning of our entering it.

The existence of the Roman ruins within, and of the tombs without, furnish great reasons to believe that the site of the castle itself was of Roman choice, unless it be carried back to the Chaldean age. The ditch, to the south of it, hollowed down to the depth of fifty feet out of the solid rock, is a work worthy of either, and one which, however ancient, would be likely to undergo very little alteration on a change of masters. With the castle itself, it would not be so. The original rock on which it was first founded still remains; but, except the columns and masonry within its enclosure, as already described—and, perhaps, some few fragments of work near the bottom of the wall, which may be Roman—the whole of the present structure is decidedly Mohammedan. Here, as in many other instances, the original work seems to have been almost entirely destroyed before the place was completely conquered; but the same advantageous site was again built on, to secure the position thus gained.

The view of the city from the walls of the castle, spread out, as it were, at the observer's feet, is extensively commanding, and exceedingly beautiful. The minarets of the mosques, the tall cypresses, the domes, the courts of the khans, all have an air of grandeur from hence, which they do not possess on a nearer view;

while the lake of Ain el Zilkah the fountain of Callirrhoe, and the canal of Abraham, seen amid the bowers that surround them, close to the foot of the rock, with the Corinthian columns and ruined walls and arches above, add, to the general beauty of the scene, a number of objects, all equally classic and picturesque. The town looks, from hence, to be larger than Aleppo can be made to appear from any one point of view; and is, I should conceive, in truth, nearly two-thirds of its size. In general character, it bears a nearer resemblance to Damascus, as seen from the heights of Salheah, than to any other eastern town that I remember: like it, the site appears from hence to be nearly a level plain, with slight elevations and depressions, and, on the south-east, it has a long range of trees and gardens, extending for nearly two miles in length, with but little wood in any other direction.

To the south-south-east from the castle, is a road leading across a plain, uninterrupted but by a few mounds of earth, until it terminates in the barren desert, where the horizon is as level as that of the open sea. It is in this direction that Haran, the ancient residence of Abraham and Laban with their families, is pointed out, at a distance of only eight hours from this place, the Ur of the Chaldees, from whence the Patriarch is represented to have journeyed thither.* The site is still preserved by a town of the same name; but, from its being in the possession of Arabs, similar to those of Palmyra, it is difficult to visit it except in the company of some people of the place. A ruined town and wall are spoken of, with the remains of an old castle; but these are said to be much smaller than those at Orfah, by those who have been there, nor are there columns or arches of any kind, according to the same report.

This Haran of the earlier Scriptures† is called Charran in the

* The Theodosian Tables place Charræ at a distance of twenty-six miles from Edessa, which is just eight hours' journey on foot.

† And they went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there.—Genesis, c. xi. v. 31.

later ones,* and, afterwards, Charræ, Carræ, and Carras, by the Romans.† In the first, it is celebrated as the scene of the interesting histories of Isaac and Rebekah's interview at the well, and of Jacob's serving for Leah and Rachel; events, which are as characteristic of the manners of the Bedouin Arabs of the present day, as they were of the people of that early age. Among the last, it is chiefly celebrated as the scene of the defeat and death of Marcus Licinius Crassus, who formed the first triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar. After crossing the Euphrates in his march against the Parthians, he was met in the plain of Carræ by the Parthian general Surena, by whom the Roman army was defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand killed, ten thousand taken prisoners, and the death of Crassus, their leader.‡

This city must have been in a state of ruin at a very early period; for, when the Rabbi Benjamin travelled through Mesopotamia, it seemed to be quite desolate.§ There did not then remain a single edifice standing in the place where Abraham, our father, (says the pious Jew,) had his dwelling. The Ismaelites, or Bedouins, however, came there often to pray, as they do now to shelter their flocks.||

On descending from the castle, and passing by the lake of Ain el Zilkah, I was shewn a small white worm, about six inches in length, and the size of whipcord, in girth, which is used here

* The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charan.—Acts, vii. 2.

† Cellarius Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 14. Mesopotamia. Genesis, c. xxiv. and c. xxix. and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 16—19.

‡ Plutarch's Lives, l. iii. c. 11. Lucan, l. i. v. 105. Pliny, l. v. c. 14.

§ The following is a singular account given of the sort of masonry observed in constructing the buildings of Carrhæ, or Haran, which, if correct, might account for their early and total decay:—"At Carrhæ, a city of Arabia, all the walls thereof, as also the houses of the inhabitants, are reared and built of salt stones, and the same are laid of mason's work, and the joints closed and soldered by no other mortar than plain water."—*Pliny Nat. Hist.* b. xxxi. c. 7.

|| Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele—Bergeron's Collection.

successfully as a leech, and found in great numbers in these waters. It attached itself by one end only to any substance on which it was placed ; but when in motion, no difference could be perceived between that particular end and the other.

Our afternoon was passed at another Mohammedan house, in a large party, until sunset, as it is the fashion among the higher ranks here to sup early, soon after El Assr, or about four o'clock, in order to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, who cannot enjoy that meal until *after* Muggrib, or dark, when their labours of the day are over ; so different are their notions of fashion, as to hours, from those which prevail in Europe.

It was cool and agreeable when we reached the outer khan, where we had hitherto slept ; and after prayers, in which all the Moslems joined in couples, under the direction of an Imaum, or leader, our evening was closed with the same festive gaiety as that which marked the preceding ones of our stay here.



CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER DETENTION AT ORFAH: INTERIOR OF THE CITY,
GARDENS, AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

JUNE 8.—The business of the caravan being closed, and all the purchases and sales, which had occasioned our detention here, effected, we were preparing for our departure to-night, when information was brought us, by some people who had themselves been robbed on the road, that the Beni-Saood, or Wahābees, had made an incursion to the northward, and were now encamped, in considerable numbers, by the way.

These predatory Arabs were represented to be, in their persons, dress, manner of living, and religious tenets, every thing that was hideous, frightful, and savage; their extraordinary capacity of going, like their camels, two or three days without food or drink,

struck me, however, as the most surprising ; but when I expressed my doubts on this head, it was confirmed by the united voices of all the assembly.* In war, they are said to mount two on a camel, and to use, alternately, muskets, swords, and spears ; but the chiefs, the look-outs, and the couriers, are mounted singly, and perform journeys of a hundred miles without once alighting. A story is told of one of these couriers having gone from the neighbourhood of Aleppo all the way to Bagdad, in five days, upon the same animal, without once dismounting, but merely giving his beast a moment to snatch a few dry herbs by the way, and supporting himself by a little dough of flour and butter, with the small quantity of water contained in a lamb's skin, hung from the camel's side.

Many of the tribes of the Great Desert, who have embraced the religion of the Wahābees, are said to be strangers even to the use of bread. It is affirmed, that they subsist entirely on dried dates and the milk of their camels, with the flesh of such of these animals as die of sickness or old age. These, it is said, they often eat in a raw state ; and it is agreed, on all hands, that they have neither sheep, goats, nor other cattle, except their camels : their deserts furnishing neither water nor other sustenance for them.*

* The intelligent author of the "Description du Pachalik de Bagdad," which contains the most recent and authentic account of this powerful sect, uniting, in his time, nearly all the tribes of the Great Desert, in speaking of the Wahābees, says :—" Cette horde, qui dans ses commencemens n'étoit qu'un ramas de misérables familles, n'a cessé de prendre des accroissemens rapides, par l'adjonction successive de différentes tribus nomades disséminées dans les vastes déserts de l'Arabie ; de manière que toute cette grande région, les domaines de l'Imam de Mascate, les côtes du Golfe Persique, et les îles de Bahrein, sont aujourd'hui soumises à sa domination. Il ne lui manque plus que de pousser ses excursions en Mésopotamie, pour répandre l'épouvante jusqu'aux portes de Constantinople. Le chef de cette nouvelle puissance jouit d'une autorité sans bornes : ses sujets lui vouent une obéissance aveugle, et un mot de sa part suffit pour faire marcher dans le besoin des milliers de combattans, habitués à verser le sang, avides de dépouilles, qui comptent pour rien les dangers et la mort, et croient mériter la palme du martyre en expirant les armes à la main pour la cause de leur doctrine." p. 40, 41.

† In a separate "Notice sur les Wahabis," attached to the Memoir of Mons.

Notwithstanding the permanent state of want in which these people live, being destitute of what, by others, are considered the bare necessities of life, they marry and multiply exceedingly; and their incursions upon the territories of others are chiefly in search of new pastures for their flocks, and food for their attendants. During the winter, they retire into the depths of their own deserts, where the few shrubs that exist are then found, and where water is occasionally to be met with. At the commencement of summer, when the violent heats burn up every blade of verdure, and exhaust the sources of their wells, they disperse themselves over the edge of the cultivated country, scouring the eastern borders of Syria, between Palmyra and Damascus, and the country east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. They come up here also, upon the southern edge of Mesopotamia, where they encamp in the spring, to the terror of all caravans passing this way, as, if their force be sufficiently strong, they never fail to plunder them.*

Rousseau, the following description of these singular people, is a corroboration of the general accuracy of the representations here made:—"Au reste, d'une complexion saine et robuste, ils sont accoutumés dès l'enfance aux travaux d'une vie toujours active; l'air pur qu'ils respirent, la chaleur du climat, la privation de toute espèce de superfluités sont en eux les principes d'une santé vigoureuse et à l'épreuve des fatigues: graves, phlegmatiques, fanatiques et grossiers, leur orgueil est autant dans leurs procédés que dans leurs sentimens; inviolablement attachés aux usages de leur pays, ils condamnent et méprisent ceux des autres peuples, et rejettent dédaigneusement tout ce qui est au dessus de la sphère de leurs connoissances. La force de leur tempérament et leur sobriété singulière, se font remarquer surtout dans les expéditions qu'ils entreprennent; ils n'emportent alors avec eux que deux outres pleines, l'une d'eau, l'autre de farine, qu'ils chargent sur leurs dromadaires: quand ils sont pressés par la faim, ils délayent un peu de cette farine dans une écuelle d'eau et l'avalent sans aucune autre préparation; souvent aussi quand l'eau leur manque, ils se désaltèrent avec l'urine de leurs montures. Accoutumés comme ils le sont à toute espèce de privations, ils peuvent résister à la faim et à la soif pendant des jours entiers."—*Notice sur les Wahabis*, p. 149, 150.

* "Quant à leurs qualités militaires, on doit en prendre l'idée dans le fanatisme même qui les inspire. Ils affrontent avec un courage incroyable les dangers et la mort, et rien ne sauroit ralentir leur fougueuse intrépidité, parce qu'ils attaquent leurs ennemis dans l'espoir de recevoir, en mourant les armes à la main, la palme du martyre."—*Notice sur les Wahabis*, p. 150.

They do not, however, destroy the lives of their captives, except when resistance is made, or blood shed on their side, when they are desperate in their revenge. They suffer to pass free all commodities that are useless to them, such as paper, indigo, unworked metals, (excepting only gold or silver,) and all heavy wares not worth the labour of removal. It is related of one of these Wahābees, engaged in the plunder of a caravan, that on being asked what were the things contained in some small barrels, (which were full of cochineal,) he replied, they were the seeds of coffee, which is forbidden among the Wahābees, and therefore could not be retained. As the barrels, however, were useful to the captors, for water, or other common purposes, the valuable cochineal was scattered on the sands, and the empty casks carefully preserved.*

The Wahābees, however, from having had some communication with towns, know the value of gold and silver, pearls, and rich stuffs, which sometimes form the ladings of caravans; and these they plunder, to barter for other articles more suited to their own wants, which they effect by emissaries sent into the large cities around them, where they are unknown and unsuspected.

Such were the accounts given us of the men, through whose very tents it was said we had now to pass, or wait until they had changed the place of their encampment; men who multiplied their species beyond all credibility, if one could listen to report, and this too amidst privations of every kind; while, throughout the rest of Turkey, where the means of life are cheap and abundant, the number of the human race is thought generally to be on the decline.

In consequence of the information we had thus received, a council was held among the parties interested in the safety of the

* A similar anecdote is related by Captain Horsburgh, in his East India Directory; where, speaking of some part of the coast of Africa, near Madagascar, he says, the natives refused guineas, which were offered in payment for a supply of cattle; but brought down a quantity of fresh provisions, fowls, vegetables, &c. for an old gilt anchor button, because it had an eye, and could be applied to some useful purpose, which the others, without it, could not.

caravan, to consult on the measures necessary to be taken for its security. Like a number of sea-captains, all bound to the same port, assembling to petition the Admiralty for a convoy, when their track is infested by privateers, so these camel-drivers and land traders thought it best to apply to the government of Orfah for an escort as far as Mardin, offering a fixed sum of money for the force required. The government, however, had the honesty to confess, that no force which it could send would be at all equal to the protection of the caravan, the number of the Arabs being estimated at a hundred thousand at least; and they therefore advised our waiting until they should disappear, or take another road.

On a second consultation, it was determined to despatch a messenger to Sheikh Abu Aioobe Ibin Temar, Pasha of the tribe of Beni-Melân. The station of this chief was in the open plains, called, in Arabic, "Berreeah," and distant about two days' journey, or from forty to fifty miles. This chief, from having under his command about twenty thousand horse, received regular tribute from all the caravans which passed near his domains, and was, in every sense, a very powerful man. When, therefore, a letter was addressed, imploring, in the most humble terms, his august protection through the camp of the robbers, his own justice and magnanimity were extolled, while the marauding character of the intruders on his dominion was painted in the darkest colours,—and yet the only real difference between them seemed to be, that the one was a stationary robber, and the others roving ones; for in this very application, for his protection against the stronger enemy, it was carefully added, that an adequate compensation would be given to his followers for their convoy.*

* The difficulty of successfully resisting or subduing these Desert hordes, and the advantages they would possess as invaders of cultivated territories, if they possessed but tactics and discipline, is thus powerfully shewn.—"Il ne manque aux Wahabis pour être un peuple invincible et capable de soumettre toute l'Asie à ses lois, que de joindre à leurs qualités physiques et morales, les connoissances de la tactique et de la discipline militaire, dont ils sont dépourvus jusqu'à ce jour. En les acquérant, ils seroient en

When this important business of the day was closed, and the messenger despatched, we supped together in the open court of the public khan, to the number of seventy or eighty persons, all at the expense of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān; and the poor, who came afterwards to gather up the fragments that nothing might be lost, amounted certainly to as many more. Among the dishes were two lambs and two kids, each stuffed with rice, herbs, and spices, and stewed whole,—besides ten or twelve large dishes, containing three or four hundred weight of rice,—with many smaller and more choice messes of different kinds. This public exercise of hospitality on the part of the merchant having the largest property in the caravan, was intended and received as a pledge of his protection to those who might accompany it; and it had, unquestionably, the effect of uniting all the members of it to his interests more closely than before.

JUNE 9.—After a morning passed in gleaning such further news of the road as we could collect, and listening to the exaggerated tales of Wahābee prowess, we dined before noon, at the house of a wealthy shereef; slept, for an hour, in his garden, beneath the shade of fig-trees, willows, and oleanders, and passed the remainder of the afternoon at the Birket Ibrahim el Khaleel.

The room at the eastern end of this lake being now open, we

état d'attaquer constamment et avec succès les nations étrangères, et jamais celles-ci n'oseroient aller les chercher au centre de leurs possessions; car, pour pénétrer jusqu'à eux, il faut traverser des plaines arides et sauvages, des montagnes hideuses et des vallées brûlées par l'ardeur du soleil, où l'on est exposé à périr par la faim, la soif, et les chaleurs ardentes du climat: leurs déserts, leurs sables, et leurs rochers, sont comme autant de barrières, dont la nature semble avoir voulu les entourer, pour assurer leur liberté. J'observerai en outre que leurs habitations n'étant pour la plupart que de méchantes huttes ou de misérables tentes, ils les abandonnent sans regret aux ennemis qui leur sont supérieurs, pour se réfugier dans des lieux escarpés et inaccessibles aux autres hommes, où leur frugalité naturelle, jointe à l'habitude qu'ils ont de s'accommoder aux circonstances les plus critiques, leur fournissent des moyens de subsistance qui seroient insuffisans aux autres peuples."—*Notice sur les Wahabis*, p. 150, 151.

entered it, and found there a most agreeable retreat. In the centre, beneath a dome, was a square cistern, railed around, on a level with the pavement, and the body of the cistern descending below this about five feet. It was filled by the clearest water, the spring which supplied the lake being made to pass immediately through this cistern, and it was even more thickly crowded with fish than the canal without. On each side of the central pavement, which enclosed the cistern, was a raised divan, with carpets and cushions, for the accommodation of visitors. One of these divans looked out into a garden on the west, and had a sort of gallery above it, like the orchestra of an English ball-room; the other overhung the water, and commanded the whole range of the lake, as far as the mosque of Abraham, to the east. The door of entrance was from an arched and paved way, on the south; and attached to the building, on the north, was a kitchen, with a chimney, cupboards, and other conveniences; and from thence a passage led out into the garden, on the north-west of the whole.

Within the principal room, below the dome, were some inscriptions in relief, by which it appeared, according to the reading of some of our party, that this building had been erected about two hundred and twenty years ago, by a kadi, attached to the mosque of the Patriarch, near it. Around the walls, and on the doors of the recesses in them, were also many inscriptions, both in Turkish and Arabic, some of them written with peculiar care, and bearing evidence of the esteem in which this place had been held. In this, as is the case in most other Turkish works, the choice of situation was admirable, and the intention of the plan and arrangement happy, but the execution was as wretched as the disorder and neglect that reigned throughout it.

We went from hence into the grounds adjoining this building, on the north-east, where, in a sunny walk, some workmen were bleaching cotton threads. In other parts of the garden were groups of females reposing on their carpets, beneath the shade of wide-spreading trees, and surrounded by their slaves and servants.

Among the trees, the cypress, willow, oleander, fig, and pomegranate, were all seen; but the most abundant was the mulberry, which is here equal in size to the lofty sycamores of Egypt, near the banks of the Nile, or to any of our park or forest elms in England. By the payment of a few paras, permission is obtained to range these grounds, and pluck the fruit, in any quantity; and liberty to walk in them is freely granted to all.

Near the western end of the avenue, is a portion of the old city wall, the masonry of which is equal to Roman, but a pointed arch seen in it indicates a more recent date. All the rest of the wall is undoubtedly Mohammedan, with square towers, thickly placed, small loop-holes, and remains of battlements, in the most decided Saracenic style.

On the north-east of the town, in our road to the Khan Khoolāh Oghlee, by the two principal entrances, Bab el Ameer, the gate of the prince, and Bab el Seraia, the gate of the palace, a deep ravine is crossed, by high but short bridges. This ravine seems to have been intended as a ditch to the outer fortifications of the city wall, but in other quarters of its circuit no such work is seen.

On our return from the Lake of Abraham, we halted, during a shower of rain, in the court of the mosque, called Jāmah el Wizeer, or the mosque of the vizier. It has a front of about a hundred and fifty feet, with a piazza running along it. Before the whole, glides a branch of the waters of the lake, which are distributed through every part of the town, and which are here, as elsewhere, as clear as crystal, and crowded with carp. On the other side of it are seen the shafts of eight or ten small white marble columns, arranged at regular distances, and all erect. They are without capitals, but are no doubt the remains of Roman labours, now applied to decorate the court. These, and a few slabs of a stone resembling porphyry, but of a less deep brown than the antique—which I saw in the bench of an ice-shop in the town—are all the fragments of fine stone that I had yet met with. That used in the mosques, and other large

buildings of the city, is chiefly a pale yellow lime-stone. Some of the caravanserais are built with alternate layers of this and of the black basalt of the Haurān, found also in these plains; but no granite had been any where used. As the most precious of the fragments of ancient ruins are, however, generally converted to the internal embellishments of the mosques, it is probable, that among the fifteen large buildings here, many architectural remains of Roman days may be preserved.

In the court of this mosque of the vizier, a venerable sheikh was teaching certain children of the town to read the Koran, and the most proficient among these were again teaching others beneath them, according to the Lancasterian mode, now so common in Europe. It is only to be regretted, that their labours are not followed up by the introduction among them of other useful books, containing the elements of general knowledge, as most Turkish children are taught to read and write, and if their curiosity were excited at an early age, they have all of them the brilliant capacity, which their climate favours, to learn whatever might be laid before them.

One cannot, indeed, but be struck with the remarkable intelligence of the youths of this country, whose understandings seem to be matured before the age at which it first unfolds itself in more northern regions. Their acuteness of perception is often followed up by a corresponding power of reasoning, which very soon fits them for the society of their elders, so that, notwithstanding they are kept at a very humble distance by their own immediate parents, they are admitted to a great equality with grown-up strangers. When men salute them, a proper answer is always sure to be returned; and if they in their turn address a stranger, it would be considered an unpardonable rudeness for the stranger not to return them some complimentary expression. It is thus, that they become early habituated to social intercourse, and I scarcely remember an instance, of what we call "*mauvaise honte*" among them, though this is so common among the children of our own country.

In the caravan, we had a little slave-boy, named Ferādj, born of

Abyssinian parents, in the service of the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, who, though only eight years old, had accompanied his master to Mecca, and was now as useful in superintending the loading and discharge of the Hadjee's personal baggage, and in waiting on him at table, as any servant of the suite. We had another, named Zechariah, not yet ten years of age, who had accompanied his father across the Desert from Bagdad to Aleppo, and, after a stay of some months there, was going back with us by way of Mousul. The intelligence with which these boys would make purchases, execute errands, or answer inquiries, was really admirable, and excited constant regret, that such fine capacities should remain uncultivated.

Whether it be that the premature development of their powers naturally leads to as early a decline, or whether, from the want of that exercise which the vivacity of youth demands, the understandings of their age are not proportionably good, I know not. But, though in infancy, they are naturally superior to Europeans, yet, the distance between their wisest men, and the merely well-informed gentlemen of England, is really immeasurable. In both cases, the influence of the respective religions may be thought to have some effect.

With the people of the East, religion acts as a detractive cause, and hinders the natural progress of their understanding, by corrupting it with errors in its course. In boyhood, they are sensible, acute, and rational. In manhood, they are weak, credulous, and prone to error. They see nothing in any books they read to induce them to believe, either that the power of God to work miracles, his inclination so to do, or the necessity of their existence to convince the unbelieving, has ceased ; so that they continue to believe in the occurrence of events, as miraculous as those with which the pages of the books used by them in the studies of their infancy abound.

The Mohammedans, equally convinced, with their Jewish and Christian neighbours of the East, (for nearly all the Asiatics are alike immersed in superstition,) of the immediate superintendence of genii and guardian spirits, as well as of the influence of their

prophets in heaven, say—"What! If angels could perform such wonders in the days of old, can they not now, in a similar way, protect the fish of the Lake of the Patriarch, from the operation of fire, and make them resist every process that may be tried upon them, to convert them into food?"

In Protestant countries, the devout are content to believe in the miracles of the past, and look on the age of working them as having closed with the closing page of Revelation. As to the grounds on which they reject a belief in their existence since that period—whether it be from any failure of power or want of inclination in the Deity, or from the absence of a necessity for their occurrence since the commencement of the Christian era, all men are not agreed; but certain it is, that modern education teaches Europeans to measure the events and opinions of their own day, by a very different standard from that used in judging of the history of earlier times. And though, on events of a certain degree of antiquity, the indulgence of much freedom in inquiry is thought to be dangerous, yet on the affairs of our own times, and on matters more nearly affecting our business and bosoms at the present moment, it is courted and encouraged.

It is thus that, with us, religion does not, as in the East, obstruct the progress of our general knowledge, and the two pursuits are kept distinctly apart from each other. We have now, happily, neither persecutions for discovering the fountain of light to be the sun, nor for thinking that sun to be stationary, instead of revolving round the earth, nor for believing the earth to be a globe, instead of a level plain. As long as this liberality continues, science and knowledge will progressively advance among us; while in the East, unless the same distinctions be made, ignorance is still likely to prevail, and the effect continue to be a retrogradation in knowledge, as it has been in the eastern world for many centuries past.

On returning from the mosque of the vizier, where this train of reflections had been excited, and in a corner of the court of which

they were actually committed to paper, we repaired to the house of a venerable old moollah, who was blind from mere age, and joined there a party of about fifty persons at supper. The dishes were prepared and served in the Turkish rather than the Arabian style. The party were distributed around four large salvers, or metal tables, on the ground, with thin tough cakes of bread, like white-brown packing paper, placed in folds around the edges of them. One dish was then placed in the centre, and, after time being allowed to take just two hasty mouthfuls of it, this was removed, and replaced by new ones. These were again followed up in quick succession by various others, to the number of at least sixty, and all of different kinds. Among these, the first was a strange mixture of sour milk and herbs, with melted butter and honey. Soon afterwards, a lamb stuffed with rice, and stewed whole, was savagely torn in pieces by the large and butcher-like hands of one of the servants in waiting. Others then liberally kneaded the fat of it with their hands, and seemed to have as high a gratification in mangling the flesh as they had in eating it. We had then a dish of pistachio nuts and raisins, stewed together, with preparations of apricots, and many other excellent things; but all were borne off with such dexterity, that one could barely taste of the greater portions; though, from their numbers, it must have been a fastidious stomach indeed that could not have relished any.

Beards are so general at Orfah, that there were only two of our whole party who were shaved, and these were both young men. Turkish was the only language spoken; and except the Hindoo Dervish, our camel-driver Mohammed, and myself, the features of all the company were more or less Turkish also. The distinguishing marks of these are a full round face, a wide mouth, a strait nose, thick eyebrows, a full beard curling down the sides in long locks, and a remarkably thick neck, which is often deeply furrowed behind, in cross lines, like that of a young bull.

The sons and relatives of the master of the house stood to wait on us during the meal, and when we had finished, they sat down

with their blind parent to the fragments of the feast ; after which, there was still enough left to feed a host of poor dependants, waiting for their portion in the court below.

JUNE 10th.—Our morning was loitered away in rambling over the town, in which, among other new objects that arose to excite inquiry, I remarked, that the fronts of all the best houses in the principal streets were covered with the marks of musket-balls, some of which even still remained imbedded in the plaster. These, I learnt, were the effects of a very recent civil war among the Janissaries and Shereefs of the town, in a dispute on the pre-eminence of their respective classes.

These Janissaries were originally the regular troops of the Turkish empire. When peace rendered their services no longer necessary, they were not disbanded, though suffered to depart to their own homes, and to distribute themselves in the towns to which they properly belonged. They were still considered as the sultan's troops, and were granted certain privileges and exemptions on that account, on condition that they should hold themselves always in readiness to be called out in time of war ; but, as they were suffered to follow their own occupations as artisans and traders, they received no pay during their absence from actual service.

Such a state of repose, long continued, would, necessarily, lead to a decline of military discipline, to a diminution of their numbers, and to the growth of insubordination among them. All these were soon produced, and the first and last seem irremediable. Their numbers, however, have been kept up by the successive entry of new members into the respective corps or regiments, and these pay to its chief a certain sum for that benefit, which entitles them to privileges of exemption from some burdens, independent of those military honours which their fellow-citizens do not enjoy. As the Janissaries of the remote parts of the empire towards the south are but rarely called upon to go to war, and when they are, assume to themselves the option of attending to that call or not, it happens

that there are among them great numbers who have never been without the walls of their native town, and who know nothing of war, but what civil discord may have taught them.

At Aleppo, the disputes for pre-eminence have been chiefly between these Janissaries and the Shereefs, or nobles claiming to be the descendants of the Prophet. Here, however, though the Shereefs are also numerous, the most violent struggles have been between the different corps of the Janissaries themselves. These, it would seem, were not contests for the government of the town, since they have generally been content to leave this in the hand of the Motesëllem, appointed by the Pasha of Diarbekr; but they have obstinately contended for the idle honour of precedence in matters of ceremony, and for the mere boast of being the first in distinction by name only, without caring whether that distinction was deserved by honourable deeds or not.

At noon, when the Hadjee and his friends went into the mosque of Abraham to prayer, I was suffered to accompany them into the inner court, which presented an appearance of as great regularity as the exterior of the edifice. In the wing buildings, we saw several venerable muftis, or doctors of the church and the law, each occupying a small carpeted apartment looking over the waters of the lake, and all of them occupied in reading.

Fronting the inner façade of the mosque, was a large square court, formed by uniform ranges of buildings on three of its sides, and closed on the fourth by the mosque itself. These buildings were apparently colleges attached to the mosque; for, in the chambers of them, were male youths of different ages, from ten to twenty, all occupied in studying under masters, and divided by their ages into classes. Their studies here are purely theological, being confined to reading the Koran, learning the prayers, precepts, doctrines, and traditional history of their prophet, and his faith.

Around three sides of this court runs a piazza, which is broad, lofty, and well paved. The columns of its arcade are of white

marble with yellowish veins, like those at the mosque of the vizier, and were each probably taken from the ruins of some more ancient edifice. The arches between these columns, the springs of which they support, are of a very singular kind, being broad and flat at the spring, like the Norman and Saxon arch, and then drooping into a fanciful figure in the middle, so as to present an appearance of being crushed down by the superincumbent weight.

The door of the mosque, which opens to the north, is of a fine hard wood, panelled, and very richly carved. Over it are a number of inscriptions, in white letters of relief, on an azure ground, the characters slanting, in the Turkish and Persian form, rather than in the Arabic, which are generally erect. The interior of the mosque presents only an oratory, ascended to by steps; the niche of prayer in the southern wall, some large ostrich eggs and lamps suspended from the roof, and the rich Persian carpets, with which all its pavement is covered.

The open square of the court is filled with trees, among which are several towering cypresses, from amid the dark spires of which the whitened domes and tall minarets rise with the finest effect. The other trees are so thickly planted as to yield a constant and welcome shade, and the whole is one of the most agreeable spots that can well be conceived.

We went from hence along the southern side of the lake, where we now observed, through a grated window, the tomb of a saint, it being opened on this day, peculiarly devoted to his memory, for the prayers of the devout. Our party went into this, and repeated their orisons, the tomb itself being included in a mosque. The minaret of this was a square tower, in which were four open windows at the top, having a Corinthian pilaster on each side, and a pillar in the centre, supporting the springs of a double arch. The pilasters and columns were all on high pedestals, and the capital badly executed, while the arches were of the horse-shoe form, so that this had been probably a Christian church of the Lower Empire, and not originally a Mohammedan or a Turkish building.

The noonday sleep of the Hadjee and his followers was enjoyed on the sofa of the room that overhangs the Lake of Abraham, at its eastern end ; and after this, on our way back to the town, we halted to take a pipe and nargeel at a public coffee-house. The great bench in front of the house, on which the principal guests generally sat, was a seat of raised masonry, smoothly plastered, railed around with open wood-work at the back and sides, and spread over with clean straw mats. It overhung a clear stream, running from the Birket el Ibrahim, crowded with playful fish, and was capable of accommodating fifty persons, who might sit here at their ease, to watch the current of the brook. On the opposite side was a garden, so thickly planted with trees, that the lofty and ruined walls of the castle could be but here and there perceived through their openings, though appearing, from its elevated site, to be almost right above our heads. A beautiful weeping willow, the trunk of which reared itself from the banks of the stream, within a few feet of where we sat, spread its falling branches over the waters, and completely shaded us from the heat of the sun; while the scarlet blossom of the pomegranate, and the finest combinations of summer-green in the various trees that vied in richness and beauty with each other, delighted the eye, and helped to complete the charm of this lovely spot.

Every thing that I had yet seen, indeed, about the town and its environs, convinced me that the Turks were genuine lovers of nature ; and here they had been peculiarly fortunate in the combination of her beauties for the common enjoyment of all.

Our supper-party was at a new house, and with some new persons, though the general circle of the Hadjee's friends were the same. Our treatment was as bountiful, and our evening passed as agreeably, as before.

JUNE 11th.—We were still detained at Orfah, in expectation of the messenger's return from the "Berreah," with news of the road. Preparations were made, however, for our departure, by the pur-

chase of such provisions as were deemed necessary for the way ; but, besides this, our other occupations through the day were exactly similar to those of the preceding ones, and it was closed in the same manner, by a large supper-party in the town.

JUNE 12th.—Our apprehensions for the safety of the man, despatched as an inquirer, were raised to the highest pitch, as the period for his expected return had already expired. In the evening, however, he appeared, bringing with him an account of the Annazies having made a movement farther east, between Mardin and Mousul, leaving the road to the former place clear ; but that this road was still infested by smaller parties of the Arabs of the country, from whom he had himself had several narrow escapes by flight and concealment. From the number who had halted here at Orfah, as the place of their original destination, and others who had gone off to Diarbekr, our caravan was reduced to about fifty camels, and less than that number of persons to accompany it. The hope of augmentation in force, or indeed of any other advantage to be gained by waiting, was however so slender, that it was determined to depart to-night, and run all risks.

In the morning, therefore, I prepared for my journey, by going to the bath. The one which I had at first visited on the day of our arrival, and which is situated in the public market, near the Goomrook Khan, not being clean or well attended, I had obtained directions to another, called the Chewchewch Hammām, in a situation of great retirement, near the goldsmiths' bazār, and in a small street turning up on the right of the direct road leading from the Khan Khoolāh Oghlee, to the Goomrook Khan, or from the Bab el Ameer to near the centre of the town. The entrance to this was not prepossessing, although the dome of the outer room was one of the largest and finest that I had seen ; but there was a bareness of furniture on the benches, and a general nakedness, which looked more like that of a deserted than a peopled place. The only persons seen, were the master of the bath, and one attendant. Nothing, however,

could be more favourable to the enjoyment of all the requisite comforts of such an establishment, than this state of desertion really was. The interior of the bath was as thoroughly clean as could be desired; the rooms were variously heated, and the waters might be had of any temperature. A great degree of care and expense had been bestowed on the embellishment of the inner chambers, where, in the Mosaic work of the pavements, were seen black and white marble, and large slabs of the stone which I had before noted as resembling porphyry, except that its ground was of a lighter colour than the true antique. Mr. Maundrell speaks of a quarry of similar stone being still used near Aintab,* so that it cannot be far from the foot of Mount Taurus; but whether this observed at Orfah was brought from thence, or found among more ancient ruins here, I could not learn.

As we continued to be perfectly uninterrupted by the visit of a single person, during the whole of my stay, I remained a full hour under the hands of the operator, had every joint cracked, every muscle moulded, and the hair entirely removed, excepting only from the eyebrows and beard, which were carefully trimmed and set in order by the same person, according to the fashion of the country.† An hour's repose upon a clean bed in the outer room, where coffee, nargeels, and iced sherbets of raisins were brought me, and afterwards a dinner of minced meat patties and salad, taken also in the bath before dressing, completed a course of considerable pleasure; the whole expense of which was only fifty paras, or scarcely an English shilling.

It is usual for males and females in Turkey to visit the same

* Journey from Aleppo to the river Euphrates, p. 209, 8vo.

† It is one of the many remarkable contrasts between European and Asiatic usages, that, on the parts which Europeans most carefully shave, Asiatics suffer the hair to grow, and as carefully preserve it; while on those where the former suffer it to remain, the latter as studiously remove it—on all occasions of their visiting the bath. It has been thought that depilatory powders are sometimes used for this purpose, but I have never known any thing to supersede the common razor.

bath: the former class from morning until El Assr, or between three and four o'clock, and the latter from that time till sun-set. In Egypt, it is the practice to hang before the door of the bath a coloured cloth, during all the time that women are within it, for the sake of announcing to passers-by its being so occupied, and thus preventing any one from entering it inadvertently. In the bath which I first visited here, there were two doors of entrance, that for the men fronting the public market, and that for the women by a private passage from the street behind; so that while one was opened the other was closed, and effectually secured those within from intrusion. Here, however, at the Chewchewch Hammâm, the women's bath was entirely distinct; having separate dressing rooms, fountains, cisterns, and chambers; in which the female attendants were now making preparations for the expected visitors of the afternoon. It has an entirely separate entrance, though being part of the same establishment it is heated by the same fires, and watered by the same streams, and is superior in its decorations and arrangement to that of the men's bath, as the wife of the master, under whose direction the whole is kept, took more pains to embellish and keep in order the part devoted to visitors of her own sex, than he himself did for the department under his immediate care.

On reaching the Goomrook Khan, I found the whole of the Hadjee's friends assembled, with those also who were interested in the safety of the caravan, consulting on the probable danger of its being plundered. They all concluded, that it depended entirely on the destinies of Heaven, whether they should go safely or not; though it was easy to perceive that their confidence in God was more in word than deed: for it was only because there was no hope of our case being improved by waiting, that they now consented to set forward.

All, however, went together to the Mosque of the Vizier at noon, and, on coming out, we re-assembled in a thickly wooded garden, close by, called Bistan el Hassan Pasha, from the name of

its original planter. Here a sort of farewell dinner was given to us, by a certain Seid Hassan, a merchant of consideration, who had come with us from Aleppo to Orfah, where his family resided, and who was also going with us to Mardin, having a tent of his own, but supping always at the Hadjee's carpet. We were arranged in this garden, along the banks of a clear stream that flowed through it; and the dishes set before us on the grass were nearly as numerous as the persons who sat down to them, amounting at least to a hundred. We continued here until hour of prayer again returned at El Assr, when each one performed his devotions under the shade of some tree in the garden; and this gave an opportunity of dispersion without formal separations, which, in Turkish parties, are as much avoided as in the fashionable circles of Europe.

The rest of the afternoon was employed in collecting together our straggling numbers; when, at sun-set, we quitted Orfah, and repaired to the Khan Khoolah Oghlee, outside the town. Here the public prayers of Muggrib, or sun-set, were repeated by all the Moslems present, under the direction of an Imâm at their head; and we afterwards took a twilight supper in the centre of the khan in the open court. This was given by the Hadjee, as a public pledge of his protection to all who partook of it; and, besides every individual about to depart with us in the caravan, there were fed at this meal at least fifty dervishes and fakirs, coming and going from different quarters, and halting here on their way.

The number of these men throughout Turkey is more considerable than one could venture to assert, without being thought guilty of exaggeration. In every caravan they form almost the major part, and consist of men who, under pretence of either going to or returning from the pilgrimage, wander from place to place, and live entirely on the liberality of the pious. These are generally strong and healthy individuals, capable of earning their living by labour, were they acquainted with any branch of art or manufacture, and are distinct from the halt, the lame, and the blind, who are always objects of charity. The former, however, by carrying about

them a Koran, some talismans, beads, and charms, make a more profitable business of it than those who have nothing to recommend them to the commiseration of their fellow-creatures, but their real sufferings and absolute incapacity of remedying them.

The number of unproductive beings thus preying upon the gains of the rest—who are themselves but barely a remove beyond them, from their extreme ignorance of the improved methods of labour, and their natural aversion to activity—occasions a great mass of poverty, which nothing but the wealth that nature has bestowed upon their climate and soil, the fruits of which may be said to grow up spontaneously to their hands, could at all support. The military, and the officers of the government, with a few of the merchants, more active than the rest, who extend their speculations, and move from place to place, are the only rich people in the country. These, however, invariably support a vast number of dependants, who are free from every concern but that of eating, drinking, praying, and sleeping; so that if the higher orders of society know nothing of those refined pleasures which afford so much delight to our circles, the lower orders, from their temperate habits, their familiarity with the rich, and their freedom from the common cares of life, are certainly more at ease than ours.

I am even inclined to believe, notwithstanding the positive evils of despotism, and the undoubted disadvantages of ignorance and indolence, that the mass of happiness is, on the whole, as great here as in many of the monarchical countries of Europe. The pleasures of nature, in one of the most delicious climates in the world, are ever open to the people, and they are always disposed to enjoy them. Their diseases are neither so numerous, so lingering, nor so destructive of the faculties of enjoyment, as those which luxury has introduced among us. The plague may be considered an exception; but this, as it takes its victims speedily away from sufferings of every kind, may be deemed either a blessing or a curse, in proportion to the estimation of the state to which the death leads. And war, the great scourge of the West, does not here make whole towns of

widows and fatherless children, nor fill crowded hospitals with the mangled carcasses of wretched individuals, to whom the sword has but barely spared the power to drag out the remnant of a miserable and weary existence.

Our camels were laden, our horses already saddled, and we intended to have commenced our march immediately after supper; but the meal was scarcely finished, before there arrived at the caravanseraï a party of Yezeedis, from the eastward, who brought the most alarming accounts of the state of the roads, and occasioned such a general consternation, that, for the present at least, no one would set forward.

These Yezeedis, according to report, are a tribe of people living chiefly by themselves in the mountains of Sinjār, between Mardin and Mousul, having many very peculiar manners and customs, a distinct dialect, and a strange religion, in which they do homage to the Devil, as an ancient prince of Heaven, appointed by God to be the demon of evil, and, therefore, still the servant of the Most High, and, as such, deserving of honour and respect.* These Yezeedis are characterized by the Moslems around them as the greatest robbers upon the face of the earth, and men in whose words no faith can be placed; yet, when they reported their having been stripped

* “ Les *Yézidis*, qui peuplent la montagne de Singiar, sont une nation barbare, qui ne connoît ni lois, ni mœurs, ni jeûnes, ni fêtes, ni prières, et qui, sans aucun régime fixe de police, s’applique à la culture des terres, et du reste, ne vit que de rapines. La religion des *Yézidis* est une espèce de manichéisme. Ils adorent un seul Dieu sous différens emblèmes, spécialement sous celui du soleil, et ont pour maxime de ne pas maudire le démon, parce que, disent-ils, il est la créature du Souverain Etre, et peut un jour rentrer en grace avec lui. Ils habitent indifféremment dans des villages et sous des huttes; mais en hiver, ou lorsqu’ils sont menacés de quelque péril, ils désertent ces demeures et se réfugient avec leurs troupeaux dans des cavernes obscures, ou entre des rochers escarpés, qui les mettent à couvert de toute insulte et de tout dommage. Leur nourriture ordinaire se borne au laitage, à la viande, au pain d’orge et à quelques fruits; ils obéissent à divers scheikhs, et ont l’abominable coutume d’aller vendre leurs enfans dans les villes. Du reste, ils ne sont pas circoncis, ils haïssent les Turcs, et paroissent avoir de l’inclination et de l’estime pour les Chrétiens.”—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 97, 98.

and plundered by the Annazies, and nearly a third of their party, or about twenty persons, killed, in the act of making resistance, the hearers all praised their courage, and lavished every species of malediction on their enemies.

The number of the Desert Arabs was said by some of these to amount to sixty thousand tents; others said a hundred thousand camels, with two men mounted on each, besides mares and their riders; and others again contented themselves with saying that they were a sea, not to be numbered. All agreed, however, that the chief motive of their coming into this district was to procure food for their animals, as during the summer months all sustenance becomes dried up in the Southern Desert. Their only property is in camels and mares, of both of which they mount chiefly the females, and sell the males, to supply beasts of burden for caravans. Their camels, their mares, and themselves, are declared to be capable of living each three successive days without tasting food of any kind, and this not as an extraordinary effort, but a common necessity to which they are very frequently reduced. The milk of their camels forms almost the only food of all, since the mares never have any corn, and seldom any grass, and they themselves neither use bread, rice, nor other food of grain. When a camel is wounded, or likely to die from disease, he is then killed, and his flesh often eaten raw; this, with a few dates, forms the only luxury they are able to add to the milk on which they, their mares, and their camels' young, may all be said to subsist. The wool or hair of the camel (which is shed annually in the spring, leaving the animal bare in summer, until replaced by a new coat in autumn) supplies materials for the hair-cloth of their tents, and their own garments, both of which are spun and woven chiefly by their own women. Whatever other supplies they may procure, in the way of arms, ammunition, or clothing, are obtained entirely by their plundering caravans, and bartering the spoil for such articles as they may more immediately need.*

* "Ce qui vient d'être rapporté des mœurs, du fanatisme, et de l'ambition des Wahabis, ne doit laisser aucun lieu de douter que ces sectaires, endurcis aux fatigues, et

In the expressions naturally drawn forth by such a recital as we had heard from the Yezeedis, of the depredations and cruelties of these Wahābee Arabs who now obstructed our way, all kinds of maledictions were mingled, and more particularly the common one of calling them "devils, and sons of devils;" to which some added, "and fit only to live with devils in the lowest depths of the bottomless pit." The Yezeedis, who honour Satan as a prince and servant of the Most High, executing only his sovereign will upon earth, are shocked beyond measure at any disrespectful mention of his name; and they themselves avoid even the use of certain words in Arabic which may have an affinity in sound to that of Sheitān, or Satan, that they may not take the name of this Lord in vain. They were angry beyond expression, therefore, at that which they now heard from almost every mouth of our assembly, and sullenly shunned all reply, or even communication: it was, indeed, thought, that had their numbers been equal to the task, they would have vented their anger in a more hostile and effective way.*

toujours prêts à se sacrifier pour la cause d'une religion qui leur commande de verser le sang des autres nations, ne soient continuellement tourmentés par la soif des conquêtes: tout porte à croire qu'avec le temps, et par le moyen d'une artillerie qu'ils ne tarderont pas à se former, ils parviendront enfin à ranger sous leur obéissance les deux grandes provinces ci-devant nommées (la Syrie et la Mésopotamie). Bagdad, Bassora, Moussol, Alep, et Damas, qui en sont les villes principales, quelque bien fortifiées qu'elles puissent être, ne sauroient tenir longtemps contre ce torrent dévastateur. Ce n'est pas que les Wahabis soient capables d'enlever ces places par les manœuvres d'un siège régulier et bien dirigé; mais, en se bornant à piller les villages des alentours, à ravager les campagnes, à détrousser les caravanes, à interrompre enfin toute communication de ces villes avec le dehors pour leur faire éprouver les horreurs d'une famine complète, ils viendroient aisément à bout de les réduire."—*Notice sur les Wahabis*, p. 176, 177.

* "Les Yézidis ont pour premier principe de s'assurer l'amitié du Diable, et de mettre l'épée à la main pour sa défense. Aussi s'abstiennent-ils non-seulement de le nommer, mais même de se servir de quelque expression dont la consonnance approche de celle de son nom. Par exemple, un fleuve * se nomme dans le langage ordinaire *schatt*, et comme ce mot a quelque léger rapport avec le mot *scheïtan*, nom du Diable, les Yézidis appellent un fleuve *avé maxen*, c'est-à-dire, *grande eau*. De même encore les Turcs maudissent fréquemment le Diable, en se servant pour cela du mot *nal*, qui veut

* Voyez Hyde de Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 492.

From what I could observe of their physiognomy and general cast of appearance, they looked more like Indians, than either Arabs or Turks. Their figures were lean and lank; their features small, but sharp and expressive; their colour not a glowing sun-burnt brown, but a deadly or sickly olive of the deepest hue; and their hair long, black, silky, and glossy, with full mustachios and beards.*

It has often struck me as probable, that, if ever such a sovereign as Sesostris existed in Egypt, and made the conquests, attributed to him by history, in India, bringing back with him from thence, as related by the priests of the Nile to Herodotus, a large train of spoils and captives to grace his triumphs, the great diversity of people and religions existing in different parts of Asiatic Turkey might be descendants of such captive families scattered in the way; for the Druses, the Nesseeres, the Ismaylees, and many other classes of people in Syria, as well as these Yezeedis of Mesopotamia, have certainly, in their practices and opinions, a greater resemblance to many of the Hindoo castes, than to any other sect or race of

dire *malédiction*; les Yézidis évitent avec grand soin tous les mots qui ont quelque analogie avec celui-là. Ainsi au lieu du mot *nal*, qui signifie aussi *fer de cheval*, ils disent *sol*, c'est-à-dire, *semelle des souliers d'un cheval*, et ils substituent le mot *solkar*, qui veut dire *savetier*, au terme du langage ordinaire *nalbenda*, qui signifie *maréchal*. Quiconque fréquente les lieux qu'ils habitent, doit être très-attentif à ne point prononcer les mots *diable* et *maudit*, et surtout ceux-ci, *maudit soit le diable*; autrement, il courroit grand risque d'être maltraité, ou même tué. Quand leurs affaires les attirent dans les villes Turques, on ne peut pas leur faire de plus grand affront que de maudire le diable devant eux, et si la personne qui a eu cette imprudence vient à être rencontrée en voyage par des Yézidis, et reconnue, elle est en grand danger d'éprouver leur vengeance. Il est arrivé plus d'une fois, que des hommes de cette secte, ayant été arrêtés pour quelque crime par la justice Turque, et condamnés à mort, ont mieux aimé subir leur condamnation, que d'user de la faculté qui leur étoit accordée, de s'y soustraire, en maudissant le Diable."—*Notice sur les Yézidis, par le Père Maurice Garzoni*, pp. 192—194.

* "Il est défendu aux Yézidis d'ajuster leurs moustaches avec des ciseaux, ils doivent les laisser croître naturellement: aussi y en a-t-il parmi eux dont on aperçoit à peine la bouche."—*Notice sur les Yézidis*, p. 202.

people now existing in the West, or even to any of the ancient idolaters of which our Scriptures give us any detailed accounts.

We still remained with the caravan in the khan, but our offended informers would not even lodge within the same walls with us, taking away even the horses on which they were mounted, and reposing with their animals on the outside of the caravanserai.*

* The reader, who feels any curiosity to know the various opinions which the learned of different countries have entertained of this singular sect, may consult Hyde, *Historia Relig. Vet. Pers.*; the Memoir by Father Garzoni, translated by M. Silvester de Sacy, appended to Rousseau's Description du Pachalik de Bagdad; and the Travels of M. Febvier. The latter, now a very scarce book, contains a full account of this race as they then were: the writer observes, that the number of the sect amounted to about two hundred thousand, part of which was scattered over Persia, and the remainder over the Turkish frontier provinces. Their language was the Koordish. They were a hardy, indefatigable, abstemious people; fierce in their hostile encounters, but kind and hospitable when approached in their own tents. Their arms consisted of the bow and arrow, the Turkish sabre, and the sling, in the use of which they exhibited the most marvellous dexterity. His account agrees, indeed, with what later writers relate of them, except that he is more circumstantial and full. The following passages from the "Notice sur les Yézidis," already quoted, as being less generally known, may be here transcribed:—

"Le diable n'a point de nom dans le langage des Yézidis. Ils se servent tout au plus pour le désigner de cette périphrase, *scheikh maxen*, le grand chef. Ils admettent tous les prophètes et tous les saints révéérés par les Chrétiens, et dont les monastères situés dans leurs environs portent les noms. Ils croient que tous ces saints personnages, lorsqu'ils vivoient sur la terre, ont été distingués des autres hommes plus ou moins, selon que le diable a résidé plus ou moins en eux: c'est surtout, suivant eux, dans Moïse, Jésus-Christ, et Mahomet, qu'il s'est le plus manifesté. En un mot, ils pensent que c'est Dieu qui ordonne, mais qu'il confie au pouvoir du Diable l'exécution de ses ordres.

"Le matin, à peine le soleil commence-t-il à paroître, qu'ils se jettent à genoux les pieds nus, et que, tournés vers cet astre, ils se mettent en adoration, le front contre terre. Pour faire cet acte de dévotion, ils se retirent à part, loin de la présence des hommes; ils font leur possible pour n'être point vus quand ils s'acquittent de ce devoir, dont ils se dispensent même suivant les circonstances.

"Ils n'ont ni jeûnes, ni prières, et disent, pour justifier l'omission de ces œuvres de religion, que le scheikh Yézid a satisfait pour tous ceux qui feront profession de sa doctrine jusqu'à la fin du monde, et qu'il en a reçu l'assurance positive dans ses révélé-

JUNE 14.—I was so completely tired of this detention from day to day, without hope of any speedy removal of the causes which occasioned it, that I had determined to form, if possible, a small party in town, to go to Diarbekr, where I might expect to meet with government Tartars going to Bagdad, whose escort I might enjoy, as I had a letter from Mr. Barker, the consul at Aleppo, recommending me to the protection of any one I might meet with, carrying British or Indian despatches that way.

In going from the Khan into the town, instead of passing through the Bab el Ameer, as usual, I went along the outside of the eastern wall, in order to arrive at the gate of Diarbekr in that quarter. On the left of my walk, I had all the way a deep ditch, crossed in several parts by narrow bridges of two arches, with extensive burying-grounds, and beyond it a long village, or

lations; c'est en conséquence de cela qu'il leur est défendu d'apprendre à lire et à écrire. Cependant tous les chefs des tribus et des gros villages soudoient un docteur mahométan pour lire et interpréter les lettres qui leur sont adressées par les seigneurs et les pachas Turcs, et pour y répondre. Relativement aux affaires qu'ils ont entre eux, ils ne se fient jamais à aucune personne d'une autre religion; ils envoient leurs ordres et font faire toutes leurs commissions de vive voix, par des hommes de leur secte.

“ N'ayant ni prières, ni jeûnes, ni sacrifices, ils n'ont aussi aucune fête. Ils tiennent cependant, le 10 de la lune d'Août, une assemblée dans le voisinage du tombeau du scheikh Adi. Cette assemblée, à laquelle beaucoup de Yézidis se rendent de contrées éloignées, dure toute cette journée et la nuit suivante. Cinq ou six jours avant ou après celui où elle a lieu, les petites caravanes courent risque d'être attaquées dans les plaines de Moussol et du Kurdistan, par ces pèlerins qui voyagent toujours plusieurs ensemble, et il est rare qu'une année se passe sans que ce pèlerinage donne lieu à quelque fâcheux événement. On dit qu'un grand nombre de femmes des Yézidis, à l'exception cependant des filles qui ne sont point encore mariées, se rendent des villages voisins à cette réunion, et que cette nuit-là, après avoir bien bu et mangé, l'on éteint toutes les lumières, et l'on ne parle plus jusqu'aux approches de l'aurore, instant auquel tout le monde se retire. On peut se faire une idée de ce qui se passe dans ce silence et à la faveur des ténèbres.”—pp. 194—197.

This is a part of their manners, which resembles that of the Nessâries and Ismaylies, in Syria, among whom a similar annual meeting, with promiscuous intercourse, even of the nearest relatives, takes place, under the sanction and name of a religious festival.

suburb, chiefly inhabited by peasants; while, on the right, was the continued line of the city wall, thickly filled, in its course, with square, octagonal, and circular towers.

In the construction of this wall, it appeared to me that three distinct periods could be traced, even before the more modern repairs of the present day. The first of these displayed the best masonry; the blocks being long, though not very thick, about six feet by two, but well hewn, and nicely joined without cement. These were near the foundations, and in some few places only were seen higher up near the centre of the wall. The surface was in general much corroded by the operation of the air, and, on a closer examination, I was surprised to find them mostly blocks of coral and sea shells, such as are seen in the cliffs along the shores of the Red Sea, in a state of decay. In some of these, the substance seemed to be a mass of lime, in a state of decomposition, which broke easily, and crumbled, at the touch, into a white salt-like powder. In others, the large oyster, with the small queen or fan-shell, was repeatedly and distinctly seen, with still more numerous examples of those smaller ones like rams' horns, so frequent among the sands of every sea-beach. Other parts, the surfaces of which had become hardened by the operation of the air, looked like coarse limestone, crossed by harder and finer veins of pure marble. These were all in the original structure of the wall, though of what age it would be difficult to determine. The style of the masonry is rather Saracenic than Roman, though there is no apparent reason for its not being carried back to a much earlier date than either, and considering the foundations to be even of the Chaldean age. The nature of the stone, however, is worthy of remark, in a situation so remote from any sea, and so elevated above the level of the ocean, beneath which alone it could have been formed. I had seen no such rocks in the way to Orfah, though no doubt the quarries from which these stones were taken are not far remote; but in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, are several masses of hardened shells and coral, appearing above the surface of the ground. The

rock of the castle is limestone; and the soil, in which the ditch on the east of the city wall is excavated, is of light-brown earth, full of large and small pebbles of a rounded form, but not sufficiently hardened together to deserve the name of pudding-stone, which it otherwise resembles.

The second period of work in the construction of the wall is evidently Arabic, and of a very old date. Between the Bab el Ameer and the Bab el Seraia, or the gate of the prince, and the gate of the palace, are two very long inscriptions, each occupying the whole front of one of the square towers in the wall, and both consisting of several lines in depth. Neither Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, nor his nephew, whom I afterwards took to the place, could understand them, though the letters of the inscriptions were all well preserved in a high relief, and of a large size, being long and slender. They were of opinion, that both of these were older than the time of Mohammed, from the form of the characters, and the obscurity of the language, which, they said, was decidedly a very old Arabic. The masonry coeval with these inscriptions, as seen in the towers, and in other parts of the wall, was evidently of a much later date than that of the foundation before noted; and the substance and form of the stones of which it was executed were also different. Instead of the corroded and fretted exterior of the former, the surfaces of these were firm, smooth, and of a fresh yellow colour, the material being a hard and close-grained marble. These stones were shorter, but at the same time wider in proportion, than the stones of the original work; and the manner in which they were joined together proved that the masonry was executed in a different age, and by a different race of people.

The third period was also of tolerably good masonry, and was as inferior to the second as this was to the first, in strength and closeness of union, but was nearer to it in resemblance of general form. The principal mass of this is seen in the Bab el Seraia, which is wholly constructed of it. Over this, on each side of the gate, were sculptured lions, on pedestals projecting from the wall; one of

them is now entirely destroyed, and the other has lost its head, but the body, which remains, is of good execution. Over this gate is a very long inscription, in modern Arabic, and well cut in letters of relief; but, as my companions merely ran it over hastily, I could only learn from them that it commemorated the repair of the city walls by a certain Motesëllem or governor of the town, in the year of the Hejira, 1071, or about a hundred and sixty years ago. The Bab el Diarbekr, in the east quarter of the town, seemed of the same age, and over it, in the place of the lions, were two projecting circles of stone, so common in all Moham-medan edifices of this nature, with sculptured devices of leaves upon them.

The masonry of the last period of repair which these walls had undergone, was of the most contemptible kind that could be conceived; and when contrasted with the three preceding ones, or even with the last of them only, which was executed but a century and half since, presented a very striking picture of the rapid decline of architecture among the Turks.

In the street which led from this gate of Diarbekr, through the centre of the town, I noticed a Corinthian capital of white marble. It was small and of mean execution, but was evidently not a Moham-medan work. The black stone found here seems to have been much used formerly, as it still is, in the Haurân, and in Palestine, for mill-stones.* In the pavements of the streets a great number of these are seen, of a considerable size in diameter; and in general, the stone, from its superior hardness, has been rather used for pavements than for buildings. It is seen appropriated to the former purpose in many parts of the town; but it is found in a few of the principal buildings only, and placed there chiefly for the sake of

* When the younger Cyrus was marching through this country towards Babylon, he found, at a place called *Pylæ* by Xenophon, a great number of people, who made a trade of fashioning mill-stones. "The inhabitants," says he, "were employed near the river, with digging mill-stones, which they afterwards fashioned, and conveyed to Babylon for sale, to buy provisions for their support."—*Anabasis*, vol. i. p. 57.

varying the alternate layers of black and white stones, according to the taste of the Turks.

All my efforts to make up a party for Diarbekr had been hitherto ineffectual, the same risk being thought to prevail on that road, as on the way to Mardin, from small bands of robbers, formed of the Arabs of the country, against which a caravan would be secure by its numbers, but by which a small party would be sure to be pillaged.* The caravan itself, in going that road, would probably lose no time, as the route was only three additional days from Diarbekr to Mardin, and the distances of these places were each five days from hence, whereas the prospect of our detention here had no apparent limit. We should also be sure of passing to the northward of the districts occupied by the Annazies, the danger of being plundered by whom had been yet the only obstacle to our departure. But another consideration of still higher importance in the estimation of all who had property of any value to convey, was, that after paying the custom-dues of five piastres per camel-load here, they would be obliged to pay a charge of five per cent., *ad valorem*, on all their goods, if they went to Diarbekr; and this would be forced from them, whether they entered the city or not: since the custom-house there would send its agents out to meet them half way on the road, and make them thus pay dearly for the short deviation of their march from a route of danger into one of safety. Some few, indeed, who had nothing but their personal baggage to protect, were strenuous in their advice to take the road to Diarbekr at once, urging, very sensibly, that it was better to pay, as a certain loss, the charge of five per cent., than run a great risk of losing all. The merchants, however, would not admit this principle, and seemed to know nothing of the nature of insurance.

Some of the dervishes and fakirs said, "Of what avails all this caution and prudence? Can the sons of Adam prolong their lives at their own pleasure? and are not all events written in the des-

* Rousseau says, in speaking of this road, "*La route (de Mardin) à Diarbekr, quoique très fréquentée, est effroyable et dangereuse.*"—p. 95.

tinies of Heaven? There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God! Let us, therefore, trust in God, for all things are with God; and as God is merciful, we shall pass, by the blessing of God, in safety and peace." Such was their lavish use of the name of the Deity—a name almost ceasing to be venerable in Turkish ears, by its constant application to the most trifling as well as important occasions. But, pious and orthodox as were these suggestions of the poor, the rich suffered their pecuniary interest, and their love of life, to prevail over their devotion, or their confidence in the protection of that Being whose name they had so often invoked, and determined not to move until more favourable intelligence should arrive.

At noon, it being the public day of prayer, all the mosques were crowded, particularly those of the Vizier, and of Ibrahim el Khaleel, which are the most generally frequented. In the inner porch of the latter, our noon-meal was taken, and no scruples were made by my host to my being one of the party, or to my receiving the salute due only to a Moslem from those who knew not of my being an European. In the pavement of this mosque I observed some slabs of the pale porphyry, noted before in the baths and shops of the town. In the outer court, also, I remarked some arches, which I thought purely Gothic, the lower parts being formed of sections of a Roman arch, which were broken and raised upon by a smaller pointed one. It is more probable that these were Mohammedan than Christian arches; though, in the erection of this mosque, their forms are as likely to have been borrowed from the Crusaders of the West, as the Gothic is to have been merely a variation of the Saracenic arch. The dates of the respective buildings are the chief desiderata; for by these it might be easy to determine whether the Gothic architecture is a mere variation of the Arabic, and brought from the East, or whether, as contended by some, it had its origin purely in the West. For myself, I confess that all I have yet seen inclines me to the last opinion.

In the afternoon, there arrived an express messenger from

Aleppo, bringing me a letter of the 11th inst. from Mr. Barker, in answer to one addressed by me to him on the 3d. and sent by a messenger of the country. The subject of the correspondence was this:—

Previous to my departure from Aleppo, in the company of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, it had been agreed on that his servants should receive the sum of a hundred and fifty piastres on my account. This was to be divided equally between the chief camel-driver, the cook, and the groom, for the respective services which each might render me on the way. It was on the promise of these men being, for this consideration, perfectly at my command, that my own servant, —which had been kindly furnished me from the establishment of Lady Hester Stanhope, in Syria, as one of tried fidelity, on whom I might safely rely—had returned to his home, it being thought unnecessary to take him to the other end of Asia, on such a journey as this, while his home and his family were in Syria.

For the first day or two of our route, I had to attend entirely to my own wants, without any other exemption than that of not cooking; it being required of me to look after my own baggage, saddle my horse, rub him down, feed him, and secure him at night, as well as lead him to water in the day; and to do all the other little offices which I might otherwise need. I had been of late so accustomed to this, under a state of much greater privation, in my journeys east of the Jordan, and through the mountains and plains of the Haurān, that I scarcely felt it to be inconvenient. Its being thrown on me at all, however, I attributed to the hurry and bustle of the caravan's departure, which accumulated a pressure of duties on every one's hands, so that no man could yet attend to the affairs of another. Considering myself as on board a ship just departing from her port—for these land-fleets and ships of the desert require quite as much time to put in regular order—I consoled myself by saying, We shall get all to rights when we are clear of the land, and well out to sea.

On our arrival at Beer, on the Euphrates, matters were, however, no better; and as the prying eyes and curious inquiries of many in

the caravan had been attracted, by their seeing a person equally well dressed with the Hadjee and his nephew performing menial duties, which they themselves did not, and as I was often annoyed by the impertinence of those who took greater liberties with me on that account, I ventured to inquire whether the sum specified had not been given to the servants on my behalf, and whether I was not thereby entitled to their assistance on the journey. The owner of the camels admitted that he had received fifty piastres, for which the small portion of baggage I carried—namely, a carpet, corn for my horse, and his chain-fastenings for the night—were placed on the lading of one of the camels, and he thought this to be all the service which I should require of them. The cook, who was an Abyssinian slave, had really enough to do in his own department, and as he denied his having received any consideration on my behalf, nothing could be expected from him. The groom declared, also, that he had not been rewarded in any way, and that I had, therefore, no just ground of complaint against his inattentions.

I directed my inquiries still further, thinking that these men might have given me false answers, in order to exempt themselves from any claims from me, and, accordingly, I asked the young Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef, the nephew of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, if he knew any thing of the hundred and fifty piastres promised, and the mode of its appropriation. He declared that he was entirely ignorant of the affair, and said he believed his uncle to be so too: adding his conviction, that if the consul had promised me to pay that sum, and I really intended it, it was no doubt done, though the servants might deny it. He still repeated that he knew nothing at all of the matter; and expressed himself almost angrily at my having so underrated their hospitality and respect for the English nation, as to think any reward, even to the servants, necessary for my participation of their common fare on the journey.

As I felt that if the affair were suffered to end thus, the veracity both of the consul and myself might be liable to suspicion, I had written to Mr. Barker a full detail of the case, requesting

his explanation of it to be sent after me, that it might reach me before I quitted my companions at Mousul. This, then, was the purpose for which the messenger had been despatched, and the answer which he brought stated that the hundred and fifty piastres had been paid, by his own cashier, into the hands of the young Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef *himself*, and in the presence of his friend Hadjee Hāshim of Aleppo. Letters in Arabic, directed to the uncle and the nephew, accompanied this to me; and on reading them, the former was roused to a violent degree of anger, and the latter covered with confusion.

From all that I could learn, it really appeared that this young man, who had received the money, had concealed the fact from all the rest of the party; and after giving fifty piastres to the camel-driver, who alone had been previously told that he would have to receive that sum, he had appropriated the rest to himself. The uncle, who had every appearance of being sincere and honest, expressed his indignation in very warm terms, and made every suitable apology to me; the nephew, on the contrary, first strove to brave it out, by repeating that he knew nothing of the affair, until the camel-driver confessing that it was from the hands of Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef that he received his portion, further denial was vain.

This was the act of a young man of twenty-two, an age when the heart is generally most inclined to revolt at any thing that is base or mean, particularly where pecuniary gains are the only benefit to be received by it, and the son and nephew of wealthy merchants, so that he had the prospect of a good inheritance. It was a sad picture, therefore, of Eastern integrity, (it could neither be called Arabic nor Turkish, since the family was strictly neither,) and as this young pilgrim was also just newly returning from the Hadj, it seemed to prove that there was reason in the proverb which is common among the Arabs of the Desert, with whom pilgrimages are not in great repute, and which says, "If thy neighbour has been once to Mecca, suspect him; if twice, carefully avoid him; but if three times, make haste to remove from near his habitation!"



CHAPTER VII.

FROM ORFAH TO THE ENCAMPMENT OF EL MAZAR.

IT was past noon, when a party arriving from the eastward brought intelligence of the Annazie camp being removed farther south, and of the road for the moment being clear. It was, therefore, advised, that instant advantage should be taken of this favourable change, by setting out immediately on our journey, as these wanderers might soon again return. This being determined on, with a promptitude extremely rare among Orientals, all became a scene of bustle and preparation.

The caravan destined for Diarbekr, and which, like our own, had delayed its departure from day to day, from the supposed danger of the road, now united itself to ours, in order to go with us part of the way at least, and thus increase our mutual safety. The

number of animals assembled at evening in the khan was at least three hundred, chiefly horses, mules, and asses; camels being said to be unfit for the road to Diarbekr, because a branch of Mount Taurus crosses this route: the number of persons accompanying the caravan was at least equal to that of the animals.

Public prayers were performed at sun-set in the inner court; a bountiful supper was again distributed among the poor, and the strangers; and we continued up, surrounded by parties of great mirth and gaiety, to await the rising of the moon before we set out on our journey to Mardin.

JUNE 15.—It was past midnight when we left the khan, after which we passed southerly through the long range of suburbs without the wall and ditch of the city, and getting nearly opposite to the gate of Diarbekr,* in the eastern quarter, quitted Orfah, and bent our course easterly across the plain.

It was within an hour after our setting out that we reached a small village, in which the dwellings were meanly built, though from amidst the centre of them arose the tall minaret of a mosque, seen from a long way off. The plain itself was covered with corn, some portions of which had already begun to be gathered in by the reapers, but the greater part was still standing. On our left, or to the north of us, at a distance of a mile, we had a range of bare hills, running nearly in the direction of our road, and on our right, the view lost itself in the distance, ending in the immeasurable and unbounded waste of the Southern Desert.

We continued our way on a course of east-south-east, seeing many ruined villages on the right and left, and several small camps of what are called Arab-el-Belled, or Arabs belonging to the country. These are distinguished from the Bedowee, or Bedouins, by their being, in general, stationary, or at least confined to a small

* In eastern cities, gates are generally named from places *towards* which the road leading from them looks; and from which caravans for such places consequently depart.

space of wandering; following the occupation of cultivators as well as shepherds, and having fewer camels, and a greater number of other flocks and cattle; but still more than all, by their being tributary to the nearest government, of which the great Desert Tribes are wholly independent.

At sun-rise, we crossed a stream flowing to the south-south-west, called the Water of Jelab, and said to lose itself in the southern sands.* We saw here a number of the crested hoopoes, a bird extremely abundant in Egypt. They are called in Arabic "Hedhed," with the appellation of Beni-Sulimān, or children of Solomon; from a prevalent opinion, that in the splendid age of this Jewish monarch, these birds were among the number brought to him, with the peacocks and monkeys, from Ophir, and other distant lands. It is currently believed by the people of the country, that its crest was then a crown of gold; but that the avidity of mankind for this precious metal occasioning the birds to be often killed for their crowns, they assembled together, and represented their case to Solomon himself. This monarch, in his great wisdom, understood the languages of all animals, as well as of all people, on the face of the earth; and, hearing and pitying their case, he prayed to their Creator to ameliorate their destiny, when the crown of gold was instantly changed to a crest of feathers, of equal if not of still greater beauty.

The plain over which our road lay now became waste and dreary, being no longer cultivated, although it was still covered with a fine fertile earth, and bore a long wild grass, on which the animals of the caravan fed as they went along. The town of Orfah, as seen behind us, at the foot of the hills near which it stands, still preserved

* "Les environs de Roha ont quelques positions locales qu'il ne faut pas omettre. En s'éloignant de cette ville, vers Grec-levant, une plaine, que le nom d'Eden fait croire être agréable, est traversée d'une petite rivière qui prend le nom de Giallab, d'un château situé dans les montagnes qui côtoie la route; et le nom de cette place est *Calaba*, dans la Notice de l'Empire, et dans Procope de Edificiis."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre.*

an interesting appearance. This range of hills runs nearly north and south, and ends in the last direction in the Desert. To the east of our path, at a short distance, was a similar range of hills, lying also north and south. The bare ridge on our left, lying east and west, completed three sides of a square, and the fourth side of the horizon on our right was open, presenting an even line like the sea, terminating in the sandy waste of the Great Southern Desert.

In the western edge of this, we could distinguish as we passed the minaret or towers of Haran, bearing south-south-west, and distant from twelve to fifteen miles. From some of our party who had been there, I heard that, though all in ruins, it was a larger town than Orfah, and had, like it, enclosing walls and a castle; but I could hear of no remains of Roman architecture resembling those seen in the castle of Orfah.* There are at present no inhabitants of any kind at Haran, though the Arabs of the country come occasionally to lodge there during the rainy seasons, for the shelter of their flocks.

Our march was continued in a state of constant apprehension and frequent alarm, from the appearance of horsemen in small parties, until nearly noon, when we halted at a spot called Tal Kaloo, for the sake of watering at a well there. We had slightly ascended from the level of Orfah, and had reached the foot of the eastern range of hills seen from thence, at a distance of about fifteen miles.

The heat of the day was excessive, and a dead calm prevailed at noon; the thermometer in the shade standing at 99°. A strong north-east wind however soon sprung up; and a storm of thunder, lightning, and large hail, beat down our tent, and obliged us to cover ourselves and horses with all the cloaks, bags, and carpets we

* Charran, which was at the same time called Carræ and Charræ by the Romans, and was remarkable for the defeat and death of Crassus, is placed by Golius Niger, and others, forty miles to the northward from hence, which is evidently erroneous.—See *Ives's Travels*, p. 354.

could collect, to protect us from the heavy fall of the stones, many of which were an ounce in weight.

We were repaid for this inconvenience by the delightful serenity of the evening, and the pure freshness of the air. Ascending a round artificial eminence, near the place of our encampment, on which foundations of buildings were visible, the view from thence was exceedingly extensive. The people here have a particular and characteristic name for the Desert, and for all wide spaces of land, unpeopled by towns and villages, similar to that which we use for the wide expanse of ocean, when we call it "the open sea." Such portions of unpeopled country are called "Burreah," a name derived either from "Burra," meaning the land—as "Burra el Sham," the land of Sham; or Burra, meaning without, at a distance: thus they say, "Nuzzult al Burreah," or "We encamped *without*, in the *open land*," exactly as we should say, on ship-board, "We brought up, or lay-to, *without*, in the *open sea*." In these extensive plains, minute objects are seen at quite as great a distance as on the ocean, and the smallest eminences are discovered, (or "made," as the sea phrase is,) by degrees, just as islands and capes are at sea, first perceiving their tops, and then raising them gradually above the horizon, till their bases appear on the level of the observer. Many of these, like rocks and headlands to sailors, become, among the Desert Arabs, so many fixed marks of observation, and fresh points of departure. The bearings and distances of wells are noted and remembered from such objects; and they are seen by caravans, going slowly across the Great Desert, for many days in succession, as they approach to and recede from them. We observed from hence several of such eminences, all of which are said to have their peculiar name among the Arabs of these wastes, as well as among the leaders of caravans, so that they answer the names and positions of capes to sailors, in the direction of single ships, or fleets at sea.

From several single passengers whom we met coming across these plains from the eastward, all of them poor men, venturing as messengers, or letter-carriers, having, in the execution of their

errands, much to gain and nothing to lose, we had such unfavourable accounts of the direct road to Mardin, that it was determined in our next march to make a turn to the northward, and get into a by-path, little known or frequented, and lying in the hollows of the hills. Seid-Hassan, of Orfah, being still with us, on a journey, in charge of merchandize to Mardin, and being better acquainted with this neighbourhood of his nativity than any of the other leading men of our party, took upon himself, by general consent, the charge of caravan-bashi, or pilot; and it was under his orders that we were to halt, move forward, break up, or form our camp. Even in this forlorn spot, we met fakirs and dervishes on their way towards Aleppo, for the next pilgrimage of Mecca; and by one of these, an Indian, who halted at our tent to refresh, I forwarded another letter to my friends in England. The camp was breaking up whilst I wrote it, and we afterwards moved on for about an hour after sun-set, to change our halting place, as it was suspected that our position had been seen by horsemen wandering on the hills, and we were likely to deceive them by this measure. We lay down at night with our arms in our hands, and the bridles of our horses forming our only pillow, to be ready at the first alarm, in case of any sudden attack.*

JUNE 16th.—We commenced our march with the rising of the

* To shew the grounds which existed for this alarm, and to give the reader an idea of the terror which the attacks of the Wahābees had inspired throughout every part of the East, it may be well to give a few extracts of the Memoir written by the French Consul at Bagdad, and founded on the most accurate sources of information in the country itself, in letters written to him by correspondents residing at the time in Aleppo and Bagdad, in 1806 and 1807.

“ *Extrait d'une lettre écrite d'Alep, en date du 12 Juin, 1806.*

“ La caravane des *Hagis* ou Pèlerins, a dû souffrir considérablement cette année du brigandage de ces sectaires fanatiques. Après avoir massacré une partie des dévots Musulmans qui la composoient, et soumis l'autre à des impositions excessives, ils ont brisé le sacré *Mahmel*, coffre d'un riche travail et couvert d'un drap vert brodé, qui renferme les pieuses offrandes que le Grand Seigneur envoie chaque année, pour

moon, and now bent our course to the northward, going through narrow and winding valleys, and constantly ascending. At sun-rise we were in a small confined place, where the bare hills on each side

être déposées sur le tombeau de Mahomet. Ce coffre est porté ordinairement par un chameau superbement caparaçonné, et qui marche toujours à la tête du convoi, en mémoire de celui qui portoit le siège du prophète dans ses courses apostoliques et militaires. Un tel accident, fait pour jeter l'alarme parmi les Turcs, a plongé notre ville dans la dernière désolation; tout le monde le regarde comme le triste présage de la décadence du Mahométisme. Tandis qu'un corps de Wahabis s'étoit mis aux trousses de la caravane des pèlerins, un autre plus nombreux, expédié de Dréhyèh même, se dirigeoit rapidement vers Zéber, Bassora, et Imam-Ali. Ces brigands se présentèrent en force, le 27 Avril, devant le dernier de ces lieux, et à la faveur de la nuit parvinrent à en escalader les murs; déjà ils avoient planté leurs drapeaux au haut des remparts, et quelques-uns d'eux avoient même pénétré dans l'enceinte de la place, lorsqu'un de leurs chefs s'écria tout-à-coup, en s'adressant à ses camarades: ' Mes amis, voici le moment favorable pour signaler notre saint zèle: nous sommes les vengeurs du Très-Haut, faisons grâce à ceux qui suivent sa loi, mais punissons de mort ceux qui osent la violer.' Cette courte exhortation, prononcée d'un ton haut et délibéré, réveilla les sentinelles endormies, et sauva Imam-Ali. L'alarme fut générale; les habitans coururent aux armes, et jugeant qu'il valoit mieux se défendre avec courage que de se laisser lâchement égorger, ils firent une vigoureuse résistance et tuèrent tous les Wahabis qu'ils rencontrèrent: ceux-ci voyant leur projet manqué par une harangue tout-à-fait déplacée, n'eurent d'autre parti à prendre que de se retirer à quelque distance de la ville, où, s'étant retranchés, ils la tinrent dans une espèce de blocus; mais un scheikh Arabe, nommé Hatab, fondit sur eux, suivi d'une poignée de gens, et les obligea, au bruit du canon de la place qui les étourdissoit par un feu continu, à s'éloigner, après qu'il leur eut tué plus de six cents hommes. Les Wahabis, informés de la sortie du pacha, se replièrent sur Sérawat, ville des bords de l'Euphrate, et attaquèrent cette place selon leur coutume pendant la nuit; mais ils échouèrent encore dans cette tentative. Osman-aga, commandant du lieu, les repoussa vivement, et le lendemain un scheikh Arabe, suivi de trois cents *Késaïls*, les chargea avec tant de vigueur, qu'ils perdirent dans cette dernière affaire, à ce que l'on assure, plus de cinq cents hommes."— pp. 170—176.

“ Extrait d'une seconde lettre d'Alep, en date du 14 Mars, 1807.

“ Je m'empresse de vous donner la nouvelle très-importante de la mésaventure arrivée aux pèlerins, qui après être partis de Damas pour se rendre à la Mecque, ayant à leur tête selon l'usage l'*Emir-el-Hage*, Abd-allah-pacha, ont été arrêtés au milieu de leur route par les Wahabis, et exposés à de nouvelles vexations. Ces sectaires avoient dicté l'an passé au même pacha des conditions rigoureuses qui interdisaient au convoi qu'il conduisoit toute espèce de pompe extérieure; indignés de voir qu'il ne s'y étoit

nearly approached each other. In those on our right were perpendicular cliffs, near the summit of which were several caves, apparently artificial, though from the difficulty of access to them it

pas conformé, ils lui ont signifié l'ordre de suspendre sa marche et de s'en retourner avec toute la caravane, le menaçant d'un pillage complet, s'il s'avisait de faire la moindre résistance. Abd-allah-pacha a voulu entrer en composition, mais il n'a pas été écouté, et comme il hésitoit à se soumettre à l'ordre qui lui avoit été intimé, il s'est vu tout-à-coup enveloppé par les Wahabis, qui, après avoir pillé, maltraité, et même massacré grand nombre de pèlerins, l'ont force enfin à rétrograder et à retourner à Damas, où il se trouve en ce moment, fort incertain du parti qu'il doit prendre."—p. 178.

"Extrait d'une troisième lettre datée de Bagdad, le 8 Juillet, 1807.

"Depuis les derniers détails que je vous ai transmis, sur la situation des affaires politiques de ce pays, il ne s'est passé ici rien d'intéressant et qui puisse mériter votre attention, si ce n'est l'avis qu'on a reçu de l'apparition subite d'un corps de Wahabis sur les bords de l'Euphrate. Leur dessein paroît être de couper le passage à la caravane qui se prépare à se mettre en route pour Alep; celle-ci vient en conséquence de recevoir ordre du Gouvernement de différer son départ, et le kiaya se dispose à se rendre avec trois ou quatre mille Arabes à Ana, ville située sur le même fleuve, à quelques lieues de Bagdad, afin d'en repousser les sectaires dans le cas où ils en approcheroient. Le pacha même doit, dit-on, quitter incessamment sa résidence, et aller occuper les avenues d'Imam-Ali, lieu que l'on croit menacé de rechef d'un pillage prochain. Un second corps de Wahabis, très-considérable, s'est porté plus haut vers Deir, lieu situé également sur l'Euphrate, à cinq journées d'Alep. Des Arabes fugitifs, venus récemment de cet endroit, ont assuré que l'intention de ces brigands étoit d'y construire un fort pour recevoir une garnison, et qu'ils avoient déjà rassemblé tous les matériaux nécessaires pour cela. Ceci démontre assez le projet qu'ont les Wahabis d'entrer dans la Mesopotamie, où ils n'ont pu pénétrer jusqu'à ce jour; et une fois qu'ils y auront mis les pieds, toutes les forces réunies de la Porte ne pourroient peut-être plus venir à bout de les en chasser."—p. 179.

"Extrait d'une quatrième lettre datée de Bagdad, le 30 Juillet, 1807.

"Nous venons d'apprendre par des avis certains la triste nouvelle du saccagement d'Ana, exécuté par un corps combiné de Wahabis et d'Al-Ubeids, à la tête duquel se trouvoit Létouf-beg, fils du fameux Schawi-zadèh, qu'Ali-pacha a fait étrangler il y a quelques années. Les cruautés qui ont été commises dans cette ville sont horribles, et rappellent le souvenir affreux de celles qu'exercèrent ces brigands en 1802, dans la ville d'Imam-Hussein. Ils ont mis tout à feu et à sang, et après avoir massacré la majeure partie des habitans, ils se sont retirés précipitamment, chargés de dépouilles, et entraînant avec eux en esclavage un grand nombre de femmes et d'enfans."—p. 181.

was more easy to conceive that they were used as places of sepulture, than that they were ever the residences of men, or places of shelter for cattle.

On gaining the highest part of the stony land, up which we had been all the morning ascending, an extensive view of the country to the east and west presented itself. In both directions there were a number of successive levels, divided by such inconsiderable ridges, as still to retain the character of two great plains, the one on the north-east and the other on the north-west of our present point of view. The northern prospect was bounded by the eastern extremity of the range of Mount Taurus, which here ends sloping away by a long and slow descent into the plain. I could not perceive the branch or chain of it, which is generally represented in our maps as forming a sharp angle here, and running nearly north and south; nor could I, in answer to my inquiries, glean any accurate account of the country beyond this boundary.

I had reason to believe, indeed, that the information given me of the road from Orfah to Diarbekr leading across these mountains, was incorrect; since the plain beyond their eastern extreme seems to be more in the direct way. The reason why horses, mules, and asses, are chiefly employed in that journey, and camels in this to Mardin, must be sought therefore in some other cause. While I was in the act of conversing on this subject with a stranger of the caravan near me, my host, the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, inquired of me, whether there were any mules in the country of the Franks? I replied in the affirmative; adding, that in the south of Europe they were the principal beasts of burden used. He then gravely assured me of the fact, which he thought peculiar to the mules of this country, that they did not perpetuate their species, and was greatly surprised to learn that this defect was common to their race elsewhere. He said, that tradition had preserved a story of the old idolaters among the Chaldeans attempting to burn the Patriarch Abraham, for his having deserted the gods of his fathers, when called into the land of Canaan; and that, as mules were the animals

on which the wood for the fire was carried, the mules of Mesopotamia were condemned by the Almighty to sterility for ever afterwards; though before this period they brought forth their young like other creatures. There was no authority that I remembered to set up against the latter part of this tradition, namely, that there ever had been a period in which mules enjoyed the common privilege of propagating their species. The oldest of profane historians, Herodotus,* mentions such an occurrence in the early times of which he treats, but he notices it as a prodigy, out of the common course of nature, and numbers it among the strange omens that preceded an important event: this, however, was a writer of whom my companion had never heard, and to whose authority he would have attached no credit, in any thing which might have tended to invalidate so pious a tradition as this, wherein the true God was made to appear as the enemy of infidels.

We continued our way over a stony land, composed principally of lime and broken flint, and covered with a profusion of fine white poppies. The soil abounded in other wild productions of the vegetable world, a great many of which were used in the common medicines of the country, and were gathered by the people of the caravan for that purpose.

As nature had been here lavish of her remedies in this almost unpeopled waste, so there were not wanting poisons and venomous creatures to make up the balance of evil and good. Among the former was a plant, which sent up a soft stalk about four feet in length from the ground, and the diameter of the human finger at the root, gradually becoming smaller. The stalk, which was full of white frothy sap, bore a profusion of berries, about the size of large peas, hanging thickly around it. In their present state, they were of a whitish colour, and smooth on the outside; but within they

* *Thalia*, 153, vol. ii. p. 339. 8vo. and *Polyhymnia*, 57, vol. iii. p. 482.

were of a deep green, with black seeds of a triangular shape, and a spongy substance.

Among the insects, were several small flies, the stings of which were painful; though it is worthy of remark, that, since leaving Aleppo, we had not seen a single musquito, neither on the banks of the Euphrates at Beer, nor amid the lakes, the streams, and the gardens of Orfah, favourable as these situations might be considered for their production. The large and hideous lizard, with bloated head and eyes, so common over all Syria, had also ceased to be seen; and it was now rare to hear the croaking of frogs at night. Black beetles, such as the scarabeus of Egypt, were, however, plentiful; and large black ants, many of them a full inch in length, were also abundant, and often made us feel very sensibly the depth of their bite.

The most remarkable creature was, however, a large black scorpion, called, in Arabic, "Akrabee." It was about two inches in length; the first inch forming its head, breast, and legs, and I think its wings, though I did not see them opened; and the last inch being occupied by a soft ringed body, or tail, of about a third of an inch in thickness. When touched by a stick, it seemed to divide its head into two parts; the cleft between, forming, to all appearance, its mouth, presented a surface covered with brown and stiff hairs, like so many darts, and with these it made great efforts to touch the offending substance. While its head and breast lay thus flat on the ground, in the natural position of its motion, its body or thick tail, forming half its entire length, was cocked up in the air, at right angles with the other half or part before it, which seemed to be its head. This body or tail, so elevated, was ringed and scaled, like the tail of a lobster, but ended abruptly, as if a piece had been cut off from the trunk. In the centre of this flattened termination was a small tube, through which it emitted its venom, of a milky white; and when teased, it expanded its large mouth, waved its heavy tail in the air, and sent forth momentary emissions

of its poison. Its bite or sting was said to be generally productive of death ; though not so suddenly, but that, under skilful treatment, some efficient remedy might be applied.*

It was now near noon when we encamped in the hollow of a waving plain, near a reservoir of rain-water, which supplied our wants. To the south of us, about three miles, were seen a few trees on the brow of a hill. These were now become remarkable objects ; for, since leaving Antioch, near the coast of Syria, excepting in the gardens of Aleppo, on the borders of the Euphrates, and at the town of Orfah, we had scarcely seen a tree throughout our track.† This general bareness of wood gives a very desert and melancholy aspect to a country, however productive it may be in other respects. A lover of the picturesque would soon become disgusted by the monotony of the views ; but an American farmer would probably be charmed with them, as they would present to him extensive tracts of dry and cleared land, needing no draining of marshes, no hewing down of whole forests, and at the same time having fine pastures for cattle, and a fertile soil for corn lands.‡

Our afternoon offered no variety of occupations, but it kept us all on the alert and in a constant state of alarm, from the appearance of horsemen in different directions, whose pursuits and destination were judged of by their numbers, their course, and other indications, in the same way as opinions are formed of strange vessels passing in sight at sea. In the evening, every spark of fire, or the least

* There are representations of a similar scorpion in the forty-second plate of D'Olivier's Atlas, Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6 ; but the one, here imperfectly described, resembled No. 4. of that plate, more than either of the others.

† The face of the country was the same in the age of Xenophon ; as, in the Anabasis, he thus describes it :—" The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood ; and if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell ; *but no trees could be seen.*"

‡ It has been remarked, that the richest and finest views of nature in America present no charms to the eye of the native backwoods-man, who can see no beauty but in cleared land, as that is the great object of all his toils.

appearance of smoke, was quenched, to prevent our place of encampment being noted from afar off, as all lights are extinguished at night upon the ocean, by vessels wishing to escape the observation of an enemy.*

As the place of our encampment, called El Beil, was in a high and thick grass, we were surrounded at night by swarms of fire-flies, which are said by the natives to shew their luminous effulgence here only while they feed upon the herbs and grass of the spring, and that in the depth of winter they either emit no light, or totally disappear.

JUNE 17th.—We departed from hence, when the moon gave us sufficient light to direct our path, and our course was now bent towards the north-east. In the progress of our way, we passed in sight of several places where there had apparently been buildings, and close by one on which the portion of a considerable edifice was

* Notwithstanding this perpetual apprehension of danger and precaution for safety, there is a feeling of pleasure in the independence of a desert life, which none can imagine but those who have felt it. This is very happily expressed by one, who had no doubt experienced it himself, and to the fidelity of his description most persons who have travelled any distance among the Arabs must be ready to bear witness. The writer to whom I allude says, “Malgré la solitude et les désagréments du désert, malgré la vie vagabonde, dure et laborieuse, que mènent ses habitans, on doit croire que ces hommes agrestes et endurcis aux fatigues, se dédommagent assez des nombreuses privations auxquelles ils s’accoutument de bonne heure, et que bien des gens regardent comme des maux réels, par le plaisir de l’indépendance et par les douceurs de la concorde fraternelle qui règne constamment entre eux. J’avouerai même que dans mon voyage en Mésopotamie, j’ai éprouvé bien des fois, en me trouvant au milieu des Arabes qui m’accueilloient avec empressement et affabilité, les charmes de cette liberté primitive, précieux apanage de l’homme, dont nous perdons le sentiment par l’habitude que nous faisons de la commodité et du luxe des villes. Un simple tissu de crin ou de chaume, que l’Arabe nomade transporte où bon lui semble, pour s’en former un toit, le met à couvert lui et sa famille de la pluie, du froid, et des ardeurs du soleil. Rien ne borne sa course, il peut la diriger à son gré; le sol sur lequel il se fixe lui appartient, et sans avoir besoin de distinguer les propriétés par des limites, il partage avec ses voisins le pacage de son troupeau qui l’habille et le nourrit tout à la fois.”—*Descr. du Pach. de Bagdad*, p. 106, 107.

still remaining. The stones of this were large and well hewn, and the masonry smooth and good. It marked the outline of an oblong square, about a hundred feet by fifty; but to what age it belonged I could not decide, nor could I learn whether the spot had any name among the people of the country.

In descending, we came to several very deep cisterns, hewn out of the hard rock, which here presented a flat surface, level with the soil, as if it had been hewn down to this level by human labour. This was rendered more probable by there being traced out, on the face of the rock, small channels for conveying the rain-water into the reservoirs. I could not even learn the name of this place, though it no doubt had one; for so valuable a station could not but be well known and much frequented by the Arabs of the country; but as we were now out of the Derb-Sultāni, or King's highway from Orfah to Mardin, the best-informed individuals of the caravan had sufficient difficulty in making out the road at all, without knowing any thing of the names of places on it.

It was about an hour after sun-rise, gradually ascending from hence, that we reached the brow of an eminence, which opened to us a boundless prospect on the east, very similar to that which we had seen on the south when looking towards Haran. To the north, the wide plain below was bounded by an insulated range of mountains, separated from Taurus by an intervening valley of great extent; this range rising in its western and terminating in its eastern extreme, by low points gradually sloping down from the centre of its length, where its summits were highest. The general direction of this range seemed nearly east and west, and it might extend from forty to fifty miles. Its outlines were more even, and its summits less elevated, than those of Taurus, as we saw no snow on any part of the former; whereas the southern face of the latter presented many patches of the purest white. The northern sides of both these ranges might, however, be more thickly covered with snow, from their being less exposed to the dissolving influence of the sun. The Great Eastern Plain presented an horizon like the

sea, broken only in two or three places by little mounds, arising like rocks and islets out of the water.

We saw here many thin columns of smoke arising from Bedouin tents, scattered over this plain, as it was the hour for kindling morning fires, and not a breath of wind was yet stirring. We were pleased, rather than alarmed, by these appearances, because they were known to proceed from the Arabs of the country, as they are called, who satisfy themselves with a fixed tribute from all caravans passing through their districts, and do not pillage passengers, unless the payment of this is resisted by them. Their peaceably abiding in their tents induced us to hope, that the wandering hordes of the Annazies, who transport themselves with such rapidity from place to place, had not reached thus far, and this hope gave new confidence to our steps.

Soon afterwards, two horsemen were seen, coming towards us across the plain: and the headmost of our caravan, consisting of its leader, Seid-Hassan, the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and myself, being all well mounted, galloped off to meet them, in order to ascertain as speedily as possible from whence, and under what sheikh or chief, they were. We found them to be Arabs of the Beni-Meilān, under Abu-Aioobe-Ibin-Temar, Pasha, who were on the look-out on behalf of their tribe, with orders to let no caravans pass without payment of the regular demand of tribute.

These men were mounted on fine mares, though very wretchedly caparisoned; and their dress was rather like that of the Fellahs or cultivators of the country, than like the Bedouins I had been accustomed to see. They wore the large overhanging tarboosh, and white muslin turbans, with a serge cloak, resembling in colour, form, and substance the white Muggrebin burnoosh, used in the west of Africa; except that this had large sleeves, and, instead of being woven like the former without seam, it was joined in the middle, like the Syrian Arab cloak, by a red cord, going horizontally across the back.

Their arms were, a sword, a brace of pistols, and a long light

lance, of twelve or thirteen feet in length. Both of these men were shaved, wearing only mustachios, and one of them had light blue eyes, a fair complexion, with yellow hair and eye-brows; but neither of them had a single feature at all resembling those I had been accustomed to see in the pure Arab race, from the southern extremity of the Yemen, to this the most northern limit of Arabia.

It is impossible to convey an idea of the respect which was paid to these two individuals, by the leader of our caravan, Seid-Hassan, as well as by the Hadjee, who was the chief owner of the property it conveyed; and it was from my being really unprepared to do them the homage thus spontaneously offered by my companions, that I was discovered to be a stranger, and soon made to pay dearly for such an omission.

At their giving the word, a halt was made, till they could ride round the caravan to survey it; when, one of them remaining behind to prevent escapes, and the other preceding us, we were conducted, like a flock of sheep by a shepherd and his dog, to one of the stations of their encampment, called El Mazār.

It was near noon before we reached this place, as it lay about two hours north of the road from which we had turned off, and was just midway between the common routes to Diarbekr and Mardin, being therefore a good central station from which to guard the passage to both. There were other local advantages which rendered it eligible to these tribute-gatherers, and occasioned it to be a frequently-occupied and often-contested spot. The first of these advantages was a spring of good water, forming a running stream, and fertilizing a fine pasture-ground on each side of it. The next was a high and steep hill, which, if artificial, as, from its abruptness of ascent and regularity of form, it appeared to be, must have been a work of great labour, and served the double purpose of an elevated post of observation, from which the view could be extended widely on all sides round, and a place of security for the

flocks at night, it being quite inaccessible to mounted horsemen. The last peculiarity, which recommended this place as a station for a tribe exacting tribute, was, that the passage to one particular part, at the foot of the hill, was so exceedingly difficult, either for horses or foot-passengers, even in the day-time, that it could not be gained but very slowly, step by step, and under constant exposure and disadvantage. This last spot had been chosen for the tents of the Arabs themselves, where they were as secure as in the most regularly fortified garrison ; and we were ordered to encamp in the pasture-ground below, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from them.

The first tent was scarcely raised, before we were visited by three of the chief's dependants, mounted on beautiful horses, richly caparisoned, and dressed in the best manner of Turkish military officers, with their cloth garments highly embroidered, and their swords, pistols, and khandjars, such as Pashas themselves might be proud to wear. Every one arose at their entry, and the carpets and cushions of the Hadjee, which had been laid out with more care than usual, were offered to the chief visitor, while the rest seated themselves beside him. All those of the caravan who were present, not excepting the Hadjee himself, assumed the humiliating position of kneeling and sitting backward on their heels, which is done only to great and acknowledged superiors.

This is one of the most painful of the Mohammedan attitudes, and exceedingly difficult to be acquired, as it is performed by first kneeling on both knees, then turning the soles of the feet upward, and lastly, sitting back on these in such a manner, as that they receive the whole weight of the body, while the knees still remain pressed to the ground. I at first assumed this attitude with the rest, but an incapacity to continue it for any great length of time obliged me to rise and go out of the tent, on pretence of drinking ; which simple incident, though I returned in a very few minutes afterwards to resume my seat, from its being thought a disrespectful

liberty to rise at all in the presence of so great a man, without a general movement of the whole party, gave rise to very earnest inquiries regarding a person of manners so untutored.

The answers to these inquiries were highly contradictory. Some asserted that I was an Egyptian of Georgian parents, and of the race of the Mamlouks of Cairo, from their knowing me to be really from Egypt, and from my speaking the Arabic with the accent of that country, where I had first acquired it, while they attributed my fairer complexion than that of the natives to the same cause. Others said that I was a doctor from Damascus, and suggested that I had probably been in the service of the Pasha there, as I had given some medicines to a little slave-boy of my protector, by which he had recovered from an attack of fever; coupled with which, they had heard me talk much of Damascus as a beautiful and delightful city, and therefore concluded this to be the attachment of a native. Some again insisted that I was a Muggrebin, or Arab of Morocco, acquainted with all sorts of magical charms and arts, and added, that I was certainly going to India to explore hidden treasures, to open mines of diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; to fathom seas of pearls, and hew down forests of aloes-wood and cinnamon, since I was the most inquisitive being they had ever met with, and had been several times observed to write much in a small book, and in an unknown tongue; so that, as it was even avowed by myself that I was going to India, and had neither merchandize nor baggage with me of any kind, it could be for no other purposes than these that I could have undertaken so long a journey. Lastly, some gave out that I was a man of whom nobody knew the real religion; for, although I was protected under the tent of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and treated as an equal with himself, I was certainly not a Moslem of the true kind; because, at the hours of prayer, I had always been observed to retire to some other spot, as if to perform my devotions in secret, and never had yet prayed publicly with my companions. A Christian they were sure I was not, because I ate meat, and milk, and butter, on Wednesdays and

Fridays, as well as on other days ; and a Jew I could not be, because I wore no side locks, and trimmed the upper edge of my beard, after the manner of the Turks, which the Israelites or Yahoudis are forbidden to do. As I had been seen, however, at every place of our halt, to retire to a secluded spot and wash my whole body with water, to change my inner garments frequently, to have an aversion to vermin which was quite unnatural, and a feeling of disgust towards certain kinds of them, amounting to something like horror, as well as carefully to avoid being touched or lain upon by dirty people, and at night to sleep always aloof from and on the outskirts of the caravan, they concluded, that I was a priest of some of those idolatrous nations of whom they had heard there were many in India, the country to which I was going, and who, they had also understood, had many of these singular aversions, so constantly exhibited by myself.

All this being openly declared by one mouth or another, from individuals of the caravan, who had crowded around our tent, and in the hearing of the Hadjee himself, he found it necessary to clear me from all these imputations, by declaring me at once to be an Englishman, whom he had taken under his protection. These Arabs had never heard of such a people; but when it was said a Franjee, (or a Frank,) "Oh!" said one of them, "*they* are the people who come from Ajām,* and *I* know how to prove or try them." A cup of water was then at this man's request brought to me, and I was requested to drink out of it, being first told that the cup belonged to a Jew of the caravan. I drank, as requested, and then the man declared, with a loud voice, that I was an impostor, since the Franjee were all Ajāmi, and the Ajāmi would rather die than drink out of the cup of a Yahoodi, or Jew.

I know not how so strange an assemblage of ideas had been formed in this man's brain, but it was such as to produce on the

* Ajām is the name given by the Arabs to Persia, and among the most ignorant of them is generally applied to all countries eastward of their own.

minds of all who heard him the firmest conviction of my having deceived even my companions. I was then questioned about the country of the English and that of India, and my answers to these questions only made the matter still worse. As they believe the world to be a perfect plain, surrounded by a great sea, so as to be like a square mass floating in water, the Mohammedans generally inquire how the countries lie in succession, one *within* another, in the different quarters, taking their own for nearly the centre of all. My replies to such questions were directed by truth, for the sake of avoiding self-contradiction, to which I should have been very liable if I had been cross-examined, and had endeavoured to shape my answers to their absurd theory. I admitted, however, in conformity to their own notions, that the eastern world ended at the Great Sea beyond China, the western world in the Pacific Ocean, the southern in the Sea of Yemen, and the northern in the Frozen Ocean. The details of dog-headed nations, of women growing on trees and falling off when ripe for marriage, of men forty yards high, and other equally absurd matters of Eastern fable and belief, were then all inquired about, and my answers to these being less satisfactory than even those to preceding questions, the opinion of my being an impostor was confirmed, more particularly as some one had mischievously mentioned my having been already detained at Beer, as a chief of Janissaries, who had committed some crime, and was therefore flying from Aleppo.

While all this was going on beneath the tent, a scene of a different description was passing without. The two horsemen whom we had first met were employed in arranging all the goods and baggage, according to their respective owners, in separating the Christians from the Moslems, and in making the necessary preparations for the levy of their tribute from the caravan. A paper was then brought, containing a written statement, drawn up by one of our party, at the command of the surveyors, and by him read to the chief; for neither himself, nor any of his attendants, appeared to be able to read or write. While all the rest humbly knelt around



him, this chief stretched himself, with an affectation of contempt, along the carpet on the ground, and threw his legs occasionally in the air. It was neither the attitude of weariness, or the rude carelessness of unpolished life; but a barbarian or savage notion of dignity, which consisted only in shewing to those around him how much he despised them.

It was just at this moment that the Hadjee contrived to lay before this Chief, with his own hands, and with an attitude of the greatest humility, a box of presents, containing a rich Cashmeer shawl, some female ornaments, an amber mouth-piece for a Turkish pipe, and other articles, amounting in value to at least fifteen hundred piastres, or fifty pounds sterling. These the brutal despot turned over, with a look of as much indifference as he had assumed from the beginning, and neither deigned to praise them, nor to seem even pleased with the gift. The list of our goods being then read to him, a certain sum was commanded to be affixed to each name, and, to judge from his manner of naming it, the amount of this was entirely arbitrary. The owners of the merchandize were then ordered to pay twenty piastres for each camel-load, fifteen for each horse or mule, and ten for every ass. The leader of the caravan was to pay a thousand piastres, to be levied by him in any way he thought proper on the persons composing it; the merchants were to give a thousand Spanish dollars for the members of their class; the Mokhōddesy, or pilgrims from Jerusalem, were to raise fifteen hundred piastres among themselves, which was a still harder condition than the preceding; and I was condemned to pay one thousand piastres, instead of five thousand, which it was contended would have been demanded of me, if I had not been under the protection of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, who had smoothed his way by his presents to the Chief.

The sums named for the merchandize were instantly agreed to be paid; but the other assessments were not so easily to be obtained; as their amount was not only exorbitant, but the persons named were really unable to raise it. The leader of the caravan reduced

his tribute to five hundred piastres, of which he paid the half himself, and raised the other half by subscription. The merchants compromised for two thousand, which was furnished by about ten of the principal ones; and the pilgrims could not raise altogether five hundred piastres, though they formed, in number, nearly two-thirds of the caravan.

The two men who exercised the duty of collectors, and who, being on the look-out on that day, were perhaps interested by a specific share of the prize-money, behaved with the greatest insolence and cruelty. They ransacked the private baggage of such as they suspected to have any thing worth taking, and selected from amongst it whatever they pleased. When they came to mine, I trembled for the result, as, though consisting only of a pair of small khoordj or saddle-bags, and a portmanteau, these contained all that was necessary, not merely for my journey, but for the success of my views in the East. In them were the money with which Mr. Barker had furnished me for my journey, a gold watch, all my Indian letters and papers, which if seen would have made them think me a greater man than they had yet imagined me to be, and induced them to augment their demand; a thermometer, compass, and other instruments, all now crowded, by the advice of the Hadjee, into this small space, to escape observation, from the fear that if seen they would occasion my being taken for a magician, and this idea would be confirmed by their finding among the rest of the things some few medicines, and broken specimens of mineralogy, of which no one would have known or even imagined the use

I made all the efforts in my power to prevent the portmanteau from being opened, but, whenever I advanced to interfere, I was driven back by blows and insults, until, seeing them proceed to loosen the straps, I entreated the Hadjee to intercede for me, saying, that it had cost me much trouble to get the things there into a small space, and begging that they might not be ransacked. The motive was suspected, and occasion was taken of

it to say, that if I chose to pay the thousand piastres demanded of me, nothing should be disturbed. I had before declared, that I had no more money with me than the few piastres shewn to them in my purse, and said that, as I was poor, I hoped to get along by the help of the faithful, and by such sum as should be produced by the sale of my horse at the journey's end. All the money that I had, indeed, except these few piastres, which were necessary for the current wants of the road, was really within the khoordj, the greater amount being in a bill on a merchant of Bagdad, and the remainder in gold coin, carefully secured, and I could not pay it, if disposed to do so, without opening this package. I was allowed a moment to consult with the Hadjee, to whom I stated my wish rather to accede to these terms, hard as they were, than to have my baggage opened, which might, perhaps, lead to still worse consequences, as in it money would be found, which would betray my having deceived them, and other articles of still greater value, which would be, perhaps, taken from me altogether. He then, after fruitless efforts to reduce it lower, agreed to pay the sum required, on condition that my effects should not be disturbed; and it was of course understood, that I was to return this sum to him either on the road, or on our arrival at Mardin.

The poor pilgrims were treated even worse than I had been; for they had not only their effects taken from them, to make up for a pretended deficiency of tribute, but many of them were severely beaten into the bargain.

This duty of exacting and paying the tributes occupied all parties very busily until after El Assr, the hour of afternoon prayers. The chief of this robber-tribe had already washed and prayed, however, with all due formality, beneath the tent, during the time of the pillage: for prayer, among a very large portion of Moham-medans, is not so much performed as a duty of religion, as it is to imply manhood and consequence. What we mean in Europe by *devotion*, namely, a pouring out of the soul before an invisible Being, as much loved as feared, and a feeling of gratitude for his blessings,

is certainly very rare among them, though there is no people in whose mouths the name of God, or the expression of thanks to him, is more frequent.

As soon as all these revolting proceedings were ended, we were commanded, rather than invited, to go up to the camp to supper. I would willingly have staid behind; but, though I pretended incapacity from indisposition, I was not suffered to remain. I had seen the people of the tribe take a khandjar or dagger from one, and a brace of pistols from another; and although I had escaped having my musket taken from me, as that was a weapon not in general use among them, yet I was apprehensive for the fate of my sword, which was a very excellent old Damascus blade, and cost upwards of a thousand piastres in Egypt. As it was too large to have it packed away in any of the parcels of our baggage, I had contrived, by lifting it up between my shoulders, to conceal it behind my back, beneath my abba or cloak; but it was difficult either to mount, to dismount, or to change positions in any way, without risking its being seen.

I went up to the encampment, however, on foot, while most of the rest went on horseback; taking my sword with me in the position described, as I had no opportunity of leaving it behind, without the certainty of its being discovered and taken from me by those of the hostile tribe who were guarding our tents. When we arrived at the camp, we found about a hundred and eighty tents, all of black hair-cloth, and of a form neither purely Arab nor Turcoman, but combining the peculiarities of each. They were generally raised on several small poles; some consisted only of one apartment, others of two, and the partitions and outer enclosures were invariably of reeded matting. The tent of the chief was very large, and its roof was supported by at least forty poles: it was of an oblong form, divided into two squares; one of these, being enclosed from the outer side, was appropriated to the females; the other was open on the two fronts, and closed at the centre for the harem.

We found in this tent two persons, superior even to the chief who had visited us below. These were seated on fine divans, lolling on rich cushions; and one of them, a corpulent man, with a long white beard, was dressed in silk cloths and furs, with a high cap, of a kind between that of a Delhi and a Tatar. We knelt humbly around on the earth, and were barked at by large dogs, stared at by dirty and ill-dressed children, and eyed by the women from the openings in the partitions of the tent; the whole presenting a greater mixture of the rudeness of Arab manners with the luxurious indolence of the Turkish, than I had ever before seen.

Supper was served almost instantly after the first cup of coffee had been taken. This consisted of a whole sheep, two lambs, and two kids; the former set before us with its limbs unsevered, the four latter in separate dishes of a large size, cut into pieces, and boiled with wheat in the husk. We had warm bread, and an abundance of lebben or sour milk, for which last only spoons were used, the boiled wheat being eaten by handfuls. The whole was despatched with the haste of beasts devouring their prey, and fearing to lose it by delay; and as every one, after washing his hands and mouth, poured out the water on the ground before him, without using a towel or a basin, the whole space within the tent was speedily inundated. The earth at length, however, absorbed it; but so rudely was every thing done amidst this abundance, and even luxury, that hands and faces were wiped in the sleeves of shirts, or skirts of cloaks, or else left to dry in the air. Coffee was again served, and as the sun was declining we prepared to return.

We were detained, however, by an affray that was likely to have proved fatal to many, and did indeed end in the wounding a considerable number, on each side, of the combatants.—During the supposed moment of security, while we sat beneath the tent of the chief, we observed a party of Turcoman horse, belonging, it was afterwards said, to another tribe, passing through the camp,

leading with them several camels and their lading, taken from our caravan. Immediately, the whole camp became a scene of warfare. Our legitimate pillagers, roused with indignation at the interference of other intruders on their sacred ground, rushed to horse and to arms. All the members of the caravan who had come up here by command, some mounted, and some on foot, rushed out to join them. A battle ensued: the horsemen, with their spears and swords, the men on foot with their muskets, pistols, and daggers, were previously engaged, hand to hand. Many were run through and through, with the long lances of the cavaliers, and afterwards trampled under their horses' hoofs; several others were wounded with sabre cuts, and still more had severe contusions and bruises. All were hotly engaged, at close quarters, for half an hour at least, and it fell to my lot to come into grappling contact with three individuals in succession, neither of whom escaped unhurt from the struggle. It ended, however, in victory declaring on our side, in the recovery of the plundered property, and the chasing the intruders from the camp.

It was faint twilight when this contest ended, and as it was desirable to get to our tents before it became dark, those who had ridden up to the camp, mounted the same horses to go back; but as I was on foot, a saddled mare was presented to me. I declined to ride, and begged to be permitted to walk. It was answered, that it would be a great breach of politeness to suffer one like me to depart from the tent of the chief on foot, and, in short, my riding was insisted on. I was obliged to yield; and, when mounting, my sword, which after the affray I had still continued to conceal, as before, was, as I expected, discovered. As the people of the country never see arms of any kind without examining them, it was in vain to resist their inspection of this. I was accordingly taken in to the sheikh, who expressed himself pleased with it. He asked how much it had cost me: I was afraid to name any sum; because, if I told him justly, he would have concluded that I was rich; if I stated its value at a low estimate,

he would have excused himself for taking it from me as a thing of little value. I therefore said it had been given to me by a friend whom I respected; and added, that I valued it so highly on that account, that I would suffer my life to be taken from me rather than part with it. This was uttered in a very determined tone, as the only method which presented itself to my mind, of escaping from extortion. It had, in part, the desired effect; but to compensate to the sheikh for his relinquishing all further claim to it, on account of the motive of my estimating it so highly, I was obliged to give him another sword, belonging to the nephew of my host, for which I engaged to pay this young man two hundred and fifty piastres, or return him one of equal value at Mardin.

After being thus literally fleeced, we returned to our camp, fatigued as much by the vexations of the day, as by the privation of our usual noon-sleep, and the bustle we had undergone in the mid-day sun. On going back, we saw the look-out boys descending from the summit of the steep hill, before mentioned, as one of the eminences of this post, and others were driving the flocks into stone enclosures, for their greater security through the night.

I had, at first, taken these enclosures for the remaining foundations of destroyed buildings; but, on a nearer examination, they appeared to be only sheep-folds, constructed of loose stones, with a door of entrance, and the enclosing walls just sufficiently high to prevent the animals escaping. There was here, however, on the south-western side of the hill, the portion of an old building, now in ruins. Its masonry was of unburnt bricks of a large size, but thin, and well cemented. I observed in it a good Roman arch, as of a recess, in the inner wall, but of what age its construction was, or to what purpose it had been applied, it would now be difficult to determine. The whole of the stones were large round insulated masses of the black porous basalt, so often described in the plains of the Haurān, on the eastern frontiers of Syria.



CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ARAB CAMP AT EL MAZAR, TO MARDIN.

JUNE 18th.—The confusion into which all the packages had been thrown, by the ransacking of the preceding day, occasioned great delay this morning to set them in proper order, so that it was long after sun-rise when we departed, although we had all been stirring, as usual, at the rising of the moon.

We continued our way north-easterly over the plain, in order to get into the track of the Arabs, to whom we had thus dearly paid tribute; a man of their tribe having been despatched to the chief in that direction, to acquaint him with this, and to permit us to pass in safety, without further extortions.

From all that I could learn, the usual places of encampment of this tribe of Beni-Melân were on the southern road from Orfah to

Mardin, and the more northern route from Orfah to Diarbekr ; they had now, however, shifted their position, from a fear of the Annazies, who were much more powerful than themselves, and with whom their only mode of warfare would be by retreating, unless surprised and obliged to fight. These Annazies were estimated at fifty thousand horsemen at least, according to the testimony of the Beni-Melān themselves, as well as that of others who professed to be intimately acquainted with their resources.

In our progress over the plain on which we now travelled, we passed wide tracts of the finest land, producing a high grass exactly like corn. Indeed, I did not at first know it to be otherwise, until, by a comparison of it with fuller ears of grain in some sown patches near it, the difference was perceived. Even at the time of that examination, however, I still thought the first to be wheat in its indigenous state. Excepting only some few stony portions, where goats and sheep chiefly fed, the whole tract was one waving field of yellow harvest, seeming to invite the sickle ; and in cleared patches of this were seen not less than five hundred tents, scattered in groups of from thirty to fifty each, in different parts of our way, with large herds of bullocks and horned cattle feeding in this luxuriant pasture.

At such of the tents as were near our path, we drank milk and coffee ; and after an agreeable road of only three hours, in which, however, we were oppressed by the violent heat and the fatigue of the preceding day, we halted at noon near a pool of rain-water, to replenish the supply of the caravan.

Our situation was in itself sufficiently painful to all, but its effect was heightened to me by the forlorn situation in which I found myself here, without friend or companion, servant or interpreter ; hearing every hour four or five strange languages, one of which only (the Arabic) I understood, and seeing in every individual about me a rudeness and selfishness of the most repulsive kind, however justified it might have been by the necessary dependance of every man on his own exertions.

It is true that here no one is superior to another, but by his own capacity of enduring hunger and thirst, heat and cold, watching and fatigue ; and his only safeguard consists in the union of his own vigilance and courage with that of others, who are all strangers to him. The contracted and selfish interest to which this necessarily gives rise, the frequent refusal of one to render the least assistance to another, where his own benefit is not immediately concerned, and the insolence with which those are addressed who are thought in any way to delay the general progress, are constant subjects of disgust and irritation to all parties.

In the evening we were visited by two wandering musicians, of the Koordi, or Curd, people, one of whom played on a rude guitar, and the other sang some Koord songs, which were lively and not destitute of natural melody. We had, at the same time, the following striking instance of the frivolous appeals to the Deity among the Mohammedans. A man went round the caravan, crying, with a loud voice, " In the name of God, the just, and the merciful. My cup is gone from me : it disappeared while I prayed at sun-set ; (and may God grant my evening prayer.) To whoever may find the same, may God lengthen out his life, may God augment his pleasures, and may God bring down affairs of business on his head ! " This pompous appeal to heaven, and the prayers for good fortune to the finder of the missing utensil, were all powerless, however, in their effect. The lost cup was not found ; and the consolation then assumed was, " God knows where it is gone, but it was written in heaven from of old. "

As the Koordi inhabiting the hills near us had the reputation of being great robbers, we lay encamped to night in closer order than usual, every man by his horse, ready armed and accoutred, and catching at intervals an hour's sleep upon his sword or his spear.*

* Travelling in Mesopotamia seems, even in the earliest ages of which we have any records, to have been little less dangerous than at present. In the history of Isaac and Rebekah, when Abraham sent his chief servant from Canaan to Haran, to betroth the damsel, it is said, " It was a considerable while before the servant got thither ; for it

On departing from our station, we went a course of east-south-east, over the plain, which was an alternate succession of stony tracts, and fertile soil, covered with rich grass and corn. The stones were black, porous, and in separate masses of from one to five hundred pounds weight, above the surface of the ground, resembling in form, though not in colour, large masses of sponge. Some, indeed, were semi-globular above the earth; and where they were broken on the surface, shewed coatings of different lamina like the coats of an onion, while the points of such few ridges as thrust themselves above the soil, were of a more solid kind. The remarkable perforations which appeared in the greater portion of these stones, did not seem to depend on their greater or less exposure to the air; for the freshest and blackest of them were as full of these as the most decomposed; and when broken, the interior presented the same appearance as the part without. The soil was a fine brown mould, of a light colour, apparently equal in depth and fertility to that of Egypt.

After a march of about two hours, we reached a burying-place of the tribe of Beni-Melān, under the foot of a small hill, on the sides of which were enclosures of stone for the security of flocks. The graves here were of a different form from any that I had yet seen in the country, being of the usual length and breadth, but built in a strait wall on all sides up from the ground, to the height of seven or eight feet, and then closed on the top by a semicircular or convex covering of stone. At each end rose a small slab, without ornament or inscription of any kind.

There were nearly fifty of these tombs, but the principal one was that of Temar Pasha, the father of Aioobe, the present chief of the tribe. It consisted of an octagonal outer wall, enclosing a well-paved court, the ascent to which was by a flight of steps.

requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, where it is tedious travelling in winter, for the depth of the clay; and in summer, for want of water; and, besides, is dangerous, by reason of the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travellers, but by caution before hand."—*Josephus, Antiq. of the Jews*, b. i. c. 16. s. 1.

In the centre of this court rose an octangular building, having an open arch in each of its sides, and being covered by a well-executed dome. Beneath this, stood the tomb of the Pasha, which presented the appearance of an open grave, the sides being raised about a foot above the level of the surface, and the central part hollow to that depth. Around these sides were seen the common ornaments of the Turkish frieze reversed, as remarked on the tombs at Orfah; and at the head of the grave was raised a perpendicular stone of the common form, containing the monumental inscription in Arabic, and crowned by the high cap between the form of that worn by the Tatars and that used by the Delhis. In the paved court without this central octagonal building, were two other humbler tombs, probably those of the wives or children of the Pasha himself.

We continued our march from hence, going east-south-east, until nearly noon, when, having been in motion about eight hours, we halted near a pool of rain-water, in a hollow of the plain, and close to the foot of a small round hill called Tal Jaffer. We had now all around us a level view, broken only by little hillocks; excepting on the north, where the plain terminated at the range of hills before spoken of, as forming the insulated mass, east of Taurus. This is called in Turkish, Karaj Dag, and in Arabic Jebel el Asswad, both signifying the Black Mountain. It is probable, from its name, that it is formed of the black stone so common over all this tract.

In the evening, some Yezideeah, as they were here called, halted at our tent, on their journey from the eastward towards Orfah, and took coffee with us. These men were very different in their appearance from those I had before seen at Orfah; the individuals of the present party having round harsh features, red complexions, and stiff wiry hair. They were said, however, to be genuine Yezedis from Sinjār, so that there must be a variety of character and race among them. Out of the ten that we saw here, there was not one whose countenance did not bear the mark of great villany; such as might recommend them for the execution of any bloody

purpose, and make them fit and faithful servants of the demon whom they were said to worship.

During their stay with us, they requested a letter to be written in Arabic, by a member of our caravan, which was dictated by one of themselves aloud. Though the letter extended to nearly fifty lines, it consisted entirely of personal salutations from every one of their party, to a host of names among their friends, saying that they had arrived safe thus far, and, by the blessing of God, hoped soon to return to them, after a prosperous journey. Among the names recited, the common Arabic ones prevailed, though there were some that I had never before heard; the title of "Cowāl" was affixed to more than half of these, and was, as I learnt, the distinctive appellation of their priests, who are said to be as numerous as the rest of the community.

Among the new particulars which I heard of this people, it was said, that in their sacred books no mention is made of any superior beings, except Sheitān and Eesa, or Satan and Jesus; but they paid to the former the higher honours of the two; as they did not scruple to use the name of Jesus, while that of Satan could not, even by the most cruel deaths, be extorted from them. The interview described in the Gospels, where the Devil is said to have tempted the Messiah; the instances of his sending whole legions of his inferior spirits to torment men, and possess herds of swine; and more particularly the occasion on which the Devil is said to have taken Christ up into a high mountain, to have shewn him all the kingdoms of this world, and promised them to him if he would fall down and worship him;—are all interpreted by them as favourable to the high dignity of this Prince or Melek, as they call him. They contend, that if the assertion of the Gospel be true, that all the kingdoms of the earth *are* at the disposal of Satan, and the power and the glory of them delivered to him, to give to whomsoever he will, he must be a personage of the highest consideration, and one whose favour all the *good* kings and emperors of the earth must have won; for to *his* influence alone do they owe the possession of their

respective thrones. This is the orthodox doctrine in the mountains of Sinjâr; and any one who should dispute it, would no doubt be treated with much the same kind of indulgence that is shewn to sceptics elsewhere.

The Yezeedis have one large church, somewhere in the north of Mesopotamia, which they all visit at the yearly feast; and besides this, there are many smaller ones in their native hills. The brazen image of a cock is said to be set up in their temples, as an object of adoration; but they suffer no one to enter their places of worship except themselves, and are also scrupulously reserved on the subject of their religious opinions, in which particulars, as well as in their isolated situation in a range of mountains going by their name, they resemble the Druzes and Nessaries in Syria. Their women are most carefully concealed from public view; but I could not learn whether each man confined himself to one wife or not. Blue, which is the distinctive colour of the Christians throughout the Turkish empire, is studiously avoided by them. They will neither sit upon it nor touch it, as they consider it the colour peculiarly sacred to Satan. Nevertheless, those very Christians, who are compelled to wear this distinguishing colour as a mark of inferiority imposed on them by their Turkish masters, are, in the estimation of the Yezeedis, much inferior to the Mohammedans, with whom they are generally at open war.*

* These particulars, as well as the several others already mentioned, and each gleaned from information on the spot, are strongly corroborated by the facts mentioned in the Memoir of Père Garzoni, already quoted, and especially by the two following paragraphs:—

“ Ces sectaires ont un très-grand respect pour les monastères Chrétiens qui sont dans leurs environs. Quand ils vont les visiter, ils ôtent leurs chausseurs avant d'entrer dans l'enceinte, et, marchant pieds nus, ils baisent la porte et les murs; ils croient par là s'assurer la protection du saint dont le couvent porte le nom. S'il leur arrive, pendant une maladie, de voir en rêve quelque monastère, ils ne sont pas plutôt guéris qu'ils vont le visiter, et y porter des offrandes d'encens, de cire, de miel, ou de quelque autre chose. Ils y demeurent environ un quart d'heure, et en baisent de nouveau les murailles avant de se retirer. Ils ne font aucune difficulté de baiser les

JUNE 20th.—The moon was now so far advanced in her wane as to yield us little light before the morning, so that it was broad daylight before we were all in motion. Our route was directed a point more southerly than before, but the face of the country over which we travelled was nearly the same, consisting of stony tracts, fine grass-covered plains, and some few patches of corn-land, alternately succeeding each other.

On the south of us was the Great Desert, on which the eye soon became fatigued to look, as it had all the monotony of a sea-view, without the freshness of its colouring, or the variety occasioned by the winds and waves by which this last is continually agitated. We now opened in the north-east a second range of isolated mountains, rising more abruptly, having more broken outlines, and being of a greater height than those of Karaj Dag. These were

mains du patriarche ou de l'évêque, qui est supérieur du monastère. Quant aux mosquées des Turcs, ils s'abstiennent d'y entrer."

"Le chef des Yézidis a toujours près de lui un autre personnage qu'ils appellent *kotchek*, et sans le conseil duquel il n'entreprend rien. Celui-ci est regardé comme l'oracle du chef, parce qu'il a le privilège de recevoir immédiatement des révélations du Diable. Aussi quand un Yézidi hésite s'il doit entreprendre quelque affaire importante, il va trouver le *kotchek*, et lui demander un avis, qu'il n'obtient point néanmoins sans qu'il lui en coûte quelque argent. Avant de satisfaire à la consultation, le *kotchek*, pour donner plus de poids à sa réponse, s'étend tout de son long par terre, et se couvrant il dort, ou fait semblant de dormir, après quoi il dit qu'il lui a été révélé pendant son sommeil telle ou telle décision : quelquefois il prend un délai de deux ou trois nuits, pour donner sa réponse. L'exemple suivant fera voir combien est grande la confiance que l'on a en ses révélations. Jusqu'à il y a environ quarante ans, les femmes des Yézidis portoient, comme les femmes Arabes, afin d'épargner le savon, des chemises bleues teintes avec l'indigo. Un matin, lorsque l'on s'y attendoit le moins, le *kotchek* alla trouver le chef de la secte, et lui déclara que pendant la nuit précédente il lui avoit été révélé, que le bleu étoit une couleur de mauvais augure et qui déplaisoit au Diable. Il n'en fallut pas davantage pour que l'on envoyât sur le champ à toutes les tribus, par des exprès, l'ordre de proscrire la couleur bleue, de se défaire de tous les vêtemens qui étoient de cette couleur, et d'y substituer des habits blancs. Cet ordre fut exécuté avec une telle exactitude, que si aujourd'hui un Yézidi se trouvant logé chez un Ture ou chez un Chrétien, on lui donnoit une couverture de lit bleue, il dormiroit plutôt avec ses seuls vêtemens, que de faire usage de cette couverture, fût-ce même dans la saison la plus froide."—*Notice sur les Yézidis*, pp. 197—202.

called Jebel Mardin, and near their centre the city of that name was said to stand.

In all our progress to-day, we saw neither houses, tents, nor flocks, though we passed several wells and springs, as well as pools of rain-water, preserved in natural hollows of the land, and still fresh and good.

It was before noon when we halted at one of these, named Uslam Deddé, large enough to be called a lake. Its borders were edged around by large masses of black rock and tall rushes, and its waters contained crabs and small fish, some of which were caught and eaten. On its banks was an abundance of rich grass, which furnished welcome refreshment to our horses and mules, while the camels seemed to prefer the drier herbs more remote from the edge of the lake. As its waters were deep, many of our company bathed here, and myself among the number, finding it refreshing beyond description to wash my whole body and change my inner garments; for the dirt and vermin accumulated in a few days only, by eating, drinking, and sleeping among fakirs and dervishes, with which the pious Hadjee's tent and table were always crowded, is scarcely to be conceived, without actual experience of the evil.

As we had intelligence that the Sheikh Aioobe Ibin Temar Pasha was encamped in the neighbourhood, with all his suite, it was deemed necessary for the heads of our caravan to visit him with presents, to prevent any further extortions from his tribe. The party was small, and I carefully avoided making one of the number; for though I had already contributed more than my share, I should have been, most probably, forced or inveigled into a further contribution.

It appeared, from what I could learn of this tribe, that its founder was a disgraced Pasha, who escaped the sword of the executioner at Constantinople; and bringing away with him both money and troops, forced his march down through Asia Minor, till, getting safe beyond the mountains of Taurus, he took refuge in these extensive plains. He then invited to his tent adventurers

and outcasts from every quarter, so that he soon had a numerous force about him, formed of excellent materials for his purpose. For the life he was to lead, as an independant freebooter on the territory of the sovereign by whom he had been disgraced, no man could be more fit than this fugitive chief; and, by the aid of his adherents, he soon succeeded in making himself acknowledged lord of these domains, and feared even by the established Pashas of Diarbekr and Aleppo. After a long reign, he died, and left the chieftainship of the host to his son, the present Sheikh Aioobe, who is himself far advanced in years.

This tribe is said to consist of about fifty thousand tents, scattered over the country between Mount Taurus on the north, and the Great Desert on the south, and from the borders of the sea on the west, as far as Mardin on the east. The variety of national character here brought together accounts for the corrupt state of their manners, as well as for the different styles of physiognomy which we observed among them. Their women are mostly unveiled, though but few of them are pretty. We saw none who were dressed purely as Arabs; they wear a white chemise with long and ample sleeves, tied to meet behind the neck, so as to leave the arms bare, a coloured cotton gown, and a turban or calpac, like the Turkish chaook, covered with white cloth. Neither do they stain their skin with blue, or load their arms with heavy bracelets, after the manner of the Bedouin females.

To the north and west of their district are the Turcomans, already spoken of, with whom these people live in tolerable amity; and in the south-east, just beyond our halting station, were a small tribe of Desert Arabs, called Beni Hadideel. These were said to amount to no more than about one thousand tents; but they are represented to be all Seids or Shereefs, that is, noble, or descendants of the Prophet. On this account, they all wear the green turban, which distinguishes them from ordinary Moslems, and they are among the very few of the Desert tribes who have continued faithful to the orthodox doctrines of Mohammed, and resisted the innovations

of the Wahābees. The incursions of the Annazies, with whom, as heretics, this tribe is at war, having driven them farther north than usual, the smoke of their evening fires was pointed out to us, from hence in one of their encampments to the southward, upon the borders of the Great Desert, but we could not distinguish the tents themselves.*

JUNE 21st.—We set out at a later hour than usual this morning, as the sky was lowering, and the sun at its rising obscured by a red mist. The air was calm, but a disagreeable and suffocating heat prevailed, all which were considered symptoms of an approaching southern wind. Two hours after sun-rise the heat was insupportable, and, even from the people of the country, the general cry was to halt.

* The following description of the appearance and nature of the Southern Desert is accurately and happily expressed :—

“ Le long de l'Euphrate et du Tigre, et sur les deux bords du Schatt-el-Arab qui est formé de la réunion de leurs eaux, on ne rencontre que fort peu de forêts, encore n'y croît-il point d'arbres de haute futaie; ce ne sont partout que des terrains couverts de taillis, de roseaux, et de broussailles, qui offrent les plus tristes perspectives: à gauche du premier de ces fleuves, est l'immense et aride désert de l'Arabie, borné à l'ouest et au midi par la mer, et où l'œil du voyageur n'aperçoit, ni collines, ni vallées, ni bois, ni sources, enfin aucun de ces aspects pittoresques, et gracieux ou terribles, que la nature s'est plu à réunir dans d'autres pays sous mille formes variées.

“ Cependant c'est ce même désert que les grandes caravanes de chameaux traversent une ou deux fois chaque année, pour pourvoir Alep, Damas, et Bagdad, des marchandises propres à alimenter leur commerce, et leur luxe: on n'y trouve ni sentier frayé, ni chemin battu, soit parce que la route est peu fréquentée, soit parce que les sables emportés par le vent ont bientôt fait disparaître les traces des hommes et des animaux. On peut dire que c'est un océan de sable, où les Arabes se dirigent par la seule inspection du soleil et des étoiles, comme ceux qui voyagent sur mer. D'après ce qui vient d'être dit de l'aridité et de la sécheresse de ce désert, brûlé d'ailleurs par les ardeurs du soleil, on aura peut-être peine à comprendre, comment ceux qui s'y enfoncent peuvent trouver de l'eau, et ne pas mourir de soif. On a pourvu à ce besoin, en creusant de gîte en gîte des puits, dont l'eau quoique saumâtre et quelquefois même tout-à-fait corrompue, ne laisse pas de servir à abreuver les Arabes et leurs chameaux. En hiver, les pluies forment en divers endroits des lacs et des marais; alors le voyage n'est pas si désagréable, ni si pénible.”—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, pp. 53—55.

It was about this time when the wind began to be felt by us, coming in short and sudden puffs, which, instead of cooling or refreshing, oppressed us even more than the calm, each of these blasts seeming like the hot and dry vapour of an oven just at the moment of its being opened. The Southern Desert was now covered with a dull red mist, not unlike the sun-rise skies of our northern climates on a rainy morning, and soon after we saw large columns of sand and dust whirled up into the air, and carried along in a body over the plain with a slow and stately motion. One of these passed within a few hundred yards of us to the northward, having been driven over a long tract of stony land, to a distance of perhaps twenty miles from the place of its rising. It was apparently from eighty to a hundred feet in diameter, and was certainly of sufficient force, by its constant whirling motion, to throw both men and animals off their legs, so that if crossing a crowded caravan, and broken by the interruption of its course, the danger of suffocation to those buried beneath its fall would be very great, though, if persons were prepared for it, it might not perhaps be fatal. The wind now grew into a steady southern storm, and blew with a violence which rendered our march confused and difficult, till at last we were obliged to encamp, before the usual number of hours' march had been performed.

The course we had pursued to-day was nearly east-south-east, and the distance not more than ten miles in five hours of time. Our road still maintained the same character of a fertile plain, and was covered with the same kind of black basalt, now seen in smaller pieces, of a still more porous substance, some of them resembling the ragged cinders formed by the coal and iron of a smith's fire. We passed over a piece of ground where the native rock was visible, pointing its ragged surface above the level of the soil, and forming a bed of pure stone, without any mixture of earth. It was here that I remarked the same appearances as those observed in the basaltic masses of the Haurān, namely, in some places presenting circular and serpentine furrows, as if the matter had been once a

fluid, and had suddenly cooled while in the act of a whirling motion; while in other places, where the masses were of a semi-globular form, and coated like onions, it had the appearance of a fluid matter suddenly becoming solid, while in the act of ebullition, and throwing up thick bubbles, such as are seen on the surface of boiling tar or pitch.

Towards the close of our march, we passed through some villages of Koords, all of them very small and meanly built. The dwellings were generally constructed of small stones, or unburnt bricks; they were all low, having only a door of entrance to admit light and air, and were roofed either with a sloping thatch of straw, or reeds, plastered over with mud. Some, indeed, were simply formed of two walls, with a roofing of hair-cloth, like a tent, raised over them; and others were entirely tents of the worst and poorest kind. The people make of these villages only a temporary habitation, in the sowing and reaping season of the year; so that they are deserted for a greater length of time than they are inhabited, and are, therefore, not worth the care bestowed on more permanent residences.*

The Koords occupy a tract of country to the north and east of this, extending beyond Diarbekr, in the former direction, and as far as Mousul, in the latter; so that the river Tigris may be said to form their north-eastern boundary, the Desert of the Arabs their southern one, and the Euphrates their extended western limit, few of them being found even to the westward of the great plain of the Turcomans, at the eastern foot of Taurus. They prefer the mountains to the plains, and generally make the former the place of their permanent habitations for their families and property. As they unite the pursuits of shepherds and cultivators, they descend into the plains, in the early spring, to plough the land, and in the

* The following is mentioned by Otter as a peculiarity of the Koords:—
“Comme ces gens n'ont point de maisons, ils font de grands trous dans la terre, où ils cachent si bien leurs grains qu'ils est difficile de les trouver.”—*Otter*, t. 1. p. 118.

summer to reap the harvest, leaving their fields in the interval to the care only of the few boys and women who attend upon the flocks that graze below. They are all Moslems, though they are said to be indifferent to the duties of their religion, and to be the most cunning and treacherous robbers in these parts.

The fear of communicating with them in any way was so great in our caravan, that, though many were famishing with thirst, they would not halt at a Koord's hut, for fear of being robbed; and when I did so, though without alighting from my horse, merely drinking the water brought to me, with my bridle still in my hands, I was severely reprov'd by the good old Hadjee, as having imprudently incurred a great risk, which he thought no discreet person ought to run.

The practice of these Koords is, it seems, to shew every mark of hospitality to strangers and passengers, to invite them into their dwellings, and serve them with their best fare; when, under pretence of examining and admiring, or sometimes of even purchasing, their arms, clothes, &c. they get the articles out of the stranger's sight, when some one in league with the host goes off with them in security. Instances were related to me of their having taken even the horse from his rider, and laughingly wished him afterwards a good journey on foot. All were agreed on their being rather cunning and dexterous thieves, than open robbers, like their more daring neighbours on the south.

In our way, we had seen some of those Koords from the northern hills, or those called generally Jebel Mardin, and the dress of these was nearly that of the Bedouin Arabs, the chief garments being a long and ample shirt, and an outer goombaz or caftan, of coarse white cotton cloth. The girdle of the waist was of thick leather, tightly buckled on. On the head, instead of the kaffeah, was worn a small red tarboosh, bound round by a thin blue cotton handkerchief. They wore also a white cloak of coarse and open serge, which, being thrown over their head and shoulders,

sheltered them from the sun in the heat of the day, and served for a sufficient covering at night, in a climate where we had yet found no dews, and where the atmosphere after sun-set was mild and agreeable in the extreme. Their arms were merely a sword and shield. The sword was slung by a belt, depending from the broad zennaar, or girdle, with its edge downwards, in the European fashion, and not with the curve of the blade turned upwards, after the manner of the Arabs and Turks. The shield was formed of a semi-globular piece of brass, with carved devices in the centre; and this surrounded by a broad fringe of black silk, which waved in the air, the outer part being made of a close basket-work of coloured reeds, and the whole forming a handsome appendage to the wearer.

As these Koords walked beside our caravan, singing and driving their cattle before them, with their shields slung over their shoulders, their loose robes and light cloaks blown out by the storm, and thus trudging along, with their naked and brawny legs covered about the ankle only with sandals of thongs, they formed an interesting group, and in the hands of a skilful artist would have furnished an admirable subject for a picture of costume.

The people whom we saw in the village were not all dressed and armed in the manner of these herdsmen; their costume more resembling that of the common cultivators of the country. I remarked no peculiarity of countenance which could be called general among them, except that their faces were rounder and fuller of flesh than those of the Arabs, and they had neither the long straight features nor the thick furrowed neck of the Turkish peasantry. Their complexions were in general dark, their hair and eyes of a jet black, and their forms robust and well-proportioned. Such of the women as we saw were unveiled, clean, and well-dressed, sun-burnt, yet of a ruddy colour, and many of them pretty; while their children were in better order than is ever witnessed among Arabs in the same class of life. The passion of the men for arms is not greater, it is said, than the passion of the women for

pleasure ; and, as far as the modes of life they follow will admit of it, each sex indulges its peculiar propensities.*

The close of our journey among these villages was through fine corn-lands on each side, from which the people were now gathering in the harvest ; and it furnished us an opportunity of seeing, that thickly as the soil was covered with large masses of basaltic rock, this formed no obstacle to its fertility ; for the wide tracts seen beyond the edges of the space, quite cleared by the reapers, seemed one unbroken sea of waving corn.

About an hour before our halt, in crossing the dry bed of a torrent, we suddenly lost all appearance of the basaltic masses and loose brown mould over which they were spread, and came upon a hard light-yellow clayey ground, with small fragments of white

* Lord Bacon had before remarked the generally contemporaneous existence of the passions for arms and love in the *same* sex ; when he said, “ I know not how, but martial men are given to love. I think it is but as they are given to wine, for perils commonly ask to be repaid with pleasures.” But where this latter passion exists in men, it is sure of reciprocity in women ; and the following interesting anecdote, from M. Rousseau’s Memoir, to which a number of equally romantic ones from other accredited sources might be added, if necessary, will shew the character of the events, and the force of the passions that give rise to them, even in these rude classes of unpolished, but not unfeeling, society :—

“ Plus haut que Samerra, on voit un vieux bâtiment, en face duquel, sur la rive opposée, en est un autre presque de la même forme et non moins remarquable par sa vétusté ; tous deux sont compris sous la dénomination commune d’*Ascheck-maschouk*, ce qui veut dire les *Deux Amans*. Les habitans du pays racontent à ce sujet l’histoire suivante, qui a beaucoup d’analogie avec celle de Héro et Léandre.

“ La fille d’un des pontifes Arabes aimoit un jeune homme des mieux faits, qui de son côté brûloit pour elle d’une ardente passion, sans avoir pourtant l’espérance de pouvoir l’épouser : car il étoit d’une naissance vulgaire, qui mettoit un obstacle à son bonheur. La princesse, douée d’un esprit fécond en expédiens, et dressée au manège de la galanterie, obtint de son père la permission de faire bâtir sur les bords du Tigre deux maisons de plaisance ; et lorsque, sous prétexte de changer d’air et de jouir des agrémens de la campagne, elle alloit habiter l’un ou l’autre de ces lieux, elle faisoit prévenir secrètement son amant, qui à la faveur de l’obscurité de la nuit traversoit le fleuve à la nage, pour aller jouir avec elle, loin de tout soupçon et de blâme, des plaisirs de l’amour.”—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 83, 84.

lime-stone imbedded in it ; and here, instead of the full-eared corn, or the high rich grass, which had before bordered our way, were only a few thick-leaved and prickly plants, with bitter weeds sparingly scattered over it, furnishing nothing more than a scanty supply of food for camels.

On passing suddenly into this, it was said, that we had now again come into the "Burreah," or "open land ;" so that the idea of an uncultivated or a desert tract is implied by that term. The range of Jebel Mardin, now only three or four miles off on our left, was composed of a white stone throughout, and the horizontal form of its layers was distinctly visible in the cliffy parts of the summit, long before we quitted the black stone on the plain ; so that this sudden and immediate change of the soil did not correspond with any similar change in the material of the mountain, from the foot of which it spreads itself out.

The place of our encampment was at the base of an isolated eminence in the plain ; but as the storm still continued, we could not erect our tents, so that we were doubly oppressed during the afternoon by the violent heat of the sun, which raised the thermometer to 102° in the shade, and by the force of the wind, which filled the atmosphere with dust, so as to render objects quite obscure at the distance of even twenty yards from the observer.

At night, the violence of the storm abated, and opened to us again a serene and brilliant sky. Guards were now regularly set over the different parts of our camp, and even those who slept, lay down upon the chains by which their horses were fastened to the ground. I had myself an hour's watch assigned to me, among those of our own party ; but the degree of vigilance necessary on this occasion seemed to have been much overrated, for, notwithstanding that we had Koord villages on all sides of us, the inhabitants of some of which had come in the afternoon to sell us grain for our horses, with milk, butter, and fruits, for our own use, no discovery was made of a single intruder upon our tranquillity during the whole of the night.

JUNE 22nd.—As we hoped to reach Mardin to-day, we set out before there was any other light than that of the stars to guide us. At day-break we were again upon cultivated land, with a fine brown soil, unmixed with stones of any kind. The greater portion of it was laid out in corn, now in the act of being reaped, and the rest in plantations of water-melons, recently put into the ground, and placed in lines of great regularity.

It was soon after sun-rise that we passed some fields which had been suffered to lie fallow since the last harvest, in which was a profusion of small flowers resembling the common daisy in form and size, but being, within and without, of a bright yellow colour, and having the thick yellow tuft in the centre of a larger size. This was called, in Arabic, "Werd el Shems," or the "Flower of the Sun," and was said to turn always to that luminary, whether rising, setting, or on the meridian. I regretted that we were not here an hour earlier, to see if there was any perceptible motion in these flowers at sun-rise; it is certain, however, that, among the whole of them, every one now turned his golden cup towards the God of Day, as if to drink in more fully the principle of life and nourishment from his invigorating beams.

We soon reached the town of Koach Hassār, seen by us, from the level nature of the road, and from some tall minarets which rose from amidst it, ever since the noon of yesterday. This place had been evidently once of greater consequence than at present, judging from some fine Arabic ruins which it contained.

The principal of these was part of a large mosque covered by a central dome of good brick-work, as well executed as the vaulted roofs of the Romans, and of the same materials. The exterior of the northern front presented three fine pointed-arched door-ways, highly ornamented, the central one of which was equal in beauty to the celebrated door-way near the Ezbekeeah in Cairo, or to the fine gateway of the principal caravanserai in Damascus, and greatly superior to any thing of the same kind that I had seen in Aleppo. Between these doors were perpendicular chains of a large size, well

sculptured in high relief, and crowned by a richly ornamental device. The mosque itself had been surrounded by a court and outer wall, which was strengthened by buttresses, and from the north-east angle of this arose a lofty minaret of a square shape, from a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height. It was similar in form, equal in elevation, and superior in execution, to that of the great mosque at Aleppo. Its sides were divided into stories, each of which was ornamented by sculptured arches and other devices in relief; and, in a wide band near the centre, running round the whole of the building, was an Arabic inscription of well-formed letters, in high preservation, but which I could prevail on no one to stop to read. It was, upon the whole, one of the finest fragments of Arabic architecture and sculpture that I remember any where to have seen.

Beside this ruined mosque, were the minarets of two others, little inferior in size to the first, and each also of a square form. One of these only was crowned on the top by a small cupola in the centre of the square, but this was scarcely perceptible at a short distance off.

The present town of Koach Hassâr may contain about five thousand dwellings, all of a humble kind, and low and flat-roofed. The inhabitants sleep either on their terraces, or on raised benches of hardened earth before the doors, in the open air. The population is chiefly Christian, and those of the Armenian church; there being only a few Syrians, and still fewer Mohammedan residents.

At a short distance from Koach Hassâr we crossed a small stream of good water, and in a little more than an hour beyond it came to the village of Soor, where our party made a halt, while the rest of the caravan pursued its way to Mardin, the ultimate place of their destination.

The ascent to that city is over so steep a hill, that goods merely passing by it on their route to other places are never carried up

there, nor is it thought that laden camels could at all ascend to it.* The merchandize of the Hadjee was therefore lodged at Soor, in the warehouse of a general receiver, who was also the officer of the government for the collection of the custom-dues on transit, amounting to two and a half per cent.

I was at first at a loss to understand why we had halted here at all, since the Hadjee had no business to transact at Mardin, and the bare act of touching there for an hour was attended by such a demand; but there were ample reasons for his so doing. The chief of these was, that the state of the roads is so uncertain on this edge of the Desert, as to make it important to obtain the most correct information respecting them, because the going by any one particular route of the many which lead from here to Mousul, or the setting out a day too early or a day too late, might be attended with the loss of all the property embarked. Another reason was, that if he omitted to halt and pay the accustomed duty of transit on this occasion, he would be sure of being burdened with some arbitrary and heavy contribution, if he should ever again pass this way during the reign of the present governor, for having, as he would say, on a former occasion, defrauded him of his acknowledged dues.

The village of Soor appears to contain about two thousand dwellings of the same kind as those at Koach Hassâr, and the inhabitants here are all Christians, partly Syrian and partly Armenian, each sect having its respective church. They wear the white cloak and the dress and arms of the Koords, and though most of them speak Arabic, the Koordi, which bears no resemblance to either this or Turkish, is the language in common use among them.

* M. Rousseau says, " Il n'y a de chemins pour entrer dans Mardin, que quelques mauvais sentiers raboteux, où les chevaux le plus vigoureux ne se traîne qu'avec peine."—p. 95.



CHAPTER IX.

ENTRY INTO, AND STAY AT, MARDIN.

JUNE 22nd.—Having been entertained at Soor with an abundant meal, and passed away the oppressive heat of the day in sleep, we set out from this village on our way to Mardin, leaving all the merchandize behind us, and suffering the camels to feed and repose on the plain. We were about an hour in getting to the foot of the hill, on a course of nearly north, and found, close to its very base, a rich brown soil, laid out in corn-lands, and yielding an abundant harvest.

A great portion of the ground that we had traversed on our journey from Orfah, or, as it is called here, Rahah, to Mardin, resembled, in many of its features, the plains of the Haurān; more particularly in the general aspect of its surface, the quality of its

soil, and the nature of the rock scattered over it. As both these tracts are equally fertile, and abundantly supplied with water, they are likely to have been equally well peopled in those days of antiquity of which the Mosaic history treats; when the land of the Chaldeans and the plains of Mesopotamia were as celebrated as the land of Canaan. A neighbouring desert, such as that on the south of this, inhabited no doubt in the earliest ages by a race of needy wanderers like the Bedouins of the present day, existed also on the eastern edge of the Haurān, beyond the stony district of Lejah, and the rising land of the Druses there.

The same mode of constructing their habitations is likely to have prevailed among the occupiers of each of these tracts, and from the same cause; for in each there is scarcely a tree to be seen throughout their extent, and not sufficient brush-wood even for fuel, the dung of animals being used by the inhabitants of both for that purpose. Stone was, therefore, the only material that presented itself for the construction of such buildings as were suitable to a civilized people, or calculated for durability; and either loose earth for brick-built huts, or the hair of flocks for tents suited to wandering cultivators and shepherds, such as are used by the people of these districts at the present day.

These considerations suggested the question of "Whence is it that the Haurān is full of the ruins of stone-built dwellings, which may be assigned to a very high antiquity, while Chaldea and Mesopotamia, equally celebrated in the same remote age, and traditionally considered to be the Paradise inhabited by the first parents of mankind, shew not a vestige of such buildings, even in those parts, which, from the features of resemblance between them and the Haurān, already enumerated, were equally calculated to produce them?"

The difficulty of answering this satisfactorily, inclined me to believe, that in both these countries, as well as in the equally ancient and woodless land of Egypt, earth dried in the sun was the only material used in the construction of *private* dwellings, at least,

and tents of hair or wool for the herdsmen and peasantry. This would account, in a great measure, for the existence of such unbaked brick buildings in Egypt, where all classes of its inhabitants were necessarily included in a narrow space, in consequence of the Desert hemming them in on both sides, and confining them to the banks of their river; while in the greater part of the Haurān and the open country of Mesopotamia, chiefly peopled by cultivators and shepherds, and having fewer large towns, the dwellings of the people were principally in tents, and therefore no vestige of very early buildings would be found in them.

The conclusion suggested by this is, that the numerous ruins of stone-edifices in the Haurān are all of them the remains of *Roman* works, and mount no higher than the age in which Syria and Palestine were colonies of that vast empire. It is true, there is a marked difference in the style of many of these edifices: some of the best, such as the temples, theatres, and castles, resembling the Roman works of the west, while the small square towers, and private dwellings, have a different description of masonry, peculiar to the Haurān itself. It may be supposed indeed, that as these towers were sepulchral, like similar ones at Palmyra, and the dwellings those of private settlers in the country, the pure Roman style might have been confined to the great national buildings; and the mixed and often capricious orders of masonry and decoration, seen in the rest, have been the work of private individuals, who followed the bent of their own fancy, when architecture began to decline, and the standard of fixed rules and just proportions to be accordingly disregarded.

The Romans, among whom architecture was pursued with a passion, rather than cultivated merely as an art calculated to increase the security and augment the comforts of man, arriving in a country, the conquered subjects of which were their slaves, and where the best materials for building presented themselves abundantly at hand, would naturally apply these resources to the indulgence of their favourite pursuit; and hence it has happened, that in Syria

there are more remains of Roman architecture than are to be found in an equally small space in any other part of their extended empire, or indeed in any other portion of the globe,—India, Greece, Italy, and even Egypt, not excepted.

We began to ascend the hill on which Mardin is seated, and had a steep and rugged road before us, which we were a full hour in accomplishing, passing in the way a well of good water, some fragments of an old paved road, and some parts where the path had been cut down through the solid rock—all now in a most neglected state, and greatly in want of repair.*

On my departure from Aleppo, I had been furnished with a letter for the Syrian Patriarch of Mardin; and learning from some Christian passengers on the road that he was not in town, but at his Convent of Deer Zafferany, a short ride from this place, I parted from the Hadjee, and proceeded thither with a guide. In our way towards the convent, which lay to the eastward of the city, we passed some deep valleys on our right, where, in cliffs of the bare lime-stone rock, were seen a considerable number of excavated grottoes—without doubt, ancient tombs. In different parts of the mountain were not less than a hundred of these, and among them I saw the fragment of a plain sarcophagus. The whole, however, were so evidently sepulchral, and so like the many others with which the East abounds, that, as at Orfah, I had really no desire to visit them for the purpose of more minute examination.

In our way we passed also several fountains of pure and excellent water, and some agreeable spots, where large and full-foliaged trees yielded a refreshing coolness in the air of their rustling boughs, and a welcome shelter from the heat of the sun. In two of these we saw parties of Turkish women, enjoying the delights of the

* “*Mardin*, dont la latitude est de 36° 14' N., et la longitude de 37° 35' E., se trouve à l'extrémité du Pachalik de Bagdad, et lui sert de bornes du côté du nord. Cette ville, située sur une haute montagne, a un château bien fortifié, et des maisons bâties en pierres, qui s'élèvent en amphithéâtre les unes au dessus des autres, le long d'une pente extrêmement roide et hérissée de rochers.”—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 94.

shady retreat. A small village, inhabited chiefly by Christians, lay in our way, in which were gardens, vine-grounds, and a number of pomegranate trees now in full bloom.

On our arrival at the convent, my letter procured me a favourable reception from the Patriarch, who was a handsome and polite young man, and had been advanced unusually early to the dignity he enjoyed, as he was but little beyond thirty years of age. Our evening was passed in a large party, consisting chiefly of pilgrims belonging to Mardin, who had returned from Jerusalem, and had come from Aleppo in our own caravan. The supper served to them consisted of the choicest dishes; and not less than twenty jars of arrack were drank by about as many persons,—all of them, too, before the meal, as a stimulant, and not a single cup after it. The party was continued until a late hour, and our enjoyment was then terminated by the delicious luxury of clean linen and a clean bed.

JUNE 23rd.—It being Sunday, I attended the morning service of the church, with the rest of my companions, where every one stood for about four hours in succession, without even the indulgence of the crutches in use among the Christians of the Greek communion. The service was performed by the Patriarch in person, very splendidly dressed in robes of gold-embroidered satin, and waited on by the inferior priests in garments of corresponding splendour. As every thing was read and sung in the Syriac language, except the exhortation to the people, which was delivered to them in their native tongue, the service was unintelligible, not only to me, but to almost all the congregation.

The ceremonies resembled those of the Catholic church; but one of them was inferior in solemnity, and produced almost a ludicrous effect. While the Patriarch, most sumptuously clad, officiated before a rich altar, loaded with gold, silver, and a glare of lights, there stood behind himself and the congregation a grown lad, dressed in the big breeches, or sherwal, of the Turks, with a coarse jacket,

patched with many colours, after the fashion of Romelia, and a large overhanging tarboosh covering his shoulders. This lad leant on the crosier of the Patriarch with one hand, and perfumed his holiness by an incense pot which he held in the other, at the same time that he sung the responses alone in a voice of the loudest and harshest kind. On each side of him were other lads, equally as unfitly robed for the dignity of the offices they performed, and contributing rather to the noise of the service than to its solemnity. As all the offices of the priesthood were performed in a deep recess, entered by folding-doors, a curtain was drawn across the opening when any thing like a shifting of scenes was required, in order to prevent the audience from seeing what was going on behind, and thus to preserve the necessary stage-effect.

During the elevation of the host, all the people uttered loud groans, the boys within screamed most vociferously, so as to drown entirely the voices of the priests, and all this confusion of tongues was still further increased by one behind the scenes, clashing a pair of brazen cymbals, and so shaking them after the first concussion, as to resemble the reverberated rattlings of loud thunder.

When the service was ended, the pilgrims were called forth, and all of them having their heads bared, were invested in succession with a robe of one of the officiating priests. A cross was then placed in the right hand, and a taper in the left of each, and all the congregation, except the female part, who stood aloof at a respectful distance, walked before them uncovered. They first encompassed the altar, kissing the curtains, the book, the candlesticks, &c. as they passed; and then kissed the cross in the hand of each of the pilgrims, beginning with the eldest, an old man of eighty, and ending with the youngest, a boy apparently not more than ten years of age.

This convent of Deer Zafferany enjoys an agreeable and healthy situation, being seated on the side of a hill, with high rocky cliffs,

pierced with ancient tombs, behind it, and commanding an extensive view of the southern plain to Jebel Sinjār, and the edge of the great Southern Desert.

The church itself appears to have been a work of the lower empire, perhaps of the Empress Helena, the great founder of religious establishments all over the East. Its order is an overloaded and corrupt Corinthian, of which the arches and pilasters of recesses, facing each other in the form of a Greek cross, still remain perfect; but in the part now used as the church, no columns appear ever to have been placed. The doors of entrance, the windows, and a portion of an exterior frieze, are all of the same kind; but the building has evidently undergone so many repairs, that the original work is now much less in quantity than that which has been since added.

The convent consists of a central square court, with domestic offices around it; above which are the chambers of the priests, furnished with carpets and cushions after the manner of the country; the whole is encompassed by a high stone wall, and is secured with a small door of entrance, faced with iron plates, and carefully guarded.

The establishment consists of a patriarch, six matrāns, and twelve catzees, for these are the titles they bear. The former, though only thirty years of age, neither tastes flesh, wine, spirits, nor tobacco, neither can he marry. The second class, or the matrāns, fast every Wednesday and Friday only, then abstaining from flesh, butter, milk, and eggs; but even on these days, they eat fish when it is to be had; though, during the forty days in Lent, this is forbidden to them. These are permitted to marry one wife; but, if she dies, the husband cannot take another. The last class, or the catzees, fast on Fridays only, and may take fish during the Lent; they also are permitted to marry, and on the death of their first wife they may take a second, provided she be a virgin.

The duties of these men consist in the performance of their church-service, seven times in the day: that is, at day-break, at

three hours after sun-rise, at noon, at El Assr, about three o'clock ; at Muggrib, or sun-set ; at three hours after sun-set, and at midnight ; the due performance of which, as the services are of long duration, scarcely leaves them time for food and sleep.

The families of all these live in the convent ; and on Sundays, and days of festivity, crowds of female visitors and their children come here to divert themselves, free from the more rigid observation of the town. There were here, on this Sabbath, no less than fifty women, who were all unveiled, and as full of frolic and gaiety as young girls of fifteen. They were occupied throughout the day in going from one part of the convent to the other, and in freely indulging themselves in every liberty allowed them. The Deer, or Convent, seemed to be exactly to the Christian females what the bath is to the Turkish ones : a place of recreation, free from the fetters of their husbands, rather than for the performance of religious or devotional duties.

Among the books I saw here, was a copy of the Gospels in the Syriac language, admirably written in large and beautiful characters on a fine and stout parchment. The portraits of the Evangelists and the heads of chapters were painted in rich body-colours, and highly illuminated. The date at the end of it shewed it to have been written in the year of Christ 1150, at the Convent of Deer Zafferany ; and as it had Greek marginal notes, evidently as old as the book itself, it might be inferred that the priests then here were of that communion. It formed a volume of a larger size than the largest of our church-bibles, and was highly valued by the Patriarch and his flock.*

The two highest orders of the Priesthood have circular, dome-like turbans, of the same shape as those worn by the Ulema of the Turks, resembling in size and shape a large water-melon. The

* This was, probably, one of the bibles shewn to Tavernier in 1644, as it agrees with the description of them given by him, except when he says, that they were written in Chaldaic, in which it is possible for him to have been mistaken.—See the *Voyages of Tavernier*, London, 1678, folio, c. iv. p. 69.

Turks wear them of white muslin; but the Christians commonly have them of the same material in blue. All the Christians subject to the Turkish government are prohibited from wearing any but dark colours, and the boots and shoes of the clergy must be absolutely black, while red is permitted to the laity, though yellow can on no account be worn by either; and green in the turban is even prohibited to all Moslems, except the immediate descendants of the Prophet, or Shereefs. At the same time that these restrictions exist in full force, Christians are permitted to ride on horseback, a favour which, in the days of the Mamlouks, was not granted even to the Franks in Egypt; and, at Mardin, the Patriarch's having a green bridle and martingale gives no offence, though even now, in Damascus, such an invasion of the privileges of a true Mohammedan would probably cost an infidel his life.

I was here assured, by persons who had travelled over the greater part of the Turkish empire, that nothing could be more variable than the rules for these restrictions, as to colours, in the different cities of Asia Minor. At Mardin, Christians give the salute of "Salām Alaikom," and receive its answer, even from Shereefs; in other places, this would be deemed the highest possible outrage. In some towns, the turban is the only part of the dress in which particular colours may not be used; in others, the boots only; while, in some, again, every garment has its specified shade. In many places, the colours of the dress are not at all regarded, and even green may be worn; but a horse or an ass cannot be mounted, nor can the salute of peace be exchanged between a Mohammedan and a Christian, of any class or sect.

In the evening we quitted the Convent of Deer Zafferāny, and returned to Mardin, approaching the town on its eastern side, and, just before sun-set, reaching the residence of the Patriarch.

On entering this, we had to salute a venerable old Matrān, now one hundred and two years of age, with a long beard of silvery white, possessing all his mental faculties in full perfection, and reading even letters and other writings without the aid of glasses.

A large party were assembled here also, but not of pilgrims ; they were all residents of the town, and the purport of their meeting was an interesting one, it being the prelude to a marriage intended to be consummated to-night.

It was the custom of this place, half a century ago, to celebrate the marriages of the Christians in their churches, and to perform the festivities as openly as they wished ; but repeated insults and interruptions, offered to them by the Turks, occasioned this to be discontinued. The practice now is, when an espousal has been contracted between the parties, and the day of marriage fixed, for the bride to be prepared at her own house in the morning. The friends of both parties then assemble at the house of the priest, and break bread together before him, which is received as a confirmation of their intentions, and at midnight, the bride being taken to her future lord's house, the marriage is solemnized by a union of hands in prayer. Festivities follow, in proportion to the wealth of the parties ; but these seldom end, even with the poorest, before the expiration of three days.

It was this breaking of bread that had called the evening party, in which I found myself, together. Three large flat loaves, made in the convent, and bearing upon them the holy seal, were placed on a salver, covered with an embroidered cloth, and on them was laid a gilded paper full of fine white sugar. The Patriarch, holding the jewelled cross, which he constantly carries with him, in his right hand, waved it over the bread, and gave it his blessing. All then crossed themselves, and the bread being broken by one of the party, a morsel of it was given, with a still smaller portion of sugar, to each of the witnesses. On this being ended, a Syrian hymn was sung, in which the chorus of "Halleluia" was frequently heard, and the air was lively and well adapted to the occasion. After this, copious draughts of arrack, without which no meeting of friendship or of joy can be complete among the Christians of the East, was distributed to all, and they departed in peace, according to the word.

At night we slept on a wooden stage in the open air, after the

usual manner of the inhabitants; but it was exceedingly cold, and a heavy shower of rain falling, occasioned us some annoyance. The climate, however, is so pure and healthy, that though we were well wetted, and lay afterwards on the damp beds, no one seemed even to apprehend the least evil consequences.

JUNE 24th.—On inquiring after our caravan, in order to learn the probable time of its departure, the usual answer of “Bokéra, an ish Allah!” or, “To-morrow, if it please God!” was returned; but, on more minute examination, it appeared probable that its detention here would extend to a week at least. The roads were so bad, from being infested with robbers, that all the caravans for Mousul had, within the last three months, gone round by way of El Jezeeret, a large town on the Tigris, between Mousul and Diarbekr, and five days’ journey in an east-south-east direction from hence. There were neither Tartars* nor caravans here for Bagdad at the present moment, nor were there any soon likely to be formed. As Diarbekr, from being the seat of government and the chief central town in the passage from Constantinople to Bagdad, has generally Tartars in waiting there, I determined to set out for that place, having been furnished with an order from Mr. Barker of Aleppo, directing any English Tartar I might meet with on the way to take me to my destination.

It was late in the day before this determination was taken; and then it was with inconceivable difficulty that I could find a companion or guide to go with me thus far, so that the whole day was occupied in this pursuit.

We had engaged to set out in the evening before sun-set, and to travel during the night, as the road from hence to Diarbekr was said to be so well frequented as to be considered safe at all hours. My guide, however, who had part of the money agreed to be given

* The Turkish and Arabic pronunciation of this word is the same, both omitting the first *r* used by us in Tārtar, and both spelling and pronouncing it Tatār.

him already paid in advance, did not make his appearance at the appointed hour, and the journey was therefore delayed until the morrow's dawn. This left me a leisure evening, which I devoted to recording the following observations made on this place, during our stay here.

Mardin is, according to some authors, the ancient Marde, or Miride, of which little is known except the name. Its position is most erroneously given in the "*Bibliothèque Orientale*," where it is called a Town of Mesopotamia, situated on the banks of the Tigris, between Mousul and Bagdad.* We learn from the same work, however, some particulars of its history which are more accurate. The town itself was taken and plundered by Tamerlane, in the year of the Hejira 796, but its castle was then sufficiently strong to sustain a long siege from the same army, and to oblige them indeed at one time to raise it. This conqueror, however, rendered himself at last the master both of the town and the citadel, and made prisoner the Sultan El Mālek el Dhaher, who commanded there; though, according to the report of Ibn Arabshah, he afterwards gave him his liberty. Hulākou, the grandson of Jenghiz-Khan, who, in the partition of the Mogul empire, was charged with the government of Persia, attacked Mardin about the middle of the fourteenth century, but without success, according to the report of Assemani. But Osman Beg, who has given the name of Osmanlies to the present Turks, made himself master of this place during his reign, which ended A. D. 1326, after a period of twenty years.† In the early travels of De Haiton, this place is noted under the name of Meradin, and it was then said to be peopled by a race of Sarazins, who were good arbelétriers, or cross-bow-men, and were called, in the language of the country, Cordinis, or perhaps Curds.‡ It has also produced many Moham-medan authors, who have been called, from this place of their birth,

* Vol. ii. p. 563. 4to.

† D'Anville, sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 53. 4to.

‡ Travels of De Haiton, in Bergeron's Collection.

Mardini, in addition to their usual names;* and it is equally known as the place where was born the Lady Maani Gwerida, the first wife of Pietro della Valle, so well known by his Travels.†

Mardin is seated near the top of a high hill, about the centre of a long range, bearing the same name. Tradition says, that some centuries ago, a Koord of the plains erected his dwelling here, for security against the intrusion of his neighbours. Some women, who were searching among these hills after the strayed sheep of their flocks, happening to arrive at the place of his abode, were struck with surprise at the motive which could have induced any man to retire to a spot so difficult of access; and in a conversation with him on this subject, called him "Mare-deen," which is translated from the Koordi into the Arabic, by the words "Rajul-majnoon," or, as we should say in English, "a mad-man." "Since you think so then," he replied, "I shall disclose to you that the advantages of my position will soon be so highly envied, that a city will rise around me, and the compliment which you have bestowed on my choice shall be its name; for I will henceforth call my own, the only dwelling yet here, "Khallet-el-Mare-deen," or the "Mad-man's Castle."‡

The summits of almost all these hills have a large mass of lime-

* Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 563.

† Voyages of Tavernier, c. iv. p. 69. folio, London, 1678.

‡ "Josaphat Barbano, who had performed a journey to the Crimea and several parts of Muscovy and Tartary, (towards the close of the fifteenth century,) was selected, (by the States of Venice,) as one accustomed 'to endure and deal with barbarous men,' for the mission to Persia. He landed at Cencho, (Cenco,) in Caramania, where, passing through Tarsus and Adama, he directed his route to the Euphrates. He notices nothing remarkable till he crossed that river, and arrived at Orfah. His next stage was Mardin, which appeared to him to be *the most extraordinary city in the world for situation*. It is ascended by a stair cut in the rock, more than a mile high, at the top of which is the gate; but there is no wall except the walls of the houses, the defence of the place being trusted solely to its inaccessible site. The Turks hyperbolically assert, *that the inhabitants never see a bird flying above them*. It contains three hundred houses, and several manufactures of silk and cotton."—*Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, vol. iii p. 10.

stone rock, the material of which they are composed, broken into cliffs for a short depth from their summits, and from thence the soil forms a steep but smooth descent, so that the square masses thus left on their tops look at a distance like so many elevated fortresses.

Advantage has been taken of this, in constructing the Castle of Mardin, which is simply a wall raised up from the perpendicular cliff all round, and is thus exceedingly difficult of access. It appears, from below, to be a Mohammedan work, and it is more formidable from its natural situation, than strong from artificial means of defence. There are but few cannon there, and about fifty soldiers, forming the personal guard of the Moteséllem, who resides there himself, and who permits the families of all those in his immediate service to dwell within the citadel.

The town of Mardin is built chiefly on the eastern and southern sides of this hill, below the castle, and is surrounded by a wall leading down from it on two sides, and going along in front of the town below. The whole circuit, including the castle, may be little more than two miles; and the figure formed by it is necessarily irregular, from the nature of the ground on which it stands.

The houses are placed in ranges above each other, like the seats of a Roman theatre; and the streets, which run along the side of the hill, are, for the same reason, so many successive terraces or causeways; while the smaller lateral intersections of these are literally flights of steps, like similar cross streets at Malta. The houses are built of stone, though but few are of good masonry; they are generally small, and without ornament. The terraces are all flat; and in the paved courts of the upper storys are large wooden stages railed around, serving for evening supper-parties, or for sleeping on at night, during the summer months.

There are eight mosques here, five of which are very small and inconsiderable, and only one of the remaining three is large. Among these, however, I saw in the doors and windows some specimens of Arabic stone-work, as rich and chaste as any thing I had yet seen in

that style. The minaret of the Great Mosque is also a fine one : it consists of a circular shaft, raised on a square base, on each front of which is a large pointed arch ; the shaft itself is then ornamented on the exterior by sculptured arches and other devices, in separate compartments from the base upwards, when an open stone-work gallery and a pointed top terminates the whole.

In the dome of this, as well as of the other principal mosques, a striking peculiarity is observed in their being ribbed or guttered in their masonry from the summit downwards, like rays spreading from a common centre. These furrows are not round in the sunken part, and flat in the raised, as in the flutings of Corinthian columns, but are all sharp and angular, the raised parts being so thick at the base, that their lower edges only leave the smallest space between them, and their upper ones come away to a sharp edge, forming a succession of trilateral ribs. It is said here, that the Great Mosque was once a Christian church ; its exterior, however, presents no such appearance, but its interior I had no opportunity of examining with safety.

There are three baths, each of which are said to be badly attended, and scantily supplied with water, though one of them bears the title of Hammām el Ameer, or the Prince's Bath. Neither the coffee-houses nor other places of recreation are so abundant here as they are generally found to be in Turkish towns, and those few which are seen are but poorly furnished and thinly attended.

The only caravanserai which I saw was small, and this was said to be the best of them. The bazārs, though tolerably numerous, and vaulted over by arched roofs in the usual way, are very narrow, and barely supplied with even the necessary articles of consumption for the town ; all which deficiencies are attributed to the general poverty of the inhabitants, and to the want of trade, for which the situation of this place is unfavourable.

The population is thought to amount to twenty thousand, of which, two-thirds at least are Mohammedans, the remainder are composed of Christians and Jews. Of the Syrians, there are

reckoned two thousand houses, of the Armenians five hundred, of the Armenian Catholics one thousand, of the Chaldeans or Nestorians three hundred, and of the Jews four hundred. Each of these have their respective churches and priests, and the Syrians have two churches in town, and two convents a little way out of it, beside many churches in the neighbouring villages.

The Syrians differ from the other sects of Christians, in believing the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father only, and not from the Son, and in paying even higher adoration to the Virgin Mary than either the Greeks or the Catholics. They do not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, not scrupling to call him an impostor; and their chronology makes five thousand five hundred years between the creation of the world and the coming of the Messiah.

There is, besides, another religious sect inhabiting here, called Shemseeah. These, as their name implies, are thought to be worshippers of the sun, which they have been seen to reverence at his rising, by taking off their turbans. When Sultan Murad came this way, and found by their own confession that they were not "people of the Book," that is, neither Jews, Christians, nor Mohammedans, he ordered them all to be put to the sword. The Syrian Patriarch of that day took them, however, under his protection, by owning them as part of his flock, and they have been, politically, so considered ever since, though, as a religious sect, they are quite distinct, both in belief and practice.

The same Patriarch, after an intimacy of many years with some of the heads of these people, could never obtain from them any disclosure on the subject of their religion, as they all agreed, that death from the hands of their fellows would be the penalty of such a crime. The details given of this people by Niebuhr are acknowledged to be only from vague report; for he confesses, with all others who have spoken of them, that nothing positive could be learnt either of their opinions or their ceremonies.* This was

* Voyage en Arabie, vol. ii. p. 321.

nearly the same case with myself. The particulars related to that traveller were also repeated to me; and the number of the Shemseeahs was stated to be now about one thousand families; but every one admitted that the greatest care was taken by them to prevent the disclosure of their real tenets.

All these different sects of Christians are looked on by the Turks in nearly the same light, being considered in the mass as infidels; and as they are all heavily taxed for their heresies, their equal contributions to the treasury of the governor makes him indifferent to the distinctions which exist among themselves. This place was formerly governed by a Waiwode, dependant on the Pasha of Diarbekr. The title of the present is that of Motesëllem, and he is a dependant of the Pasha of Bagdad. The details given to me of the government of this place were precisely the same as those related to Niebuhr; and though its resources are lessening rather than increasing, the same despotism is exercised as in all other Turkish posts, to exhaust those sources of wealth rather than to improve them.

The dress of the merchants is light and gay, but the lower orders are more coarsely and plainly clad than in most other places. It may be remarked, as one of the caprices of fashion, that while at Orfah, where the heat is great, it is usual for all ranks of people to wear a heavy woollen abba over their other garments; here, where every house has a chimney for fire in the winter, and where the summer even is cool and temperate, it is the custom to wear the smallest possible quantity of clothes, and the heaviest garment known among them is a jubbe or benish of Angora shalloon.

The women, both Moslem and Christian, cover themselves with the blue chequered cloth used in Egypt, which gives a general air of meanness to the whole dress. The former of these content themselves with covering the mouth only, and the latter go entirely unveiled. Among them I saw but few that were handsome, though all had fine complexions; and it was here that I first noticed

the nose-ring among the female ornaments, as marking an approach to more Eastern modes of adorning.

All the boys, and many grown young men, wear ear-rings; though most of them content themselves with one of a large size in the right ear. The eruption in the face is seen here, in about the same degree as at Aleppo, though less so than at Orfah; and it would thus seem to be the effect of some cause not locally confined to a small space, at least.

At sun-set, I received a message from the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakh-mān, requesting my attendance at a supper-party, given to him by his friends, in the open court of a large house. Our entertainment was really bountiful, and it was followed by a dessert of choice fruits, the produce of the neighbouring gardens. I departed from them, with many kind expressions of regret at this sudden separation, and a thousand wishes for an agreeable journey and a safe and speedy return.



CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY FROM MARDIN TO DIARBEKR.

JUNE 25th.—Had my guide appeared at the appointed hour, it would have been worthy of remark, as a singular instance of Eastern punctuality; but it was high noon before he came, and then other causes delayed us still longer.

This man, whose name was Hussein, was one of the most notorious robbers among the Koord horsemen belonging to the different independant chiefs in this neighbourhood; and, by some of those who exercised their kind offices for me in the affair of engaging him for the journey, he was chosen as the safest passport I could have through my intended route; though, by others, it was prophesied, as certain, either that he would pilfer me, under the pretence of presents due to himself, or that he would cause me to

be well fleeced by others with whom he would place himself in league. The former was the confidence of the many, the latter the fears of the few. The very existence of these, however, induced us to take all possible precaution in the affair, and it was determined that I should conceal what money I had in my khomr, or girdle, and pass as an unfortunate merchant of Egypt, who had no property, but was going to Bagdad under the hope of amending my fortune.

The Patriarch and Chiefs of the convent, with their mercantile friends of the city, all approved of this measure, so that such duplicity must be common in the country, and the necessity for it very strong to induce such men to advise it. The Koord pledged himself, by all that was sacred, to protect my person from the open insult of strangers, and to die in my defence; adding, that this was the only danger to be apprehended, for, as to being pilfered, we were going the whole of the way among his friends and companions, who were men much too honourable to be guilty of such treachery.

We set out together about an hour after noon, and going to the western quarter of the town, passed through the Bab el Room. It could be seen here, that the whole of the wall of enclosure, going from the extremities of the castle-rock around the town, was of Mohammedan work, and of the most inferior kind.

From this gate we descended over the steep side of the hill, into a broad and deep valley, drinking at a fountain in the way, and leaving on our right a small village called Allipoor, seated beneath the castle, on its northern side, amidst gardens and wild brush-wood. We went nearly north through this valley, and, ascending over its boundary-hill in that quarter, came in about two hours to a beautiful winding vale, called Waadi Zennaar, or the Valley of the Girdle. Its name was most appropriate, as it formed a narrow belt of the richest verdure, between two bare ridges of rock, and was watered by a small rivulet following the course of its centre.

Descending into this, we halted at a delicious spot, and reposed

for an hour upon a carpet of green turf, beneath the shade of lofty and wide-spreading trees, in the midst of which reared some tall and stately cypresses, whose dark and thickly-interwoven foliage formed an impenetrable veil to the sun declining in the west behind them. We were served here by a Pilgrim Shereef, one of Hussein's best friends, with coffee and fruits, among which were cherries and apples, equal to those of England, and produced in the Shereef's own garden.

An Indian Dervish, who had been thirteen years from his home, on a journey to Mecca, and had reached thus far on his way back again, joined us here; and, after partaking of our fare, sung both Arabic and Hindoostanee songs, to the sound of a tambour, with which he measured his time. Some of these men, I was told, spend the best half of their lives in making only one pilgrimage to the Caaba, and the city of their Prophet. We heard indeed of one who had been thirty years thus employed, and who only six months since had set out from Mardin towards Mousul.

These Pilgrims begin their pilgrimages at the age of manhood, from various parts of India, and as they carry nothing with them but their scrip and staff, and subsist entirely by charity on the way, they are often three or four years before they reach the object of their devotion, making long halts at every town they pass, and travelling always on foot. On their return from Mecca, however, their progress is still more tardy, for being now honoured with the title of Hadjee, and highly respected as the holiest kind of Dervishes, they are well treated and well fed wherever they go. This life of indolence and good living is found by them so superior to that of their early days in India, that it is scarcely to be wondered at if they should wish to perpetuate it, by prolonging their stay in the countries in which they enjoy it. Some, therefore, end their days in their journey back. If any reach their own land again, it is that, going always farther and farther on, to keep up the pretence of moving homeward, after a length of time they find themselves getting out of the great Mohammedan world, upon the confines of

their own country, where infidels and idolaters pay them no such honours as had strewed their way thus far, and they hasten to end their pilgrimage among such of their friends as are of their own faith, and such of their relatives as may be still left alive to welcome their protracted return.

On remounting our horses, we followed the course of the Waadi Zennaar to the north-west, having water, wood, and gardens, all the way, and seeing many small red squirrels playing on the branches of the trees. It was here, that I first saw the common magpie, a bird not before remarked by me in any part of Turkey, and even here seemingly rare, as this solitary bird was the only one that appeared.

We continued to go through the valley for about an hour, when, passing over the ridge of hills that bounded it on the north, we entered into a second valley, called Waadi Bermān, equally fertile and well wooded with the former, and having in it several well-cultivated corn-fields still green, though the grain was fully formed in the ear. There were two villages, Awēna and Bermān, each consisting of about fifty dwellings of Koord families, and both under the government of an independant chief, called Tamar Aga. The situation of these was, in every respect, agreeable, and their inhabitants seemed to enjoy at once security, health, and abundance.

The residence of my companion Hussein being at Bermān, we alighted at it just as the sun was sinking behind the hills by which the villages on the west are hemmed in, and we were received, by his wife and children, with a respect bordering on fear. A clean cotton mattress and cushions being placed for me on the terrace, my guide absented himself for some time, leaving me alone to receive those who came to pay their evening visit to the stranger; but, as not one of these spoke Arabic, and I myself did not understand the Koord tongue, we could not communicate with each other.

Hussein soon returned, however, with an invitation from his

chief, Tamar Aga, to visit him. I at first declined, suspecting the extortion of a present at least ; but though I strongly objected, it was insisted that it was impossible to pass without visiting the chief, and that, in short, I could not be suffered to depart without performing this necessary duty.

We accordingly waited on the Aga, and were received by him with that mixture of dignity and ease, which belongs even to the lowest classes of the Turks, who display, on all occasions, great self-command and natural politeness. The chief was surrounded by his armed followers, in all the pomp of feudal authority ; and though these men would each of them use liberties in conversation with their lord, which would scarcely be tolerated between equals among us, yet no one dared to seat himself in his presence.

As not even my guide was aware of my being an European, I was introduced to the Aga as a merchant of Aleppo going to Bagdad with the caravan now at Mardin ; but who, having some affairs to transact at Diarbetr, had profited by their halt, to go up to that city, and, in a day or two, intended returning again by the same route. Our conversation was at first general, but soon turned towards the dangers of the road, and the important benefits conferred on travellers, by those whose vigilance kept the roads clear of the robbers which usually infested them. This was followed by a commission to procure certain articles from Diarbetr, in lieu of paying the usual tribute exacted from passengers who went this way ; and after some ineffectual remonstrances on my part, I was obliged to yield to the demand, and to promise obedience.

In the true spirit of the people of this country, the chief first exacted an arbitrary contribution, as a tribute to his local authority, and then entertained me with all the liberality of a friend of long standing. We all supped together, from rich dishes mostly prepared for the occasion ; the house of the Aga was offered for my use, as long as I chose to remain in it, and the protection of his name or of his people for the remainder of my journey. I was glad to have the power of declining this last, however, as the price of such safeguards is often more than their value. I therefore retired

to the house of my guide, that we might set out alone from thence in the morning.

We were mounted at least an hour before day-break, and went from this valley, in which we had passed the night, up over hills of lime-stone, which were in general steep and craggy, though their faces being covered with brush-wood gave them an agreeable appearance. When the day first dawned, we were on the summit of these hills, and after continuing over uneven ground, again descended over a slope, covered, like the former, with brush-wood, and reached the valley just as the sun rose.

There was here a small village, called Galleen, which was seated on the side of a hill facing towards the north, and the most conspicuous object in this was a castellated dwelling, built on the edge of a cliff, and commanding the whole of the plain. This was the residence of another chief, named Hassan Aga, who ruled over only a small portion of territory, but, like the one from whom we had just escaped, never failed to fleece all who were worth pillaging, whenever they passed through his possessions without a strong escort. We therefore carefully avoided going into this village, and as it was about the hour when most of the inhabitants were taking their first meal after morning prayers, it was favourable to our passing by without being observed.

Nothing could be more beautiful than the general aspect of this valley, or more romantic than the situation of the village of Galleen, at the entrance of it. The hills, by which it was hemmed in so closely on all sides, were sufficiently broken in their outline to be picturesque, and the narrow plain which skirted them at their feet was clothed with the richest verdure. Corn-fields were seen in different stages of growth, from the earliest appearance of the green blade, to the developement of the ear on the yellow stalk, and the full ripe grain of the red wheat now ready for the sickle.* The

* Similar variety in the progressive states of vegetation, all seen at the same time and nearly on the same spot, is described as common about Quito, in Peru, in the voyage of Don Ulloa to South America; and by Bruce, in his account of the ascent of Lamalmon in Abyssinia.

gardens and vineyards, occupying distant portions of the valley, gave a great luxuriance to the picture; and a stream of fine clear water, which here meandered between banks lined by full-foliaged trees and bushes, completed the union of fertility and usefulness with wealth and beauty.

We halted at this stream to refresh, as we had now gained a sufficient distance from the town not to be observed from thence, and conceived that we might therefore eat our bread in peace. Here we washed and prayed: for my guide, though a professed robber, did not neglect this common duty; and after enjoying a hearty repast from our own scrip, and reposing for an hour on the green sod, while the horses grazed by our side, we quitted this delightful spot, to renew our way.

After going for two or three hours over rugged hills of limestone, sparingly clad with brush-wood, and keeping always a north-westerly course, we reached a small village called Shoasheef, just as the sun was on the meridian, or in time to perform in public our noon-day prayers. This village, seated on the side of a gentle ascent, was peopled chiefly by Koords, and its population was said to consist of sixty families, or little more than two hundred persons, who were all peasants, and lived by the produce of their fields and flocks. We were received by one of the elders, who furnished our horses with food, and set before us some sour milk, the most refreshing beverage to be obtained in these countries, and always a welcome one in the summer of such a climate.

After sleeping for an hour, we remounted soon after one o'clock, and still went north-westerly over the same bed of hills, which is composed of many smaller ridges, crossed transversely, in the direction in which we travelled, as they stretch generally from south-west to north-east. The whole mass appears to be composed of limestone, and to be bare of wood, except in some few places where stunted trees and bushes clothe their sides. Their average height above the level of the plain of Mardin is less than a thousand feet; but even the valleys which are found among these ridges, of which

the great chain is composed, are at least five hundred feet above that plain; and some of them are as high as the site of Mardin itself. As they, therefore, enjoy a temperature highly favourable to vegetation, are amply watered by brooks and springs, and receive the soil of the hills, as it is washed down into them by the winter rains, they may easily be conceived to be charming little spots, when contrasted with the sterile aspect of the hills by which they are generally encompassed.

At El Assr, we reached the termination of this bed of hills, and by a very short descent came into a valley, through which ran a small stream of water. In this stream we noticed some of the same kind of tortoises as are found in the rivers of Syria, but they were here of a smaller size. The plain itself was on a higher level than most of the valleys through which we had come, and but little below the height of Mardin, though that is seated on the summit of a hill. At the entrance of it we observed a village called Shukra Tuppe; which we left about a mile to the right, or north-east of our path.

In continuing our way, we found this apparent plain to have, at first, a gentle ascent, and then to be formed of wavy land, the inequalities of which are not perceptible at a distance. There were no eminences throughout it that could deserve the name of hills. The soil was every where abundant in quantity, and of sufficient depth for cultivation. It seemed too of a fertile kind; for such portions of it as were now sown with corn offered the prospect of an ample harvest, the wheat being formed in the ear, and ripening daily under the influence of an unclouded sun.

In about two hours after our quitting the foot of the range of hills described, and first entering on this wavy land, we came to a small village called Akh Tuppe. This, though now having a population of not more than thirty families, had been at some former period evidently a place of more importance. Among the ruins of ancient buildings, I noticed the remains of a mosque, with the masonry in intermediate layers of lime-stone and basalt,

was rude, but very skilfully varied, from the abrupt and hurried measure to which the Athleta moved in his exercises of strength, to the rapturous softness and languishing cadence of the airs to which his effeminate companion danced.

This entertainment was so perfectly suited to the taste of the people here, that, in less than an hour after the exhibition began, every individual in the village, man, woman, and child, had gathered upon the house-tops to enjoy as much of it as they were able, our own terrace not being sufficiently large to contain more than about fifty persons, and this was already so crowded as to make us apprehensive of its falling in. The festivity continued until a late hour, it being long past midnight before the party had dispersed or the music ceased.



CHAPTER XI.

DESCRIPTION OF DIARBEKR.

JUNE 27th.—Notwithstanding that we were now within three hours only of Diarbekr, it was thought so unsafe to go from hence to that city alone, that two horsemen had been waiting here the whole of the preceding day for the protection of additional companions, before they would venture to continue their journey. They had, during the entertainment of the last evening, solicited permission to join us, and as they were known in the village, we readily consented to their proposition.

We quitted Poorang together at day-light, being all four well mounted and well armed; and the road being now unobstructed by hills or rocks, we scoured over the plains, as if we were ourselves bent on some plundering expedition.

so that, as the blocks were well hewn into square forms, alternate layers of black and white were produced; this is a caprice of taste to which both Arabs and Turks are very partial, if one may judge from the frequent instances in which it is met with in their masonry, as well as others in which it is imitated by painting. The minaret of this mosque was still standing, and perfect; but the mosque was without a roof, and seemed to have been uncovered from the beginning. Beyond this was a deep well, at which some damsels of the village watered our horses, and permitted us to drink from their vessels, when, after an exchange of inquiries and benedictions, we pursued our journey.

It was sun-set when we first came in sight of the Tigris, an elbow of which here bent towards the west, and came within less than a quarter of a mile of our path. The river appeared from this distance to be narrow, sluggish, and low in its bed.* It was here that we first saw the black porous basalt, so common in the Haurān and the plains east of the Euphrates, all the hills that we had traversed from Mardin thus far being of lime-stone. The basalt appears here, however, on the river's bank, and is said to follow the course of the road all the way down to Jezeeret and Mousul, and to be still found upon the banks of the Tigris upward beyond Diarbékr, to near its source. It evidently extends westerly also from hence, probably falling into the Kara Dagħ, or Black Mountains,

* Of the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, which enclose Assyria, and give it the name of Mesopotamia, the channel of the Tigris, lying much *lower*, receives the water of the latter by many trenches; and, several streams also falling into its own bosom, it becomes a great river before it glides into the Persian Gulf, insomuch that it is every where impassable by a ford, for it spreads not out in breadth so as to diminish its depth, the land on both sides being much higher than the water; and it is not dispersed into other channels, nor conveyed into other rivers, but takes them into itself. But the Euphrates glides along a much *higher* channel, and is, in many places, of equal height with the lands on each side, so that several streams are cut from it; some constant ones, which supply the inhabitants with water, others only occasional, when the neighbouring countries happen to be parched up with drought, for rains seldom fall in these parts.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vii. c. 7. v. 2. p. 138.

and then joining the basaltic basis of the great plains, over which we had journeyed since leaving Orfah.

It was not yet dark when we reached a village called Poorang, where we halted to pass the night, as there was no hope of reaching Diarbetr in time to be admitted within the gates. The chief of this village received us very readily; and while the younger part of his family took care of our horses, and set about to prepare our supper, he himself spread carpets and cushions for us on the terrace of his house, and sat to entertain us with such civilities as he conceived most agreeable to us after our journey. The population of this village, to the number of about a hundred families, were wholly Koords, descendants of early settlers in the plains, who had originally come down from the opposite mountains of Koordistan. The physiognomy of such as we saw seemed to be different both from the Turks and the Arab countenance. The form of the head and face was rounder, the features in general flatter, the complexion fair and ruddy, and the eyes dark and expressive. The abodes of these people were cleaner and neater than the habitations of the same class of peasantry are found to be either in Egypt or Syria, and the furniture and conveniences of the household establishment are, in every respect, superior.

In addition to the hospitable treatment which we received from our host, we were entertained by a party who were called in by the old man expressly for our amusement. This consisted of a robust mountaineer, who wore a pointed bonnet and a fantastic dress, an effeminate youth dressed in female apparel, and decked with ornaments, and three men who played on musical instruments, including a rude guitar, a reed or pipe, and a drum, beaten on by the palm of the hand and the fingers. The man exhibited some extraordinary feats of strength and agility; the boy danced, and placed himself in such lascivious and wanton attitudes, as to draw forth shouts of approbation from all beholders.* The music

* See the Note on these Eastern dances in a former chapter, at page 58.

In less than an hour we reached the Tigris, which here came from the south-west on our left, and flowed to the north-east on our right, making a great westerly bend as it goes by the town of Diarbetr; and here taking an easterly bend, so as to get again in the proper line of its descent to the sea, which is from north-west to south-east. The banks of the river were shelving, and its bed a mixture of earth and sand. Its breadth across was not more than a hundred feet, and it was so shallow as to be fordable by our horses without wetting their riders. The waters were tolerably clear, and sweet to the taste, and the rate of the current seemed not to exceed two miles per hour.*

After crossing the river, we came on a fine light soil, now used as corn-land, and, as we rode past, started large flocks of black starlings, to the number of several hundreds in each flight. Continuing on a course inclining more northerly, we came, in another hour, to the banks of the Tigris again, the river here coming from the north-east on our right, and flowing to the south-west on our left, or exactly the reverse of what we had found it before, from its making the serpentine bend described.

It was on the moment of our coming on the brow of the slope, which here formed the southern bank of the river, and gave us the view of the stream flowing by, that we caught the first sight of Diarbetr, which burst upon us all at once, and presented a picture of so much interest, that I involuntarily checked the bridle of my horse to dwell upon the scene; while my companions, to whom it was a familiar one, dashed across the river without heeding it for a moment, and stemmed together a broader, deeper, and more rapid stream than we had crossed before.†

* While the Ten Thousand were encamped between the mountains of Curdistan and the Tigris, before they struck off among the Curds, they had the curiosity to attempt ascertaining the depth of the river. On one side of them, says Xenophon, were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a river so deep, that, when they sounded it with their pikes, the ends of them did not even appear above the water.

† Pliny says, that the Tigris, in Mesopotamia, is reckoned among the rivers that go under ground and re-appear again.—*Nat. Hist.* b. 2, c. 103—b. 6, c. 27.

The aspect of Diarbekr, at this first view, is that of a walled and fortified city, seated on a commanding eminence, appearing to be strongly defended by its position as well as its works without, and splendid, and wearing an air of great stateliness and opulence, in its mosques and towers within. The country, amid which it is seated, is every where fertile and productive. Lofty mountains in the distance, while looking eastward toward Koordistan, give an outline of great grandeur; in that direction, gardens and bridges, and pleasant summer-houses, seen nearer at hand, add softer beauties to the scene; while the passage of the Tigris, at the foot of the hill on which the town is seated, offers a combination of picturesque beauty, agricultural wealth, domestic convenience, and rural enjoyment.

After passing the Tigris a second time, we went up a steep road on the side of the hill, having gardens below us on our right, and extensive cemeteries, in more abrupt valleys, on our left, till we approached the gate called, by the Turks, Mardin Kaupusee, and by the Arabs, Bab el Mardin, from its being the gate leading to and from that town. A mass of the basaltic rock, on which the whole city of Diarbekr is built, having recently fallen away, exposed to view an extensive cluster of distinctly-formed basaltic columns. These were in general of a pentagonal form, some of them shewing a length of ten or fifteen feet, and appearing to be about a foot or fifteen inches in diameter. The stone was of a dark colour, close-grained, and was the same kind of basalt as that we had seen, in all its different degrees of firmness and porosity, from the valley of the Jordan to this place.

On entering Diarbekr, by the gate of Mardin, we passed through paved streets and crowded bazārs, till we came nearly into the centre of the city, where we alighted at the house of a certain Yuseff, a Christian merchant, to whom the Syrian Patriarch, at Mardin, had given me a letter. He received us with great kindness, and offered his utmost assistance during our stay. The whole of his family and dependants were called in, to bid us welcome, and a

number of his friends and acquaintances, chiefly Christians, followed to see and congratulate the strangers. To Yuseff I knew I might safely entrust the secret of my being an Englishman, being aware that the communication of this would be as flattering to him as advantageous to myself. It was still concealed, however, from my guide, and from the few other Mohammedans who visited us; but when these had retired, and the entertainment that had been hastily prepared for the occasion was set before us, my guide, who had no more scruples than myself as to the use of forbidden draughts, followed my example in this particular, and we, therefore, still retained our Moslem characters in each other's eye, though our practices were entirely Christian. While we sat around the board of our hospitable host, messengers were sent to the Konauk Tatar Agasi, or rendezvous of the Tartars, to ascertain whether there were any despatch-bearers destined for Bagdad, or whether any were soon expected from Constantinople. The principal object of our journey to this place was, indeed, to find such messengers, if possible, in the direct road between these great cities, which stand at the extremes of the Turkish empire, and to accompany them on their way. This cannot be done casually at any of the intermediate posts on the road, but must be effected at some one of the head-quarters, in the great towns at which they halt. It is here only that travellers can make the necessary arrangement for the proper supply of such a number of horses as they may require: a firman is then given to them, by the governor of the city, authorizing them to demand the number specified, from those who have contracted to supply the post-horses on the road, and all then goes on smoothly. Without such authority from the government, the suppliers of the horses would not grant them to a stranger, even on payment of the common hire; as it is not the custom to lend out horses in this way to any one, except the Sultan's messengers, for whom they are carefully reserved.

Our disappointment was great when the messengers returned to tell us, that though there were several Tatars going to the north,

there were none destined for Bagdad'; and from the recent passage of despatches that way, no couriers from Constantinople were immediately expected. This, however, they added, was always uncertain; and we were, therefore, advised to wait a day or two, under the hope of some arrival. In complying with this advice, we should lose the occasion of the caravan from Mardin, which still remained, without being certain of securing another; so that on reflection I determined rather to hasten our return. As we had yet nearly the whole of the day before us, I was desirous of employing it in an excursion about the town, and in seeing as much of its interior as the short period allotted for our stay would admit. For this purpose, a guide was furnished me by Yuseff, the merchant, who was recommended to me as combining the useful qualities of fidelity and great local knowledge, acquired during a long residence here; and besides this, he was perfectly acquainted with Arabic, which enabled us to communicate freely. With this man I traversed the interior of the city, in every direction, visiting the mosques, the bazārs, and the baths; and, after nearly four hours' rambling through crowded streets and narrow passages, halting to observe such buildings and places as were more particularly curious, we came at last to the citadel, which stands at the opposite extremity of the town to that by which we entered it. From hence we enjoyed a more commanding view of the whole city, spread out beneath us, as well as of the surrounding country, than we could have done from any other spot; and, adding the more minute features, which we had collected in our peregrinations through the town, to this panoramic picture of it, noted on the spot, the following was the general result:—

The city of Diarbetr is seated on a mass of basaltic rock, rising in an eminence on the west bank of the Tigris, the stream of that river flowing by the foot of this hill, from north-east to south-west, as it makes a sharp bend in that direction from the northward. The form of the town is very nearly circular: it is walled all around, and is about three miles in circuit.

There are four gates now open in the city, and these are called by the names of the respective quarters of the country to and from which they lead. The first, which is on the south-west, is called Bab el Mardin, or Mardin Kaupusee: the second, on the west, is called Bab el Roum, or Oroum Kaupusee: the third, on the north, is called Bab el Jebel, or Daugh Kaupusee; and the fourth, on the east, is called Bab el Jedeed, or Yenghi Kaupusee. The first leads to Mardin, the second to Asia Minor, or Roumelia, the third to the mountains of Armenia and Koordistan, and the fourth, which is a new one, to the river.

The citadel, standing about midway between these two last-named gates, is thus in the north-east angle of the town; and, seated on the eminence of rock here, in a line with the walls, it overlooks the stream of the Tigris below, and by its elevation commands the whole of the town. The city-walls have round and square towers, at irregular intervals, and being high and strongly built of hewn stone, present an appearance of great strength; but the most securely fortified portion of it is that on the north, where the square towers are very thickly placed, and where there is a long battery of guns mounted, pointing through covered embrasures.

The remote boundaries of the view from hence, while standing on the citadel, are sufficiently marked to convey an idea of the nature of the country in which this city is placed. On the west is seen the range of Karaj Dag, or the black hills, which are of a moderate height, regular outline, and distant from ten to fifteen miles, going in a north-east and south-west direction. On the north are seen the lofty mountains of Moosh Dag, over which the road leads into Armenia and to Erzeroum, the mountains themselves being distant about twenty miles east, and stretching from west to east, as if a continuation of the chain of Taurus.

To the north-north-east, the Tigris is seen winding downward from its source in the hills, about four days' journey off, till it reaches the town itself, when it bends to the south-west, and runs past it in that direction, till it recovers its former course by a con-

trary bend, as before described. On the north-east, another portion of the Moosh Dagħ is seen, covered with snow, the range of its chain here bending south-westerly to go down through Koordistan in the line of the Tigris, running nearly parallel with its stream, but at some distance beyond its eastern bank. On the south-east, the wavy land and hills over which we had come from Mardin offered no particular objects to the view. And on the south-west is seen a portion of the Karaj Dagħ, and the plain, leading in that direction towards Orfah.

The citadel, which enjoyed so commanding a position here, is now abandoned, and completely in ruins. We had even difficulty in ascending to the platform near its centre, being obliged to mount over rubbish and fallen fragments; and, on reaching the top, we found the desolation so complete, that several of the dismounted cannon, which had been left there, were now more than half buried in the earth and long grass that had grown up around them. The form of the citadel is nearly circular; and it enclosed a space of at least a furlong in diameter. Within its ruined enceinte, is still the palace of the Pasha, which is a commodious rather than a splendid building. Attached to it are extensive stables, and a Maidān, or open space, where the horses are kept in the air, and where the horsemen sometimes exercise in the use of the jereed. One of the places used as a stable presents the ruins of a handsome and noble edifice, with finely-constructed domes of brick-work, and a beautiful door with columns and pilasters, most probably the remains of an old Christian building.

In the lower part of the citadel, near one of the gates of entrance, and now, indeed, the only one, as two of the former are closed up, we saw a number of brass cannon of different calibre, lying neglected on the ground. The largest of these had a bore equal to that of a twenty-four pounder, the smallest were of the size of our long nines, but were nearly double the length of our longest guns. Some of these pieces had on them Arabic inscriptions, of the date of the 1113th year of the Hejira, or A. D. 1735, so that they could

hardly have been used here before they had fallen into neglect. There were also some bombs and mortars of brass, and old armour of iron; but the guns were all dismounted, and every thing lay in one undistinguished heap.*

The town of Diarbetr, as seen from this height, does not appear to cover so great an extent of ground as Orfah, nor are the houses within it so thickly placed. The aspect is extremely different; the buildings of Orfah being generally constructed of white lime-stone, and those of Diarbetr being all built of black basalt in the lower stories, and of dark-coloured brick in the upper ones. There are, however, several mosques, towers, and little garden-plots with trees, seen in different parts of the town, which relieve the sombre colour of the buildings, and the sameness which a succession of flat terraces always produces.

The population is estimated at an extravagant rate, by the people of the country themselves; but it may be safely asserted, that at the present moment there are about fifty thousand inhabitants. The great mass of these are Osmanli Turks, as soldiers, government officers, merchants, and mechanics. Besides these, the Armenians, who, next to the Turks, are the most numerous, are thought to have a thousand families. The Arab, Turkish, and Armenian followers of the Catholic communion, have five hundred families. The Syrian sect are thought to include, at least, four hundred families. The Greeks, who are the least numerous among the Christians here, have about fifty. But the Jews have of late so rapidly declined, by emigration to Bagdad, Aleppo, and Constantinople, that there are now not more than a dozen houses of them left.

* Ammianus Marcellinus, in describing his flight to this city, says, "It is seated on an eminence, accessible only by a narrow path cut out of the rock." He adds also, "that Constantius surrounded Amida with walls and towers, and furnished it with a magazine of warlike machines." He adds, after an accurate description of its environs, "that there was in the centre of the city, and near the fortress, a large fountain, of which the water was drinkable, though, during the very hot weather, it had a disagreeable odour."—lib. xviii. c. 9. v. 1.

Of the mosques seen from the citadel, there are fifteen with minarets, nine of these having circular shafts and galleries in the Mohammedan style, and the remaining six having square towers after the manner of Christian churches, which it is generally thought these edifices once were. There are five other mosques, with domes or cupolas only, and several smaller ones without any distinguishing mark, making, altogether, about twenty-five Mohammedan places of worship. Of the Christian churches, the Armenians have two, one of which is large and richly decorated, and the other is smaller, but more tastefully adorned. The Catholics have a church, and a convent attached to it, in which two Italian Capuchin Friars live, with their usual dependents. The Syrians and the Greeks have also a place of worship each, and the few Jews have a small synagogue for their service, which completes the whole of the religious buildings within the walls.

There are upwards of twenty baths in the town; of which the principal are, the Bath of Wahab Aga, the Pasha's Bath, the Bath of the Market, the Castle-Bath, and the Baths of the Camel and the Ass. The two first derive their names from their founders; the two next, from their situations; and the two last from their peculiar features, that of the camel being the largest and most spacious in all its interior divisions, and that of the ass having so little to recommend it but its cheapness, that none but ass-drivers and asses, according to the saying here, would even visit it, though it is frequented by all the poor people of the town.

There are about fifteen khans or caravanserais, of which the chief are, Khan Hassan Pasha, Khan Cheufta, Yengi Khan, Khan Paga Oghlee, Khan Abba Chia, Khan Kirkasha, Khan Segheutty, Khan Delibashi, Khan Khalah, Khan Thaboon, and Khan Arratha. The first of these is particularly fine, and superior to any of those at Orfah. In its lower court, the corn-market is usually held. Its magazines, within the piazza, which runs around this, are generally filled with goods. In the upper galleries are carried on several trades and manufactures. The rooms around form the lodgings of

the travellers who halt here ; and above all is an upper story, with apartments for the harems or families of those who may sojourn here, with kitchens, fire-places, and other domestic conveniences.

The bazārs are not so regularly laid out, or so well covered in, as in the large towns of Turkey generally. They are narrow, often crooked, and mostly roofed-over with wood. They are, however, well supplied with goods of all descriptions that are in request here, and, during the regular hours of business, are thronged with people. The manufactures of the town are chiefly silk and cotton stuffs, similar to those made at Damascus ; printed muslin shawls and handkerchiefs, morocco leather in skins of all colours, smith's work in hardware, and pipes for smoking made of the jasmin branch, covered with muslin and embroidered with gold and silver thread. There are thought to be no less than fifteen hundred looms employed in weaving of stuffs ; about five hundred printers of cotton, who perform their labours in the Khan Hassan Pasha, after the same manner as before described at Orfah ; three hundred manufacturers of leather in the skin, besides those who work it into shoes, saddlery, and other branches of its consumption ; a hundred smiths ; and a hundred and fifty makers of ornamented pipe-stems only, besides those who make the clay balls, amber mouth-pieces, &c. The cloths consumed here are obtained from Europe, through Aleppo, as well as most of the glass ware, which is German ; and fine muslins, Cashmere-shawls, spices, and drugs, come to them from India, through Bagdad ; but most of the articles of domestic necessity can be procured in the place from its own resources, as every species of fruit and provisions are abundant and cheap, and the common manufactures of the town are sufficient to supply the wants of the great mass of the population.

The present Governor of the Pashalick and city of Diarbekr, whose name is Kullendar Pasha, has the dignity of three tails, and is therefore immediately dependent on the Sublime Porte only, without acknowledging any intermediate chief. His force within the city is said to consist of about a thousand soldiers, of whom

more than half are Turkish cavalry, and the remainder Turkish and Albanian foot. In the remote part of his territory, however, there are always petty chiefs, both among the Turks and the Koords, who, in case of need, do him military service with their followers, on condition of certain privileges and exemptions granted them in return. Even among the people here, in the heart of the Turkish empire, where despotism is so familiar to all, the government of Kullendar Pasha is thought to be severe; though, judging from external appearances, there are few towns in which there seem to be more of personal liberty, competence, and comfort among all classes of people.

On descending from the citadel, we went to the bath of the castle, which adjoins a mosque with a high square tower, and is close by the Mausoleum of a former Pasha, whose memory is held by all in great respect. We found here every thing that could contribute to the luxury of this enjoyment, and as a refreshment was prepared for us while we were in the inner bath, we partook of it on our carpets and cushions before dressing, and were renovated and refreshed, by this agreeable combination, after our fatiguing ramble through the town.

On leaving the bath, as it was near sun-set, we went to the Jāmah Kirkashoon, or Jāmah el Russās—a mosque so called, from its fine dome and roof being completely covered with sheet lead—to perform our evening devotions, my guide being himself a Mohammedan, and believing me to be of the same faith. The court of this mosque is spacious, and its front grand and beautiful. It is entered through a portico of eight pillars, which, from the singular appearance of their surface, appear like a composition, but are each a shaft of one solid stone. The dome and the lofty minaret, which rise from the edifice, are also very fine, and give to the whole an effect of great strength and stateliness. The interior, like that of most Mohammedan temples, is perfectly unadorned, having only the niche pointing to Mecca, a pulpit, and lamps, with carpets on the pavement for prayer.

On our return homeward, we stopped at a smelting-house, where they were running copper ore into large cakes, about the form, size, and weight of those sent from the stannaries in Cornwall, but less purely refined from the dross. We were told here, that the copper ore was brought from a place called Maadān, three days' journey to the north-east of this, and that, when smelted, it was sent by caravans to Orfah, Mousul, Bagdad, and Bussorah. Our inquiries regarding the price and the quantity annually exported were suspected to arise from interested views, and were not so readily answered.

Among the minarets of the mosques, I noticed some that were highly sculptured, and in several of the square towers were intermediate layers of red burnt-brick work, mixed with masonry of stone, after the manner of the Roman towers in the walls at Antioch, and quite as well executed as the buildings there. Amid the ruins of the castle, too, we had seen some fine arches of highly burnt bricks, which, from their form, as well as material, looked more like Roman than Saracenic work. In the bazārs and baths, there are portions of brick-work of a similar kind, which are, however, decidedly Mohammedan, as well as the mixture of basalt and lime-stone, in intermediate layers of black and white, in the khans and other large buildings. Among the broken columns of black basalt, which are seen scattered in different quarters of the town, there are, however, several Ionic capitals, which can leave no doubt of their being of Greek origin, and previous to the invasion of this country, either by the Turks or the Saracens.

It is from the circumstance of the wall and buildings of this city being constructed almost wholly of this black stone, that it is called, by the Turks, Kara Amid, or the Black Amid. Amida was its ancient name,* and its present one of Diarbekr, which prevails chiefly with the Arabs, is from the name of the province of which it is the capital, for the Turks still use the name of Amid, as

* Cellarius, *Anc. Geog.* lib. iii. c. 15, p. 441.

applied to the city, in all their public writings. According to D'Herbelot, the author of the Arabic History, called *Tarikh Montekheb*, pretends that this place was built by Shah Amurath, a king of Persia, of the first dynasty. The emperor Constantine fortified it against the Persians. It was afterwards pillaged and partly burnt by Tamerlane, in breach of a solemn engagement, in the year of the Hejira 796, and, after that, Usuncassan and the other kings of Persia had successively rendered themselves masters of it. Selim, the first Sultan of the Osmanli Turks, retook it from Shah Ismael, in the year of the Hejira 921, and established there a Beglerbeg, or governor of a province, with twelve sanjiacks, or standards, under him.*

In the History of the Invasion of Mesopotamia by Sapor, A. D. 359, the particulars of the siege of Amida are detailed, with much eloquence, by the author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. After describing the military pomp of the army of this sovereign, from the plains of Assyria towards those of Mesopotamia, and the obstacles opposed to their march by the precautions that had been taken to retard their progress or defeat their design, he says, that though Sapor overlooked the strength of Nisibis, he resolved, as he passed under the walls of Amida, to try whether the majesty of his presence would not awe the garrison into immediate submission. An attack was made by a select body of troops, which was answered by a general discharge, in which the only son of the besieging prince was pierced through the heart by a javelin, shot from one of the *balistæ*. The funeral of the youth was celebrated according to the rites of his country, and the grief of the aged father was alleviated by the solemn promise of Sapor, that the guilty city of Amida should serve as a funeral pile to expiate the death, and to perpetuate the memory, of his son.

The Emperor Constantius had recently conferred on Amida the honour of his own name, and the additional fortifications of strong

walls and lofty towers. It was provided with an arsenal of military engines, and the ordinary garrison had been reinforced to the amount of seven legions, when the place was invested by the arms of Sapor. The assault was again made ; but, after an obstinate combat, the besiegers were repulsed ; and though they incessantly returned to the charge, they were again driven back with a dreadful slaughter. In one of the fiercest of these repeated assaults, Amida was betrayed by the treachery of a deserter, who indicated to the barbarians a secret and neglected staircase, scooped out of the rock that hangs over the stream of the Tigris. After Sapor had tried, without success, the efficacy of force and stratagem, he had recourse to the slower but more certain operations of a regular siege, in the conduct of which he was instructed by the skill of the Roman deserters. But every mode of resistance which art could suggest, or courage could execute, was employed in the defence of Amida, and the works of Sapor were more than once destroyed by the fire of the Romans. The resources of a besieged city may, however, be exhausted. The Persians repaired their losses, and pushed their approaches ; a large breach was made by the battering ram, and the strength of the garrison, wasted by the sword and by disease, yielded to the fury of the assault. The soldiers, the citizens, their wives, their children, all who had not time to escape through the opposite gate, were involved by the conquerors in a promiscuous massacre.*

When Jovian evacuated Nisibis and Singara, and restored the five provinces of the Tigris to the Persians, about four years after this siege of Amida, or A. D. 363, the unhappy fugitives of the former city, now compelled to abandon their homes, were seated in a new-built quarter of Amida ; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Mesopotamia.†

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. iii. pp. 205—209. 8vo.

† Ibid. vol. iv. c. 24. p. 220. 8vo.

During the Persian war of Kobad, A. D. 505, Amida again sustained a long and destructive siege. At the end of three months, says the historian, the loss of fifty thousand of the soldiers of Cabades or Kobad was not balanced by any prospect of success, and it was in vain that the Magi deduced a flattering prediction from the indecency of the women on the ramparts. At length, in a silent night, they ascended the most accessible tower, which was guarded only by a few monks, oppressed after the duties of a festival with sleep and wine. Scaling-ladders were applied at the dawn of day; the presence of Cabades, his stern command, and his drawn sword, compelled the Persians to vanquish; and, before it was sheathed, four thousand of the inhabitants had expiated the blood of their companions.*

The pillage of Tamerlane was nearly nine hundred years after this event, or A. D. 1393; and the successive sieges and captures of this place by Usuncassan and the other Kings of Persia followed, until it was conquered by Selim, the first Sultan of the Osmanli Turks, in A. D. 1515. It fell again, however, under the Persian power, in less than a century afterwards, or about the year 1605. In the history of the Suffavean dynasty of Persian kings, after describing a bloody battle between the Persians and the Turks, in which the latter were entirely defeated; another historian says, from the period of this great victory till the death of Shah Abbas, he not only kept the Turks in complete check, but recovered all the territories which that nation had before taken from Persia. They were successively driven from their possessions along the shores of the Caspian, from Aderbijan, Georgia, Kurdistan, Bagdad, Mousul, and Diarbekr, all of which were re-annexed, by the sword of this monarch, to the Persian empire.†

In 1644, when Tavernier travelled through these countries, Diarbekr seems still to have been considered as a part of Persia, and as such he always speaks of it. He mentions an opinion there,

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. vii. c. 40. p. 138. 8vo.

† Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 541.

that the sixty-two towers in the outer wall were built in honour of the sixty-two disciples of Jesus Christ ; and says, that, in his day, there was an inscription over one of the gates, in Greek and Latin, that made mention of one Constantine. This was, no doubt, an inscription commemorating that emperor's repairs and embellishments here. I made many inquiries, both regarding this, and the secret staircase scooped in the rock of the citadel which overhangs the Tigris, as spoken of by Gibbon, but I could obtain no account of either ; and, indeed, the wonder of those whom I consulted on these subjects was strongly excited by the questions, as they could not conceive the motives which led to these inquiries, nor did they know any thing, even traditionally, of the facts to which they alluded. In the time of Tavernier, the estimate of the population was much greater than at present, as he numbers the Christians alone at twenty thousand, and states that the Basha or Vizier could bring above twenty thousand horse into the field.*

Niebuhr, in 1766, thought the number of inhabited houses to be about sixteen thousand, and the fourth part of these to be Christian dwellings. The government was then a Turkish one, as it still continues, nor does any material alteration seem to have taken place, since that period, except probably the ordinary change of governors. The inscriptions in Kufic and Arabic, which he then copied from the walls, are, as he described them in his time, but barely legible, from their being on a soft white lime-stone, which is inlaid between layers of the black basalt, and from the operation of the atmosphere alone is much more liable to injury than the hard stone of the walls themselves.

The Turks of Diarbekr are conceived to be more fanatic in their hatred of Christians than in other parts of the empire : I had no opportunity of witnessing this, though it was confirmed by the report of those resident here. It was at this place that I first noticed the Armenian calpac, a sort of high and heavy cap of cloth,

* The Six Voyages of John Baptiste Tavernier, b. iii. c. 3. p. 104. London, 1678. small folio.

which is worn by the Armenians of Constantinople, Smyrna, and the north of Asia Minor, but extends no farther south than this; for in Aleppo, Orfah, Mardin, and all Syria and Egypt, as well as Mousul and Bagdad, as we were told, these are always replaced by turbans of the Arabic form. The Koords and Arabs who sojourn here preserve their own peculiar and respective costumes. The women wear their outer coverings sometimes of white muslin, as at Smyrna and Damascus; sometimes of checkered blue cotton, as in most parts of Syria and Egypt; and sometimes of black silk, as is usual among the wealthier classes of ladies at Cairo. Both sexes are subject to the eruption in the face, as at Aleppo and Orfah, but in a much less extensive degree than at either of these places, the proportion here not exceeding one person in forty. As at the former towns, it is attributed by some to the water, and by others to the air, of the place; the mode of treatment too is the same at each, and the effects nearly similar, leaving a scar on the part affected after it has healed.

When we returned from our excursion around the town, as the gates were not yet shut, we intended going out to the village of Poorang to sleep, and hoped by setting off from thence early in the morning to reach Mardin within the same day, in time to join the caravan on its march. We accordingly took leave of Yuseff, the merchant, and repaired to the Khan to rejoin our horses and mount there. My Koord guide was not at first to be found; but, after sending emissaries in all directions to search for him, we at length discovered that he was held in personal arrest by a Turk of Diarbekr, to whom he was deeply indebted, and who, having met him now for the first time during the last five years, had laid violent hands upon his person, and swore by his beard, and by that of the Prophet, that he would not set him again at liberty, until a portion, at least, of the debt was paid, and some security offered for the remainder.

The redemption of this man from his present bondage seemed to me so hopeless, that I did not even make an offer towards it, but

directed search to be made after any other man who might be qualified to go with me as a guide to Mardin, and who should be sufficiently well known to the chiefs and their bands on the road, to protect me by his presence from their rapacity. Such a person was at length discovered, though not without much difficulty, and profiting by the supposed urgency of the case, demanded five hundred piastres for the undertaking! It was in vain to think of coming to terms after such an extravagant demand as this, so that the point was given up, and the man dismissed, amidst a volley of abuse and imprecations on us all, for having called him from his pipe and cushions on such a faithless errand.

I now returned to the Khan, with a determination to set out on my journey alone, and run all hazard of the evils which would necessarily await me on my track. Yuseff, the merchant, and all his friends, very kindly and strenuously opposed so rash a measure, but there was no alternative between doing this or waiting here, no one knew how long, for a better opportunity, and thereby losing the caravan at Mardin, without being certain of when or how I should be able to reach Mousul by any other. We accordingly roused up the keeper of the Khan, who had by this time closed his outer gates, and was taking a solitary pipe, and desired him to bring forth my horse; for though the city-gates were all closed, a present of eight or ten piastres would be sufficient to cause these to be thrown open for my going out. The man came out, angry at being disturbed from his pleasures, and half indignant at the imprudence of one whom he supposed to be at least the associate and partner of a common marauder. He told us to give ourselves no further airs, as he had received orders from the Governor himself not to let the Koord or his Syrian companion go, until the enraged creditor, who had detained him, had been satisfied. Our horses had therefore both been secured, and the keeper of them peremptorily refused to liberate either the one or the other, until he had received the Governor's orders so to do.

In this dilemma, nothing remained to be done, but to make an

application to the Governor himself, through the best and speediest channel, and as it was now long past sun-set, there would be considerable difficulty in obtaining access to his person. It was proposed, therefore, that we should repair to the house of Yuseff; and endeavour to find out some one of the suite of the Pasha, who was usually attendant on his person, and who, for a competent remuneration, would no doubt undertake to negotiate the affair. We accordingly returned to the merchant's dwelling, and in less than an hour afterwards a Turkish Effendi, one of the Pasha's confidential secretaries, was found, who offered, for an acknowledgment in money, to obtain both the liberation of my own horse, and that of the Koord too, before the morning. For each of these he at first demanded two hundred piastres, but, after many bickerings, he reduced his demand to one hundred. The liberation of the Koord himself he thought would not be so easy a task, as the order of the Pasha would be hardly sufficient to induce an enraged creditor to give up the hold which he had of his debtor's person, the only security he could ever have from such a wandering character for being paid his due.

The Turk had been absent little more than an hour before he returned, bringing with him the keeper of the khan, whom he had himself taken to the presence of the Pasha, to receive the order for the liberation of my horse, which he had undertaken to procure; and the horse, being now sent for, was brought from the caravanserai to the court of Yuseff's house, to assure us the more unequivocally of its freedom. I accordingly paid to Hassan, the Turk, the hundred piastres, for which we had originally bargained, and twenty-five more, which it was pronounced, by general acclamation, I ought to pay the old keeper, as a present on delivering up his charge; and this, under the joy of the moment, I was not prepared to dispute, being sufficiently happy in the belief, that I should now be at liberty to set out with the morning's dawn, and at all events be free to pursue my journey alone.

An ample feast had been all this while preparing, to which the

whole circle of Yuseff's Christian acquaintance had been invited, in order to break the bread of friendship with an Englishman, all Mohammedans being excluded, that they might the more freely indulge the privileges of their common faith in midnight potions, and vent their indignation against their oppressors over the intoxicating draught. We sat down, to the number of about thirty, around a large metal salver, laden with dishes, which were put on, taken off, and replaced by others in quick succession, after the fashion of the Turks. The feast was preceded by songs in the Turkish language, most of them remarkable for their gross indelicacy. Large glasses of arrack were swallowed at short intervals, so that most of the party were intoxicated before they began to eat, and as glasses were again served in pretty quick succession during the meal, many were quite drunk before it was ended. Loose songs were now followed by still looser conversations, and lascivious dances were next performed by men and boys, without the gravest among them being at all shocked at these Bacchanalian orgies. The utmost freedom was given to their expressions of hatred against the Turks; and though it was impossible not to feel pity for them, as subjects of the most galling tyranny, or not to sympathise with them in their faintest struggles against so odious slavery, yet it was painful to see that they quietly submitted to the yoke, and suffered themselves to be trodden under foot while sober, and breathed forth slaughter and revenge only while they were drunk; leaving the impression that they would be as cruel, were they of the stronger party, as they are timid and unresisting now that they are of the weaker. Here, upon the spot, I was forcibly struck with the contrast which the conduct and professions of these Christian teachers exhibited, when compared with the charity of a former bishop of the same place, as related by Gibbon, and deservedly rescued by him from oblivion.*

* " This Acacius of Amida, boldly declaring, that vases of gold and silver are useless to a God who neither eats nor drinks, sold the plate of the church of Amida; employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives, taken in the Theodosian war; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality, and dismissed them

Acts of benevolence and Christian charity, from whomsoever they spring, cannot be too frequently mentioned, and they shine with more lustre from amidst the aggravated wrongs under which they are displayed. But of the conduct to which I was here a painful witness, it is difficult to speak, except in terms of reprobation. These oriental Christians of the present day were not, however, without their consolations, which they reciprocally interchange in nearly the same language as that attributed, in the very next page of the same historian, to the Armenian archbishop Isaac, when he deplores, yet half excuses, the vices of Antasines, the nephew and successor of the Persian Chosroes.*

These midnight revels did not cease until the morning was nigh, and even then many more had sunk upon the floor to sleep, from fatigue and intoxication, than had retired for the purpose of going to their own homes. The speedy downfall of the Mohammedan power, and the eternal damnation of all heretics and infidels, were the favourite toasts; and these, it is said, were so clearly recommended by holy writ, that drinking to their accomplishment was only supporting the word of God, and hastening the drinker's own salvation. With this reiterated assurance, which was repeated on all sides at every draught that was swallowed, sounds of cursing still reverberating in my ears, I stretched myself along upon the carpet, to catch an hour's repose before the dawn should summon me to begin my journey, which the revolting scenes I had unwillingly witnessed here made me most impatient to begin.

to their native country, to inform the king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted."—Gibbon, vol. v. c. 32, p. 427.

* "Our king," says this mitred prelate, "is too much addicted to licentious pleasures; but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptism. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deserve the reproach of lewdness, but he is an undoubted Catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are flagitious."



CHAPTER XII.

FROM DIARBEKR TO MARDIN, DARA, AND NISIBIS.

JUNE 28th.—It was by the grey twilight of the morning that I saddled my horse, in haste; when, rolling up my carpet behind me, and balancing my spear, I mounted in the court-yard of the merchant's house, and left the recently noisy party all now sound asleep, after the excesses of the preceding night.

It was not yet sun-rise when I reached the city-gate, so that this was still shut; and as the warders had received orders on the preceding evening not to suffer either the Koord or myself to pass without express permission from the governor, I was again arrested here, until the truth of my own liberation from the claims of my companion's creditor could be ascertained. A well-timed present prevailed on one of the guards to hasten off to the palace, in order

to make the necessary inquiries; while another commanded a servant to hold my horse, with a hope of something being given him for his civility. The Aga of the guard, who had by this time just ended his morning prayers, then invited me to his carpet, and filling my pipe out of his own tobacco-bag, presented me also with a cup of his morning coffee, thus rendering my detention as agreeable as he could.

The messenger at length returned, with a confirmation of the truth of all that I had stated, with respect to my freedom: the expected presents were paid, the gates were thrown open, and with the prayers of the guards for the safe journey of one whom they supposed to be a believer, going heedlessly forth into danger, I left the walls of Diarbetr to return to Mardin alone.

Crossing the Tigris at the two fords, over which we had passed before, I was enabled to retrace my path with sufficient ease, and pushed on through Poorang, Akh Tuppe, Shukrah Tuppe, and Sushoaf, going at a full trot nearly the whole of the way, halting only at these villages to drink, and to ask a few questions regarding the roads, now and then also ascending an eminence, to command a more extensive view, and see if my way a-head was clear.

It was about El Assr when I reached Sushoaf, without having met with any obstacle in my way; but it was now necessary, as I intended to travel all night, to halt for an hour to refresh and repose. I accordingly alighted at the house of the Sheikh, who had entertained us on our way to Diarbetr, and beneath whose roof we had slept away an hour, securely sheltered from the heat of the mid-day sun. His first inquiry was naturally after my former companion, who had been long personally known to him; and though I ran the risk of incurring blame for deserting him in his distress, and probably, too, of being pillaged, since I was no longer under his protection, I thought it best to give a true and simple statement of the cause of our separation. It had the effect I anticipated, in exciting his displeasure: but this was softened by the observations of some young females, who were preparing the materials

for a wedding-feast in the same room, and who seemed privileged, by the occasion of the festivity, to speak their minds more freely than usual. They pleaded warmly, and not unsuccessfully, on my behalf; and the anger of the chief was soon appeased.

The preparations in which these females were engaged, were for a marriage-feast, the bridegroom being a Koord of the mountains, and the bride a sister of the young girls who so kindly advocated my cause; and as these were all daughters of the Sheikh himself, they even prevailed on him to insist on my tarrying to partake of the wedding-dinner to be given on this occasion. The invitation was accordingly offered to me, and I was too deeply impressed with gratitude for the kindness of my young female pleaders, to whom I was indebted for so happy an escape from threatened danger, not to accept it, although I dreaded every moment of detention as pregnant with still greater evil.

It was at the close of the afternoon prayers that the company, who consisted of all the males of the village, to the number of more than a hundred men and boys, began to seat themselves on the ground, on each side of a long cloth spread out as a table. While the dishes were placing on this rural board, I kept myself busily employed in rubbing down, watering, and feeding my horse, in order to avoid, as much as possible, observation and inquiry; but when the master of the feast came, I was seated as the "stranger-guest" immediately beside him; and on the ejaculation of "B'Is'm Illah" being uttered, I dipped my fingers into the same dish, and had the choicest bits placed before me by his own hands, as a mark of my being considered a friend or favourite; for this is the highest honour that can be shewn to any one at an Eastern feast.*

* Two interesting passages of Scripture derive illustration from this trait of eastern manners. The first, is that in which the Saviour says, "When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room,* lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him; and he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, Give this man place: and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room.

* The word "room," in this passage, means place or station, and not apartment.

All eyes were upon me, as a stranger; I did not understand Koordish, and could speak barely enough of Turkish, to communicate my most common wants, while none of the party present understood more of Arabic than I did of the last-named tongue. This circumstance was, indeed, rather favourable than otherwise to my present purpose, as no one seemed to entertain a doubt of the purity of my faith. I was, however, a stranger, and alone; and, although I enjoyed the protection of the Sheikh as long as I continued under his roof, yet the instant that I quitted it, I should become a fair prey to any party, who might consider me worth plundering. I was persuaded, from the nature of many of the inquiries that were made of me, from many individuals of the assembly, as to the route I intended to take, the nature of the errand which could thus justify my travelling alone, and similar remarks, that, even during this feast, of which we were all common partakers, plans were thought of for intercepting me on my way. I was as reserved, however, in my communications, and as cautious in my answers, as I could well be, without giving offence, though I had made up my mind to go by a different route from that by which we had come, if this were at all practicable. I dared not ask this, even of my host, who, after I had quitted his roof, was as likely as

But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room; that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee." (Luke, c. xiv. v. 8—10.) In a country where the highest importance is attached to this distinction, the propriety of this advice is much more striking than if applied to the manners of our own; and the honour is still as much appreciated throughout Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, at the present day, as it was in those of the Messiah. The other passage is that, in which, at the celebration of the passover, Jesus says, (Matt. c. xxvi. v. 23.) "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me." As there are but very few, and these always the dearest friends, or most honoured guests, who are seated sufficiently near to the master of the feast to dip their hands in the same dish with him, (probably not more than four out of the twelve disciples at the last supper enjoyed this privilege,) the baseness of the treachery is much increased, when one of these few becomes a betrayer; and in this light, the conduct of Judas was, no doubt, meant to be depicted by this pregnant expression.

any other person to betray me. To be found alone in conversation with either of his daughters, would be certain death to both of us : I contrived, however, by calling to one of them as she passed, to bring me a jar of water, to avail myself of her information ; and as we stood at a sufficient distance from the assembly to be heard by none, though seen by all, I was enabled to ask and receive from her all the information I needed on this point, by which I learnt the existence of a more westerly road than that pursued by my Koord guide, on our way to Diarbekr.

The feast being ended, after thanking the Sheikh for his kindness, I remounted my steed, with anxious thoughts, and pursued the beaten track by which we had come from Mardin, until I was entirely out of sight from the village, when I crossed over a by-path which had been described to me by the Sheikh's daughter, and got, at length, into the more westerly road, leading to Burnisht.

It was near sun-set when I reached this village, which was larger than either of those through which I had yet passed. It was seated in a hollow, between hills, and had a small castle, or fortified dwelling, which was occupied by the chief, Mustapha Aga, who commanded the district for a short distance around him, and was as much feared as the most powerful sovereign could be within his own dominions. My ignorance of the road beyond this station obliged me to halt here ; and, as I could not make the necessary inquiries without being questioned in my turn, I was obliged to use the same precautions as I had done at Sushoaf. The master of the house at which I stopped listened to my tale ; and, as his own family and friends were now assembled about him to supper, I was invited to alight and partake of their fare, while a lad was sent to take care of my horse during the meal. Very pressing solicitations were used to prevail on me to pass the night here, and set out for Mardin in the morning, as they insisted that I should certainly lose my way by night, and could not divine the cause of such heedless running into danger. I yielded to their

entreaties, only so far, however, as to take an hour's nap after supper, and then remounted, to pursue my way alone.

It was about nine o'clock when I quitted Burnisht, and, going through narrow ravines and winding valleys, I soon found myself so embarrassed with the difficulty of tracing the beaten road, for the purpose of which I had alighted, and walked on a considerable distance on foot, that I lay down on the ground, in despair of being able to find my way, until the day broke. As there was a portion of the soil covered with high corn, I unbridled my horse, and taking in my hand the long halter used on such occasions, suffered him to range within its length, and feed at pleasure, while, rolling myself up in my cloak, and stretching myself along on the grass, I enjoyed a welcome sleep.

From this I was soon disturbed, however, by the barking of dogs, which from their number seemed to betoken the neighbourhood of a village; and rousing myself to listen more attentively, I could trace the sounds distinctly, as coming from the summit of one of the neighbouring hills. I bridled my horse and remounted, and, notwithstanding the difficulty which still existed of finding any path, I went on, directing my footsteps constantly towards the point from which the sounds came, and, after about an hour's fatiguing scramble, at length reached the habitations of the village. As it was now midnight, most of the villagers were asleep; but one of them, who was apparently on the watch to guard the flocks of the rest, after expressing many suspicions of my intentions in travelling thus alone, and at such an hour of the night, at length offered me shelter, and advised my remaining until the morning before I renewed my way. The difficulty I had already experienced induced me readily to listen to this advice, and I accordingly halted here beneath his humble shed.

JUNE 29th.—The dawn had hardly yet opened before I was again on horseback, and quitting Kufferdell, as this small village

was called, I bent my way over hills and bare ground, until, soon after sun-rise, I came to the edge of some cliffs, overhanging a deep valley, beyond which I now saw Mardin but a short distance to the east-north-east.

Winding down the steep sides of these cliffs, and crossing the valley below, I entered the gates of the town about an hour after sun-rise, and hastened immediately to the bazār, to inquire after the caravan. This I learnt had departed on the morning of yesterday, and as it was intended to push on by forced marches towards Mousul, it was thought that no hope remained of my overtaking it on the way, unless it made a halt at Nisibeen.

I now repaired to the dwelling of the Syrian Patriarch, and from hence we despatched messengers to the villages on the plain, to ascertain precisely at what hour the caravan departed from thence, what route they intended to take, how their halts would be regulated, and all other particulars regarding them. In the meantime, we employed ourselves quite as actively in town, in endeavouring to find out whether any unfortunate passenger had, like myself, been left behind, and if so, whether he would be willing to join me in setting out after the caravan; as well as to learn whether I could, by any and what other means, resume my journey with a hope of success.

After strict search we discovered, that a horse-dealer of this place had about fifty horses, which he was desirous of getting marched to Mousul as speedily as possible; but that, like myself, he had lost the caravan by a few hours only, while he was willing to incur some risk in endeavouring to join it. Our condition was exactly similar to that of vessels left behind in port, and who, having lost their convoy, are obliged either to hazard something in sailing alone after the fleet, or incur all the loss and detention of waiting for another commodore. The prospects of any better, or even equally advantageous, opportunity seemed to us, in this case, so faint, that we soon made up our minds to make the best of the present occasion. After taking a hasty refreshment, therefore, and

allowing my poor horse, now almost knocked up from fatigue, to catch a short repose, I took leave of my Christian friends, and repaired to join the troop of horses at the khan.

After the prayers of El Assr, we mounted, and quitted the town of Mardin. Our party consisted of the horse-dealer, two drivers, and myself, with about fifty spirited and unsaddled horses. We went out by the south-east road, and drank at a fountain of excellent water in our way, when we descended to the foot of the hill, and, gaining the beaten path, continued our course over the plain. It was near sun-set when we reached the village of Harim, where there were about a hundred dwellings, all occupied by families of Koords. We repaired to the house of the Sheikh, who spread carpets for us, and gave us a welcome reception, cheering us with the prospect of our overtaking the caravan at Nisibeen, and doing all in his power to render our situation agreeable.

JUNE 30th.—After a night of imperfect repose, being hourly disturbed by the breaking loose of the horses, and their fighting with each other, we began to saddle our steeds, and prepare for starting at day-light, and just as the sun rose we mounted to proceed on our journey.

We continued our march in a south-easterly direction across the plain, and, in less than two hours after our setting out, were overtaken by two Tartars from Constantinople going to Bagdad, in charge of papers from the British Consul General at that capital, to the East-India Company's Resident at Bagdad. They had left Diarbekr on the evening of the same day that I had quitted it in the morning, and had there heard of my inquiries after Tartars. They were accompanied by a young Bagdad merchant, named Suliman, who was returning home with them; and they had each of them official orders on the Konaukchis, or post-horse suppliers on the road, for such horses as they might require, these supplies being furnished by an annual contract to all the Sultan's messengers that may be in need of them.

As soon as I ascertained this to be the case, I disclosed myself to the chief of these Tartars, who was called Yunus, or Jonas, and presented to him the general letter of Mr. Barker, addressed to any of the Government Tartars, bearing English despatches, that I might meet on the road. On the faith of this, he offered me his protection as far as we should go together; but added, that it would be impossible to procure me a change of horses for my journey until we reached Mousul, to procure a new order to that effect from the Pasha; so that nothing was left for me now but to put the strength of my present animal to its utmost stretch until we reached that city.

We accordingly proceeded together in company, and in about two hours after our leaving Harim, going at a pace of five or six miles an hour, we reached a small village called Gholee, containing little more than fifty dwellings, and peopled entirely by Koords. We did not alight here, merely halting to drink, as we sat on horseback, from the pitchers of some damsels at the well; after which we continued our way, and came, in about two hours more, to the village of Amooda. Here we alighted to wait on the Sheikh, who was a man of some consequence, and commanded many of the villages in the neighbourhood. The one in which he resided was larger than either of those we had passed through since leaving Mardin; and, like these, its whole population were Koords.

On our visit to the Sheikh, the Sultan's Firmān was put into his hands by Yunus; when the chief, as soon as he recognised the royal signet, rose from his seat, placed the sacred document on his head, and then kissing it, raised it again to his forehead. A meal was now placed before us, of which we all partook, after which inquiries were made as to our several occupations and pursuits, our means of travelling, and our capacity to pay the usual tribute of travellers passing this way. The Tartars easily escaped, from their having the high protection of the Sublime Porte; the young Suliman affected poverty, and came off with a trifle, and I followed his example with success; but the poor horse-dealer, whose property

was too visible to be concealed, was obliged to leave one of the best of his troop behind, this being selected by the Sheikh himself, as an equivalent for the money-tribute which the dealer was unable to pay.

We observed the Koord women at this village to be in general handsome, though they approached nearer to Arabs, in their complexions, and in their modes of adorning themselves, than the more northern Koords among whom we had sojourned; they were all well dressed, and wore a profusion of silver ornaments, in the shape of bracelets, anklets, and rings; but their lips were stained with a blue colour, after the fashion of the Arabs of the Desert.

We quitted this village of Amooda about ten o'clock, and still continued south-easterly over the plain. The harvest was now gathering in by reapers, who worked with the sickle in the right hand, and grasped the stalks of the corn with the left, as in Europe; the practice of plucking up the whole by the root, as described in a former page, not prevailing here. Horses were used, in the open air, to tread out the corn, in the manner in which oxen usually are in other Eastern countries. These were not muzzled during their labours, but were suffered to eat as they worked, and enjoy the reward of their hire, which they seemed to do without impeding the labour itself. We noticed here a singular kind of locust, which, while it stood on the ground, was of the same shape and colour as the common locust seen in large flocks; but when it expanded its wings for flight, it exhibited a body and wings as beautifully, as variously, and as brilliantly coloured, as those of the gayest butterfly. This locust was not much smaller in size than the large locusts of Egypt and Syria, but it was said to be always seen single, or in such small numbers as to lead to the belief that they never associated in hosts as the destructive locusts do.

Continuing our march over the plain, we had on our right, or to the south of us, at a great distance off, the mountain of Sinjār, a lofty range, high in the middle and tapering down at both ends

till it lost itself in the plain.* To the left, or on the north, was the longer and lower ridge of Mardin, distant only three or four miles, and running nearly in the direction of our march, or about south-east. It was amidst these hills, as we passed them, that we saw a large ruined town, with a castle, called Benaweel; near to which, in the same direction, is Dāra, or Kara Dara, an ancient post of some importance, now in ruins, but still possessing extensive remains, according to the report of two of our party who had often been there.

A description of the situation and construction of this fortress, as well as of its importance, is given by Gibbon, on the authority of Procopius, in his History of the Persian War.†

* “ Au midi de Mardin s’élève la montagne de *Singiar*, qui a été de tout temps la terreur des caravanes; elle peut avoir quatorze lieues de longueur, et s’étend du nord-est au sud-ouest dans une plaine immense, qui aux mois de Mars et d’Avril n’est qu’une prairie charmante, tapissée de verdure, parsemée de fleurs odoriférantes, et arrosée de plusieurs sources que la fonte des neiges convertit souvent en larges et impétueux torrens. Le sommet de cette montagne offre un terrain plat et fertile, où serpentent et murmurent mille ruisseaux agréables. L’orge et le millet y viennent en abondance; les raisins et les figues qu’il produit, sont renommés par leur beauté et leur goût exquis.”—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 96, 97.

† After enumerating the loss as sustained by the Greek emperor Anastasius, in his contests with the Persian Kobad, he says, “ To avert the repetition of the same evils, Anastasius resolved to found a new colony, so strong, that it should defy the power of the Persian, so far advanced towards Assyria, that its stationary troops might defend the province by the menace or operation of offensive war. For this purpose, the town of Dara, fourteen miles from Nisibis, and four days’ journey from the Tigris, was peopled and adorned: the hasty works of Anastasius were improved by the perseverance of Justinian; and, without insisting on places less important, the fortifications of Dara may represent the military architecture of the age. The city was surrounded with two walls, and the interval between them, of fifty paces, afforded a retreat to the battle of the besieged. The inner wall was a monument of strength and beauty: it measured sixty feet from the ground, and the height of the towers was one hundred feet; the loop-holes, from whence an enemy might be annoyed with missile weapons, were small, but numerous; the soldiers were planted along the rampart, under the shelter of double galleries, and a third platform, spacious and secure, was raised on the summit of the towers. The exterior wall appears to have been less lofty, but more solid; and each tower was protected by a quadrangular bulwark. A hard, rocky soil resisted the tools

It has been affirmed, says the historian of Persia, that this fortress answered the purpose for which it was built, for sixty years; but we must determine, before we adopt this conclusion, how its erection provoked those attacks which it so long resisted, and which at last brought ruin, not only on it, but upon all the Roman towns and territories in its vicinity.*

About thirty years afterwards, when Chosroes, the son of Kobad, received the ambassadors of Justinian, the successor of Constantine, it is said that he accepted of them eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an *endless* or indefinite peace. Some mutual exchanges were then regulated; the Persian assumed the guard of the gates of Caucasus, and the demolition of Dara was suspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the East.†

In little more than the same period of time, or about seventy years after its first foundation, when the contests between Rome and Persia were still continued, it fell before the arms of the latter.‡

In the beginning of the seventh century, or nearly a hundred of the miners; and on the south-east, where the ground was more tractable, their approach was retarded by a new work, which advanced in the shape of a half-moon. The double and treble ditches were filled with a stream of water; and, in the management of the river, the most skilful labour was employed to supply the inhabitants, to distress the besiegers, and to prevent the mischiefs of a natural or artificial inundation. Dara continued, more than sixty years, to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained, that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires."—Gibbon, vol. vii. p. 139. 8vo.

* Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 135. A. D. 531.

† Gibbon, vol. vii. c. 43, p. 308.

‡ Nushervan, or Chosroes, conducted in person the siege of Dara; and, although that important fortress had been left destitute of troops and magazines, the valour of the inhabitants resisted for months the elephants and the military engines of the great king. In the mean while, his general, Adarman, advanced from Babylon, traversed the Desert, passed the Euphrates, insulted the suburbs of Antioch, reduced to ashes the city of Apamea, and laid the spoils of Syria at the feet of his master, whose perseverance, in the midst of winter, at length subverted the bulwark of the East.—Gibbon, vol. viii. c. 46, p. 174.

years after Dara had been first founded, the generals of Khoosroo Purveez, who had been first restored to the Persian throne after his defeat and flight into Tartary, invaded the Roman territories, to avenge the death of the Emperor Maurice, whom Khoosroo had publicly adopted as his father. In the state to which the empire was then degraded, says the historian, by the rule of the centurion Phocas, who had been advanced to the purple by a despicable faction, and whose authority was hardly acknowledged beyond the walls of his capital, little opposition was made to the sudden and formidable invasion of the Persians. Dara, Edessa, and other strong places on the frontier, were soon subdued; Syria was completely pillaged, Palestine overrun, Jerusalem taken, and the true cross, which had been enclosed in a golden case and buried deep in the earth, was discovered, and borne in triumph to Persia; and the historians of that country, who give us these details, add, that the sacred relic was attended by a crowd of captive priests and bishops.*

Of this "Dara in the Mountains," as it is called, in the road from Mardin to Nisibeen, mention is made, in the Persian history of the Sassanian kings, by Mirkhond. It is there said, that Noushirvan the Just, or Kesra, entered the province of Jezeereh, the tract comprised between the Tigris and Euphrates, and forming the ancient Mesopotamia, where he subdued the cities of Dara and Edessa, and afterwards conquered Kennasserin and Aleppo.†

Procopius fixes the distance of Dara from Mardin at ninety-eight stadia, which, at seven stadia to the mile, (the proportion used in the Lower Empire, and the standard used by Procopius generally,) gives exactly fourteen miles. This, though it seems to have been rejected by D'Anville, who has doubled it in order to reconcile it with other distances of a place called Daras,‡ sixty miles south of Amadia, and fifteen from Nisibeen, according to the authorities of Marcellinus, Cedrenus, and Edrisi, is, nevertheless, as near the

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 157.

† De Sacy's Memoires, p. 366. 4to.

‡ D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre.

truth as possible, since the distance is reckoned to be a journey of five or six hours from Mardin, which, as it is in a mountainous and stony tract, cannot be more than fourteen or fifteen miles, which is about its distance also from Nisibeen.

The ruins at this place consist chiefly of military fortifications, walls, and fine cisterns for the preservation of water; and all around it are excavated sepulchres, in which sarcophagi, of the Roman fashion, are still to be found. In Cedrenus, it is called Anastasiopolis, and it is found under that appellation in many other writers; but its original name of Dara, which it bore before it was built on, has outlived that of its founder.*

The Daras of the geographers before cited, the distance of which, as given by them from known points, induced D'Anville to alter to that of Dara, which he supposes to be the same place, is likely, I think, to be some other station. This also may be said of the Dara, which Callistus places between two rivers, since, according to the report of the people here, there are no streams that run by the Dara in question, nor is it indeed likely, from the local features of the spot; while one might infer, from the number of cisterns found there to preserve rain-water, that it could not be near a river, as these would then have been useless. Probably one of these places may be the Daracardin, or Dadacardin, of Tavernier, at which he halted, after thirty-seven hours' travelling, from Orfah, and nineteen hours before he reached Mardin. He says of it, "This appears to have been a great town, but is all ruined; nor is there any thing remaining but a long stone bridge, very well built, under which runs a river that is very broad when it overflows. The people of the country have no other habitations than the hollows of rocks."† This circumstance, of the existence of caverns, being one feature of resemblance to the Dara of Anastasius, has

* L'Empereur Anastase, dans un règne agité des troubles intérieurs, depuis l'an 491 jusqu'en 517, fit construire dans l'emplacement d'un petit lieu, nommé Dara, un place très forte, à laquelle il donna son nom.—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre.*

† Travels of Tavernier, p. 68. London, 1678, folio.

occasioned them to be confounded; but the place of Tavernier is between Orfah and Mardin, or *west* of the latter; whereas, the Dara of the Romans was between Mardin and Nisibeen, or *east* of the former. Its having a river, and a bridge over it, makes it probable, however, that Daracardin was the place which Callistus places between two streams, more particularly as the distance of this place from Nisibeen does not at all accord with that of the Roman Dara. It may be worthy of remark, that as Dara was rather an appellative than a proper name, and signified, in the Persian language, royal, or sovereign,* it was likely to be applied to many places which were either royal, from being founded by emperors or kings, or deserving the title from their military importance.

It was near noon, after a journey of eight hours' brisk walking for the horses, or about forty miles from Mardin, that we reached the town of Nisibeen, where we found the caravan encamped. We halted here to join them, and learned that they had arrived thus far on the preceding evening, but were detained to-day in adjusting the claims, and softening down, if possible, the pretensions of the chief, who demanded an exorbitant tribute. When we alighted, this dispute was at its height, and we had just arrived in time to be made partakers of the evils it involved. The inferior persons of the caravan had been already pillaged of whatever they had worth taking. Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān was ordered to pay fifteen hundred piastres, exactly half the sum at first demanded; and I was compelled to pay two hundred and fifty for myself, while the Tartars, who are on all occasions more exempt from these arbitrary demands than other passengers, were obliged to pay each fifty piastres, before they could be suffered to proceed. The horse-dealer had a toll levied on his horses, to the amount of several piastres per head, but I could not learn the exact sum, though it was loudly complained of as unusually oppressive. There was no remedy, however, for any of us, but quietly to pay the sums demanded, and even then to thank those robbers for our lives, as this

* Bibliothèque Orientale, tome i. p. 565.

Sheikh Farsee, as he was called, was the absolute sovereign of all the territory, from this to the neighbourhood of Mardin.

In directing an inquiry, as to the state of the road farther on, it appeared, from all we could collect, that there were still more dangers to encounter than those we had already left behind us; and other chiefs were spoken of, who, from being more powerful than Sheikh Farsee, would not content themselves, without a proportionately larger tribute than he had received from us. Whether this was true or false, the impression created by it was such, that even the Tartars would not prosecute their journey alone, notwithstanding the importance to them of expedition, but determined to abide with the caravan, for the sake of enjoying its protection, so that we all now clung together for mutual aid.

Towards the evening, I left the tent of the Hadjee, to make an excursion around the ruins of former days, which are found in abundance here. Though I saw much at a distance, the insolence and jealousy of the inhabitants were such as to prevent my entering into the town, and, consequently, to deprive me of the power of examining any thing closely, or seeing much in detail. Some particulars of the present state of this settlement were, however, collected, and these will serve at least to contrast with those which are related of its former importance.*

The first foundation of Nisibeen mounts up to an antiquity

* In the Description of the Pachalik of Bagdad, the situation and condition of Nisibin is thus briefly mentioned :—" Sans m'arrêter aux villages de la dépendance de Moussol, je passe à *Nissibin*, ville qui en est éloignée d'environ quarante-deux lieues. Cette cité célèbre, à laquelle les Grecs donnèrent le surnom de *seconde Antioche*, à cause de sa situation délicieuse, fut prise, comme on le sait par Lucullus sur Tigrane, du temps de la guerre de Mithridate, et devint le boulevard de l'Empire Romain, contre les Parthes et les Perses. Il n'en reste aujourd'hui que quelques mesures qui servent seulement à indiquer le lieu où elle a existé. Des Arabes y habitent, et une petite rivière, qui est apparemment le Migdonius, en fertilise les plaines. Le site de Nissibin, son climat, et la beauté de son terroir, la rendent encore digne de la célébrité dont elle a joui autrefois ; elle est sous la régie du *vaivode* de Mardin, dépendant lui-même du pacha de Bagdad, qui le nomme et le dépose à son gré."—p. 92, 93.

beyond even the reach of records; since it is thought, by some learned divines,* to be one of the places enumerated in the Scriptures, as built by Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord."†

Its name is more frequently written "Nesibis," on the medals which are preserved of it. It is found to be written "Nisibis" in Greek authors, while the present pronunciation of the name, "Nisibeen," or "Nesbin," is said, by D'Anville, to be in conformity to Abulfeda, the Arabian geographer.‡

Its situation is very clearly marked, as being in the northern part of Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and Euphrates; though it has been placed on the banks of the former by some geographers, who have confounded this river with the stream that runs by it.§ This stream, according to the most modern maps, is made to discharge itself into the Euphrates; but, by the more ancient map of Cellarius, which corresponds with the opinion and report of the people of the country, it discharges itself into the Tigris. This river of Nisibeen is the Saocaras of Ptolemy, and is formed of several small torrents, which unite together in the neighbourhood of Nisibeen. It was afterwards, under the Seleucides, called Mygdonius, as may be gathered from the Emperor Julian, who says,

* See Cellarius Anc. Geog. p. 448. 4to.

† The cities attributed to Nimrod are as numerous throughout Mesopotamia and Babylonia as those attributed to Pharaoh are in Egypt, or those to Solomon in Palestine and Syria. Among others, was the city of Samarah, one of the most famous in eastern annals. "This city," observes Mr. Beckford, "is supposed to have stood on the site where Nimrod erected his tower. Khondemir relates, in his Life of Motassem, that this prince, to terminate the disputes which were perpetually happening between the inhabitants of Bagdad and his Turkish slaves, withdrew from thence, and, having fixed on a situation in the plain of Catoul, there founded Samarah. He is said to have had, in the stables of this city, a hundred and thirty thousand *pied horses*, each of which carried, by his order, a sack of earth, to a place he had chosen. By this accumulation an elevation was formed that commanded a view of all Samarah, and served for the foundation of his magnificent palace."—*Notes to the Caliph Vathek*.

‡ Ammianus Marcellinus says, "Nisibis jam indè à Mithridaticis regni temporibus ne Oriens a Persis occuparetur, viribus restitit maximis."—lib. 25.

§ See Cellarius Anc. Geog. p. 448. 4to.

that the fields, in the neighbourhood of the walls of Nisibis, were watered by a river of that name. Under this dynasty, the city was called Antioch, with the addition of Mygdonia, which was then applied to the whole of this part of Mesopotamia.*

It is thought to have been taken, in the Mithridatic war, by the Roman general Lucullus, when he pursued his enemy across the Euphrates, and gave battle, on the plains of Mesopotamia, to the numerous forces which Tigranes had assembled to support the cause of his son-in-law; when, according to Plutarch, one hundred thousand foot and fifty-five thousand horse of the Asiatic forces were slain, by an army of only eighteen thousand Romans, little more than a century before the Christian era.

About two centuries afterwards, the Emperor Trajan, in the prosecution of the Parthian war, when he overran all Mesopotamia and Assyria, took Nisibis, among his other conquests, which, according to Dion Cassius, extended as far as Ecbatana; where, when he had obtained victories over unknown nations, and found himself on the borders of India, he lamented that he possessed not the vigour and youth of an Alexander, that he might add unexplored provinces and kingdoms to the Roman empire.†

* The change of names in places of antiquity presents continual obstacles to accurate deductions in ancient geography. The following place, mentioned by Pliny, is thought to be another name for Nisibis, and the tradition attached to the fountain described by him to apply to the springs there. "At Cabura, in Mesopotamia, (which is thought to be Nisibis under another name,) there is a fountain of water, which hath a sweet and redolent smell; setting it aside, I know not any one of that quality in the whole world again. But hereto there belongs a tale, namely, that this spring was privileged with this extraordinary gift, because Juno sometimes bathed and washed herself therein."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. xxxi. c. 3.

† In the history of Artabanes, King of Parthia, and his restoration, as given by Josephus, the historian says, "And thus was Artabanes restored to his kingdom, by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honours as were of greatest esteem among them; for he gave him leave to wear his tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off the large and fruitful country

After Shapoor had conquered the greater part of the Jezeereh,* he marched against Nisibis, which long resisted his efforts to subdue it. According to Persian authors,† this celebrated fortress was at last taken, more through the effect of the prayers, than the arms, of his soldiers. For, wearied with the siege, Shapoor commanded his army to unite in supplications to the Divinity for its fall; and Persian authors state that the wall actually fell as they were imploring Heaven for success.‡

An unsuccessful attempt on this place by Sapor is described by Gibbon, from the Orations of Julian, as taking place about the year 338 of the Christian era. This, however, was Shapoor the Second, of the Persian historians, (between whom and his predecessor of the same name six sovereigns had intervened,) the son of Hormuz, who was crowned in his mother's womb before his birth,—a circumstance noted by all the historians of his life, both Greek and Persian.§ The description of these unavailing efforts against the fortress of Nisibis by Sapor, is given in so animated a manner by the historian, who has caught the leading features from the best authorities, and presented the whole as a glowing picture of his own, that the reader, who feels sufficient interest in the subject to desire further details, may receive great gratification on turning to the pages in which these are recorded.||

About twenty-five years after this, according to the chronology of the Persian historians, the Romans invaded Persia, and Shapoor the Second was called on to defend his country. The Arab tribes,

of Nisibis from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. Here the Macedonians had formerly built that city, which they called Antioch of Mygdonia."—*Antiquities of the Jews*, b. xx. c. 3. s. 3. A. D. 45.

* Jezeereh means an Island, and is here applied in that sense to the countries included between the Euphrates and Tigris, the Mesopotamia of the ancients.

† Zeenut ul Tuarikh.

‡ History of Persia, vol. i. p. 98, from De Sacy's Memoirs, p. 289. A. D. 260.

§ Gibbon, v. iii. p. 134; and History of Persia, v. i. p. 106.

|| See Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii. c. 18, pp. 142—145.

it is said, who were eager for revenge, readily joined the Romans, and their united force amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand men, which were commanded by the celebrated Emperor Julian, himself, in person. Shapoor declined meeting this formidable army at the frontiers, being sensible, that if he suffered a defeat, which their overwhelming numbers rendered probable, he should be ruined. He retreated to one of the interior provinces; and, collecting all the force he could, he advanced to give battle. After a dreadful conflict, in which we are told he made the greatest personal efforts, his army was routed with immense slaughter, and Shapoor himself barely saved his life by flying with a few followers. He soon, however, assembled his army, and recommenced operations, to which he was more encouraged from the retreat of his victorious enemy, in pursuit of whom he advanced into the Roman territory, and sent ambassadors to their emperor with the following message—"I have re-assembled my numerous army, I am resolved to revenge those of my subjects who have been plundered, made captives, and slain. It is for this object, that I have bared my arm and girded my loins. If you consent to pay the price of that blood which has been shed, to deliver up the booty which has been plundered, and to restore the city of Nisibis, which is in Irāk, and properly belongs to our empire, though now in your possession, I will sheath the sword of war; but should you not assent to these terms, the hoofs of my steed, which are as hard as steel, shall efface the name of the Romans from the earth, and my glorious scymitar, that destroys like fire, shall exterminate the people of your empire." According to Persian history, this proud and insulting message had the desired effect. The alarmed Emperor of Constantinople agreed to the terms prescribed, and the famous city of Nisibis was delivered over to Shapoor, who immediately sent a colony of twelve thousand men, drawn from Fars and Irāk, to inhabit it, and to cultivate the lands in its vicinity.*

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 108, (A. D. 363,) and De Sacy's Memoirs, p. 315.

This emperor was succeeded by Jovian, by whom this fortress was yielded to Shapoor, as part of the cession with which he gladly purchased a peace.* The entry of Jovian into Nisibis, and the sufferings of the inhabitants, who were ordered to evacuate it in three days, are described by Ammianus, who was present at the scene.† This irresolute emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient resignation, and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace which it was no longer in his power to refuse. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Shapoor, were restored to the Persian monarch. He acquired by a single article the impregnable city of Nisibis, which had sustained in three successive sieges the effort of his arms.‡

It was, however, wrested from the hands of the Persians about thirty years afterwards, according to the date of the reign of the emperor under which it happened. Khosrou Parviz had been fourteen years on the throne when the Greeks conspired against their emperor, and killed him, with his son Theodosius. There was another son of his at the court of Parviz, and under his command he sent a numerous army into the country of the Greeks, and into Syria. Being entered here, they first possessed themselves of Palestine and Jerusalem. They made prisoners of all the bishops who were at the Holy City, with many other persons, possessed themselves of the true cross, which was shut up in a case of gold and buried underneath the earth, and sent it to Parviz, in Persia. They then, in the same manner, rendered themselves masters of Alexandria and Nubia, and having entered the territory of Constantinople, committed great havoc. The Greeks, however, would not acknowledge the son, but named Heraclius their emperor, who, on the strength of a favourable dream, assembled an army at Constantinople, and marched as far as Nisibeen. Parviz sent twelve

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 52.

† Book xxv. s. 9. v. 2. pp. 406—408.

‡ Gibbon, vol. iv. c. 24. p. 210.

thousand men against them; but, in a battle there, they were defeated, with the loss of six hundred, besides their commander.*

Ferakhsad, however, one of the sons of Khosrou Parviz, who fled his country from fear of the reigning prince, made Nisibeen his place of refuge, and found protection there.†

It is acknowledged to have been the most important of all the places in Mesopotamia; and its name of "Nisibin," in the plural, is said to denote "posts, or military stations."‡ In Syriac, the name, in the plural, signifies "a place of columns;" but in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic, it implies, in the singular, a military post.§ Either of these etymologies would be sufficiently consistent with its former state and history to be adopted, since the greatest part of its importance arose from its value as a military post; and as the residence of emperors, nobles, and generals, it was decorated with many columned edifices in the architecture of the time.

When the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela travelled through Mesopotamia, in 1173, he visited "Netsibin," as he himself writes it, and describes it as being then a large city, having rivers near it in abundance, and containing an assembly of a thousand Jews.|| The notice given of it by Otter, who travelled nearly six hundred years later, (in 1736,) is very slight;¶ and no other writers of modern times have given more ample details of its condition.

* De Sacy's *Memoires sur divers Antiquités de la Perse*, p. 402. 4to. A. D. 394.

† De Sacy's *Memoirs*, p. 415. 4to.

‡ D'Anville *Comp. Anc. Geog.* p. 434. 8vo.

§ D'Anville *sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 52. 4to.

|| *Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle*, in *Bergeron's Collection*, 4to.

¶ The following are the brief remarks of Otter on this place:—"Nous partimes le 3 Avril (de Kotche-Hisâr,) avec l'Ambassadeur du Grand Seigneur, et campames, après six heures de marche, dans Karadeiré, c'est à dire, la vallée noire, d'où nous allâmes le lendemain en quatre heures à Nisibin, petite ville du territoire des Arabes Rebia, au nord de Sindjar. Le Hermas descend d'une montagne au nord de cette ville, et passe à côté d'elle; l'on me dit qu'il y avoit sur les bords de cette rivière plus de quarante mille jardins, dans lesquels on trouvoit quantité de roses blanches; mais pas une rouge.

It has now, however, fallen into great decline. At the present moment it is occupied by about three hundred families of Arabs and Koords, mixed, under the government of Sheikh Farsee, who is himself a Koord horseman, and whose followers are mostly his own countrymen. These are chiefly Mohammedans, who have a mosque for their worship, though there are also a few Christians, who live among them peaceably ; but there are now no Jews. The houses of the modern town, which are found erected on the ruins, scarcely exceed a hundred habitable ones, and these are small square buildings of stone and mud, with flat roofs of straw, divided by narrow alleys—for they can scarcely be called streets—and wearing altogether an air of great poverty.

The situation of the town is in a level plain, with the hills of Mardin ranging along on the north, at the distance of from five to ten miles ; the high mountain of Sinjār on the south, distant about ten or twelve leagues ; and a flat desert country, generally, to the east and west. The town is seated on the western bank of the river Mygdonius, now called merely the river of Nisibeen ; and this is still observed to overflow its banks on the falling of the autumnal rains, and the melting of the vernal snows ; confirming the accuracy of Julian, who described it as inundating the country near the walls of the city, and watering the neighbouring fields. There are several smaller streams running into this river, near the city itself ; which corresponds with what Ptolemy has said of the Saocaras, as quoted before, and mentioned to be the same with the Mygdonius. It was this circumstance which formerly assisted the inhabitants in their agricultural labours, and still enables them to cultivate a great deal of rice, which requires more water than any other species of grain.

Among the most remarkable of the edifices whose remains are still existing here, is the citadel, a temple, a bridge, and a Roman

En partant de Nisibin, on ne trouve plus ni villes ni villages sur la route ; c'est un désert, habité par des Kiurds, des Arabes, et Yézidis, qui volent et maltraitent souvent les passans ; ils n'obeissent qu' à leurs Chieks ou Chefs.—Otter, t. i. p. 121.

building, now called the Church of St. James. The citadel may be very ancient; since the fortifications of this city must have been almost coeval with its foundation; but the present edifice presents no marked features of Roman architecture, being, as far as I could perceive from an exterior view, a large building, of the square form usual in Mohammedan works of this nature. The temple, which is without the precincts of the present town, on the south, has five columns still erect, supporting an architrave, a portion, no doubt, of the original portico. It appeared to be of the Corinthian order, but small, and of ordinary execution.* I could not, however, approach sufficiently close to this to examine it minutely; for, in going towards it alone, though not more than a quarter of a mile distant from our encampment, I had a cloak, and inner garment, or abba and jubbe, stripped from me by four of the villagers, who were seemingly strolling in search of plunder, and whom I could not afterwards find, to recover the articles, or even to repurchase them.

The bridge is a long and level work of masonry thrown across the river, and supported on twelve arches of Roman work; the pathway, or platform, of the bridge being not more than ten feet above the level of the stream. It resembles the bridge seen near Khallet el Hhearin, on the road from Antioch to Aleppo, and, like it, was no doubt originally of Roman construction, though it has undergone repairs, in later times, from Mohammedan workmen; and this portion of it is now in a still more ruined condition than the more ancient one.

The church, which is dedicated to St. James, formerly a Bishop of Nisibeen, and a zealous opposer of the Arian heresy, is thought

* M. D'Olivier, in passing through this place, saw the columns described; and, after mentioning them, he says, "Un peu plus loin, nous vîmes un bloc de marbre blanc et gris, presque entièrement enfoui, sur lequel il y avait une inscription Latine, très effacée. Nous ne pûmes lire que les trois mots suivans—'Currus . . . victoriam stadii' . . . C'était, peut-être là, le stade, où se faisaient les courses des chevaux." —vol. iv. p. 243. 8vo.

by some to have been originally constructed for a place of Christian worship, about the fourth century, and dedicated, on its first building, to the bishop whose name it bears.* Others, however, suppose it to have been originally a temple of the Romans or Greeks, which was subsequently converted into a church, when the Christians became masters of the country.† I had no opportunity of entering it myself, or of seeing sufficient of it to offer an opinion on this question.

The river, near which the city of Nisibis stood, is still a considerable stream, augmented as it is by several tributary ones in its course. It rises in the hills to the northward, and goes away south and south-east from hence, till its junction with the Khaboor, below Sinjār, with which, according to some, it runs ultimately into the Euphrates; though others here insisted on its going alone into the Tigris. It is rapid, deep, and clear; and its waters, which are pure and sweet,‡ produce several kinds of fine fish, large crabs, and water-snakes, or serpents, like those found in the Arabian Sea, and on the coast of the Concan in India, particularly when approaching the harbour of Bombay.§

On returning to the camp, after my excursion, I found a large party of the inhabitants of the town assembled round the tent of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and the eternal demand for presents was

* Niebuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 308. 4to.

† Travels of M. D'Olivier, vol. iv. p. 247. 8vo.

‡ See the Note from Pliny's Natural History, at p. 244.

§ In the Voyage of Admiral Van Neck, and Vice-Admiral Van Warwyck, to the East Indies, 1598, 1599, we find the Dutch killing and *eating* a large sea-serpent, near the island of Banda, "Le 8 de Mai, 1599, un serpent d'onze piés de long, ayant passé par un des écubiers du vaisseau Zelande, y fut tué et mangé."—*Voyages de la Comp. des Indes*, t. i. p. 567.

Dampier met with sea-snakes about four feet long, four fingers broad, flat tail, and spotted with yellow, on the coast of New Holland. There were also smaller ones, spotted with black and yellow; and others, very long and slender; and some as thick as a man's leg, with a red head. "This," says Pennant, "reminds me of the species described by Arrian, in his 'Periplus Maris Erythræi,' to which he gives black skins, and blood-red eyes."—*Outlines of the Globe*, vol. iv. p. 100.

vociferated from every mouth, but resisted with equal obstinacy. The people of the tribe living here seemed to be more mixed than we had before been accustomed to see them. The men only spoke Arabic, and the women and children Koordi. All were well dressed and clean, and about as many families resided in tents as in houses. The roving portion of the community possessed some of the most beautiful horses that could be seen ; and these were chiefly employed in predatory excursions, while the rest of the men remained at home to till the ground, to feed the flocks, and to be employed in the more inglorious task of guarding the harems, or the females and children of their warring brothers.

At night all our difficulties were surmounted, and our departure was fixed for the morrow. A strong watch was set around our tents, formed chiefly of volunteers from among those of the caravan who had the most to lose ; but, notwithstanding all our vigilance, many trifling articles were stolen, and muskets and pistols were repeatedly discharged during the night at thieves stealing silently into the camp.



CHAPTER XIII.

FROM NISIBEEN, ACROSS THE PLAIN OF SINJAR.

JULY 1st.—We began to prepare the burdens of our camels soon after midnight; and by the first opening of the dawn, we were all on our march.

Our course was directed to the east-south-east over the plain. On our left, or to the north of us, we had the range of hills which are continued from Dara eastward, and on which are several villages whose names we could not learn. On the right, or to the south of us, the lofty mountain of Sinjār rose from the desert plain, and seemed to be now distant from us about forty or fifty miles. The level tract between was like a spacious sea, with rocks and islets scattered over its surface. These small hills seem to be, in many instances, artificial, and are always chosen as the sites of villages,

for the purpose of greater security, and a more ready view of approaching danger.

After a march of two hours, we reached a small village, on an eminence, called Tal el Schiaire, or the Hill of Corn. The few houses seen were in shape like the long barns of English farmyards, thatched with sloping roofs of straw. The people, who were all Koords, lived chiefly, however, in tents; so that these buildings were mostly uninhabited, and kept probably for storehouses of grain.

In two hours from this, pursuing the same course, we passed through another place, called Theat Khalif Aga, or the Village of Khalif Aga, the name of the chief who resided here. It was seated on a smaller eminence than the former, and contained about fifty houses, but more than a hundred tents were pitched around it.

Just before noon we came to a similar village, called Doogher, where we made our halt for the day. We remarked that all these villages resembled each other in their chief local features; all were seated on rising grounds, each had a stream of water running near it from the northward, and in all of them were wells for the supply of this necessary article, when the brooks might be dried up and the streams fail. In our way from Nisibeen thus far, we saw several villages on our right and left, but I could not learn their names. The last and largest, however, of these was one now nearly abreast of us, called Azrowar, and standing on a higher elevation than either of the others,

In forming our halt, the place chosen for our encampment was by a small stream of water descending from the northern hills, and going to the southward to join the waters of Nisibeen. On the bank of this was killed, by one of our party, a large black serpent, of about nine feet in length, and nearly a foot in girth around the largest part of the body. It is said to prey chiefly on lizards, of which there are here many small ones of a very beautiful kind.*

* Otter mentions a poisonous serpent found near Tchemen, not far from the lesser Zab, whose bite proved fatal in the course of an hour:—"A notre arrivée à cet endroit

Our tent was scarcely pitched, before there poured down from the northern hills a troop of about fifty horsemen, all mounted on beautiful animals, and armed with long lances. The caparisons of some of these were rich, and even splendid, and a few of the chief among the riders were also superbly dressed. They formed, indeed, by far the most respectable body of men in appearance that we had yet seen on our way. The whole of these were followers of Khalif Aga, the head of a very numerous body of horse in this quarter, and, according to report, the most powerful chieftain between Orfah and Mousul. There were among this party two little boys, who could not have been more than ten years old, but who rode with as much firmness and ease, and wielded their lances, and discharged their pistols, with as much dexterity as any of the rest; and had, if possible, still more boldness in their behaviour to strangers. They were all Koords, and we remarked in them a roundness of feature that was much more approaching to European than to Asiatic physiognomy, particularly when contrasted with the long and prominent features of the Arabs. Their complexions too were as fair as those of Englishmen, though, in all, the eyes and hair were dark. Their dress was in fashion a mixture of Turkish and Arabian, but inclining more to the latter; many of them, however, wore gold ear-rings, which is rather a custom of the Indians than of either of the people before named.

The reception given in our tent, to the chief of this party, was like that of a man to whom all owed unlimited submission. Every one seemed to acknowledge him, as far as obsequious humility can express that feeling, to be the absolute master of their lives and

un Persan alla couper de l'herbe sur le bord de l'eau, et fut mordu à la main par un serpent. Au cri qu'il fit, on accourut avec des sabres et des haches, croyant qu'il étoit tombé dans quelque embuscade des Kiurds; on le trouva étendu sur l'herbe, s'agitant, écumant comme s'il fut tombé du haut-mal; son bras enflé et noir fit bientôt connoître la cause du mal. On decouvrit à quelques pas de lui un serpent monstrueux qui fut mis en pièces. La thériaque et les contre-poisons qu'on donna à l'homme furent inutiles; il mourut une heure après."—tome i. p. 149.

property. One among his suite, whose appearance was more ruffian-like than that of any other of his comrades, was selected by this chief for the duty of inspecting the goods of the caravan. This duty he performed, while his superior threw himself along upon his carpet, beneath the tent, attended by his followers, who formed a complete circle around him.

On the report of this inspector, a contribution of two thousand Spanish dollars was fixed as the amount to be paid by the whole caravan; the proportion in which it was to be contributed by each was left to be settled among ourselves. There was at least an hour's strong remonstrance against this arbitrary demand of a sum which all confessed their inability to pay; and some even said, "Take every thing, all that we possess, and leave us naked. It will be less troublesome to us all, and effectually prevent the pillage of the next band of robbers, who, if you leave us any thing remaining, will be sure to lighten us of our burthens." It was not these remonstrances, however, but a conviction that the original sum could not be raised, which induced the chief at length to lower his demand to two thousand five hundred piastres, or about £125 sterling. Of this, the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān was obliged to pay the half, and the remainder was left to be raised among the rest of the caravan. As we were now few in number, and the great mass even of these had not wherewithal to answer the exorbitant claims of these freebooters, I was compelled to pay, for my own share, no less than three hundred piastres, part of which I was obliged to borrow from the young nephew of my friend, Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef, my own ready cash being all expended, and having nothing now but my bills on Mousul and Bagdad left.

One would have expected, that after this sum was produced, which it was with some difficulty, and presented in hard and bright coin, they would have left us to repose in peace. But the possession of the glittering treasure served only to excite new desires for more; and it seemed to me that we were now in danger of complete pillage. The Hadjee had already laid out his presents before

the chief, on his first entering the tent, after the usage of the country ; and these were sufficiently rare and valuable to have been offered to a Sultan. Others were, however, now demanded ; and some of the bales of goods, that had hitherto remained untouched, were even opened, to search for something worthy the acceptance of this insatiable marauder. Nothing was found that suited his caprice ; and when he discovered that he himself was not likely to be individually benefited by further plunder, he began to affect a regard for justice, and desired that all " private property," as he called it, might be respected !

Notwithstanding this positive injunction, from a leader, whom, in all other respects, his followers seemed implicitly to obey, the inferior persons of the troop wandered through the caravan, and secretly pilfered what they did not venture to take in public. The saddle and bridle of my horse, which were purchased new at Aleppo, and still in good riding order, were literally stolen from off the animal's back ; a mare, with all her furniture, was taken from another of the caravan ; and many things of smaller value from others, who had not the power to defend themselves from this arbitrary pillage of the troop, and who had no hope of redress from an appeal to their commander.

These men thus hung about our camp until sun-set, when they left us, all labouring under the dread of their paying us another visit before we finally quitted their neighbourhood. We learnt, that Khalif Aga, the great leader, and most of the petty chiefs of these Koord horsemen, were Moslems ; but that the villagers dwelling in houses, including those of the plain and the hills, were Christians. It is asserted, that this chief can bring twenty thousand horse into the field under his banner ; and, though this may be an exaggeration, for the sake of approaching to round numbers, the force which he can command is no doubt very considerable.*

* To shew that the character of the people, and the dangers of travellers in these parts, have been the same for more than two centuries past, the following passage from

JULY 2nd.—We quitted our station on the plain near Azrowar, with the dawn; and after six hours' continued march over a level tract, going about east-south-east throughout all the way, we made our halt for the night.

Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff's Travels, in 1573, on his way from Mousul to Nisibeen, is worth extracting:

“After our journey had been deferred for four days, we broke up on the eleventh of January several hundred strong, and went on for the whole day without eating, with all speed, until the sun-set at night, when we encamped on an ascent near a small village, to keep our beasts and goods safe, and to refresh ourselves and them. We watched all night long, and went continually, three and three together, round about our camp by turns. The next day we proceeded on again in our journey with all speed, rather for a good fountain or spring's sake, as they do in these countries in the vast deserts, than to reach a good inn, where we arrived late at night, and encamped near it, to stay all night to rest. A little after, when we were at supper, some of the Curters (Koords) came to us into our camp, spoke to us kindly, and asked us whether we did want any thing that they could help us to; but we soon perceived them to be spies, that were sent by their companions, to see what strength we were of. But when they perceived that we were not pleased with them, they did not stay, but went away, and we composed ourselves to rest, but kept a good guard, as we had done the night before. About midnight, when we were in our first sleep, our watchmen perceived a great number of the Curters to approach, wherefore they awaked us with a great shouting, to alarm us the sooner, and to bring us into good order, and to frighten our enemies, and to drive them away. But they did not only not mind us, but made all haste they could up to us, and that so near that we could see them, although it was dark, before our camp, by their heads. But, when they found us in a good order and condition to oppose them, and did hear that our gunners and archers, which were ready to let fly at them, called with a loud voice to them *Tahal, tahal, Harāmi*, that is, Come hither, come hither, you thieves, &c. they halted for a little while, and were so afraid of us, that they turned their backs and ran away. Afterwards, when we feared nor expected their assault any more, they came quickly again a second time, in a far greater number than before. They led before them one camel and several horses, (which in the dark we could only discern by their heads looking against the sky,) in their hands, without doubt, that we might look upon them as travellers, or else that we might not be able to discern their number. But, notwithstanding all this, their first assault was fresh in memory, wherefore we did not tarry, but drew soon up in our former order again, wherein I was the left-hand man in the first rank again, with my scymitar drawn, and had before armed my breasts with several sheets of paper, that I had brought with me to dry my plants in, expecting their assault every moment. But, when they had made a halt again, fearing their skin as much as we did ours, and did neither shout nor move up towards us, one of

In the course of this march we saw many villages, both on our right and left, and went through five similar ones in the direct route, all of them small, and composed of pent-roofed dwellings of the long form before described. The people appeared generally to live in tents; and these long barns, as far as we could perceive, were more frequently used as places of shelter for cattle at night, than as the habitations of families. These villages were all seated on eminences of the plain, and all their doors looked towards the south, the point from which they have the most danger to apprehend. They were, however, all so small and so little known by the people of our caravan, that I could not obtain the names of any of them.

It was in about an hour after our setting out from near Azrowar that we quitted the cultivated ground, and came again on what was called "El Berreeah," or "the open land." This presented a surface of light dry turf, with a fine soil, and wanted only water to make it highly fertile and fit for immediate cultivation. Passing over this "Berreeah" for another hour, we came again on the basaltic rock, in large black masses, in some parts porous, and in others solid, with one portion particularly close and fine in the grain, but intersected by a vein of highly porous matter, apparently injected or shot through it in a straight line while liquid, and being about two inches wide throughout its whole length. The appearance of this vein was that of a fine sponge, or of dough, as it is seen if cut through while fermenting, or rising, previous to its being baked into bread, full of small holes; while the solid mass, in which this porous or spongy vein was seen, was one of the closest-grained stones that we had met with in our route, and would have borne a polish equal to the finest marble. Both of these substances were of a black colour; the vein, however, was not quite so dark as the solid portion through which it ran. We lost the traces of this basaltic rock in the soil,

ours provoked them, and did shoot at the camel, and did hit it, so that it gave a sign thereof, but the rest forbore to fire. So they staid a little while, and then went off a second time."—p. 168, 169.—Ray's edition, 8vo.

after a short time, and came again on cultivated ground, where the harvest was now gathering in.

The name of all this tract of land, over which we had passed to-day, was Belled Chittea; but, after all my inquiries, I could learn no particular name for any of the villages which we had seen. Each of them, indeed, was small, and being inhabited only during the corn-harvest, was formed of as many tents as fixed dwellings. Though the people thus live in tents, in huts, and in houses, and the Arabic language has particular names for each of these kinds of dwelling, these distinctions are unknown here. In distinguishing the particular class of habitations, of which a settlement is formed, the Arabs call them, Beeoot Hadjar, Beeoot Khashab, and Beeoot Shahr; that is, houses of stone, houses of wood and reeds, and houses of hair: the tents of the true Bedouin Arabs being invariably made of dark hair-cloth, woven from the produce of their flocks in their camps.

The range of hills on which Mardin and Dara are seated continued to run thus far, from west to east, until it terminated abreast of the station of our halt, about eight or ten miles to the northward of us, our course of east-south-east making an angle with it of nearly two degrees.

This course, while it occasioned us to leave the hills of Mardin at a greater and greater distance on our left, brought us progressively nearer to the mountain of Sinjār on our right. This mountain is considerably higher than the range of hills on the north; and its elevation above the plain appears, from hence, to be upwards of two thousand feet at least. It rises by sloping capes at either end, gradually growing higher near the centre; its direction being nearly east and west, and its length apparently about fifty miles. This mountain is here so marked a feature in the geography of Mesopotamia, that it found a place in all the geographical writings of the ancients who treated of this country;* and continues still to be a

* See Cellarius, *Anc. Geog.* p. 441. 4to.

land-mark for the Desert Arabs, and a place of constant reference by travellers, when speaking of the roads through these plains.

The town of Sinjār, or Singara, which either gave its name to, or derived it from, the mountain itself, was a celebrated military post during the contests for universal empire, of which this was, for a long while, the scene, between the armies of the East and the West. Its name frequently occurs in the histories of these wars, and coins have been found which bore the inscription of this city as a Roman colony.*

When the Emperor Trajan returned through Mesopotamia, after his conquest of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and his visit to the ruins of Babylon, he made war against a tribe of Arabs here, who then formed an independent body in Sinjār. He besieged their capital, which defended itself bravely. The length of the siege, the excessive heat, and the want of water in the plain, engendered diseases in the camp. The emperor himself, indeed, here laid the foundation of the disorder which occasioned his death within the same year, A. D. 117, as he abandoned the enterprise against the Arabs, and returned with all speed through Syria towards Rome. He was unable to proceed any farther, however, than Cilicia, where he ended his days in the town of Selinas, which was afterwards called Trajanopolis, in honour of him.†

The animated description of the contest between the Roman legions under Constantius, and the Persian troops under Sapor, in the battle of Singāra, may be seen in the pages of Gibbon, from which a brief extract only will be given in a note below, to shew the nature of the country, and the evils, to which the oppressive climate, and difficulty of procuring supplies of the most ordinary refreshment, had reduced the soldiers of one of the bravest nations that ever yet existed.‡

* See Cellarius, *Anc. Geog.* p. 441. 4to.

† *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxi. p. 61. 4to. Paris.

‡ "The stationary troops of Singara retired on the approach of Sapor, who passed

In the invasion of Mesopotamia by Sapor, when Constantius was sole Emperor of Rome, after the conquest of Amida, it is said, that the strength as well as spirit of the army with which Sapor took the field in the ensuing spring, was no longer equal to the unbounded views of his ambition. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of the East, he was obliged to content himself with the reduction of two fortified cities of Mesopotamia, Singara, and Bozabdi, the one situated in a sandy desert, the other in a small peninsula, surrounded on every side by the deep and rapid stream of the Tigris.* Five Roman legions, of the diminutive size to which they had been reduced in the age of Constantine, were made prisoners, and sent into remote captivity, on the extreme confines of Persia. After dismantling the walls of Singara, the conqueror abandoned that solitary and sequestered place.†

In the reign of the Emperor Jovian, Singara, and the Castle of the Moors, one of the strongest places in Mesopotamia, were dismembered from the empire; and it was considered as an indulgence, says the same historian, that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects; but the Persian conqueror rigorously insisted that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia.

the Tigris, over three bridges, and occupied, near the village of Hillel, an advantageous camp, which, by the labour of his numerous pioneers, he surrounded in one day with a deep ditch, and a lofty rampart. His formidable host, when it was drawn out in order of battle, covered the banks of the river, the adjacent heights, and the whole extent of a plain of above twelve miles, which separated the two armies. Both were alike impatient to engage; but the barbarians, after a slight resistance, fled in disorder, unable to resist, or desirous to weary, the strength of the heavy legions, who, fainting with heat and thirst, pursued them across the plain, and cut in pieces a line of cavalry, clothed in complete armour, which had been posted before the gates of the camp, to protect their retreat. The sincerity of history declares, however, that the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter; and that the flying remnant of the legions was exposed to the most intolerable hardships."—*Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of Rome*, vol. iii. pp. 139—142.

* The account of these sieges is given by Ammianus Marcellinus, 20—6, 7.

† Gibbon, vol. iii. c. 19, p. 209.

This territory, here known by the name of Sinjār, has been supposed by most writers to be the same with the land of Shinar, mentioned in the Scriptures. Some indeed apply this name to the whole of Mesopotamia.* St. Jerome, more particularly, when he speaks of Arach, or Erech, being Edessa, and Achad, or Accad, being Nisibis,† necessarily supposes this name to extend over the whole of the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, as it is expressly said, “that the beginning of Nimrod’s kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.”‡ Benjamin of Tudela calls the whole of Mesopotamia by the name of “Senaar,” and supposes it to be the Shinar of the Scriptures.§ And Niebuhr also thought it probable, from the affinity of names, that the district of Sinjār at least might be the Shinar of the Pentateuch.|| This may explain that passage of the Bible, which, after naming these cities as being *in* the land of Shinar, says, “*Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah. And Resen, between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city.*” Nineveh and Calah are both *out of* that land, or beyond the river Tigris to the eastward; and Resen, which was between them, was necessarily so too; though Cellarius has, in his map, placed this nearly in the heart of Mesopotamia.

D’Anville, who thinks there is some difficulty in acceding to this opinion, of the present name of Sinjār being a corruption of Shinar, or Sinear, and applied to the same tract of country as before,¶ remarks, in another place, with great accuracy, on the error of Ptolemy in placing it close to the Tigris, from which it is separated by a wide desert tract.**

* Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 211.

† See Cellarius, *Anc. Geog.* p. 441 and 448. 4to.

‡ Genesis, c. x. v. 10.

§ Voyage de Benjamin. Bergeron’s Collection.

|| “Selon tout apparence, le Singara des auteurs Grecs. Le nom a aussi beaucoup de rapport avec le Sinear de la Bible.”—*Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. p. 315, en 4to.

¶ Comp. of *Anc. Geog.* p. 433. 8vo.

** “Singara est une ville de grand consideration. Cellarius, apportant une attention

It was here, on this plain, to the north of the mountain of Sinjār, that the great scientific undertaking, of measuring two degrees of the meridian, was carried into execution, under the Khalif Al-Mamoun, the result of which problem ascertained a terrestrial degree to be equal to fifty-seven Arabic miles.*

Throughout the whole range of the mountain of Sinjār, there is now no great town, but there are still many villages. Of these, however, very little is known, as neither Turks, Koords, nor Arabs, dare to venture among the Yezeedis, by whom the mountain is chiefly inhabited.† The largest town they have, is seated on an island, in the middle of a lake, called Cottoneah, which, by some, is said to be at the foot of the mountain in the plain, and by others, is reported to be in the hills. My curiosity had been strongly excited by a passage of Niebuhr, which speaks of a pyramid on this island, built in a very durable manner, and worthy the examination of travellers.‡

scrupuleuse sur la nomenclature, remarque que le nom est au pluriel chez les écrivains Grecs, et l'emplacement près du Tigre; c'est bien ce qui est evident dans Ptolémée, mais non pas également dans la Table Théodosienne, où le nom et la position figurée comme les principales, ne tiennent point au Tigre, et en sont séparés par le desert, que le nom de Troglodoti dans la table paroît designer. Cette ville fut prise par Trajan, au rapport de Dion Cassius, et on la voit ensuite colonie Romaine, avec les surnoms d'*Aurelia* et de *Septimia*, qui se lisent sur les medailles."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 50.

* *D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 121.

† "La montagne de Singiar, fertile en diverses sortes de fruits, est d'un accès très-difficile, et la peuplade qui l'occupe met sur pied plus de six mille fusiliers, sans compter la cavalerie armée de lances. Il ne se passe guère d'année, que quelque grosse caravane ne soit dépouillée par cette tribu. Les Yézidis de cette montagne ont soutenu plusieurs guerres contre les pachas de Moussol et de Bagdad; dans ces occasions, après qu'il y a eu beaucoup de sang répandu de part et d'autre, le tout finit par s'arranger moyennant de l'argent. Ces Yézidis sont redoutés en tout lieu, à cause de leur cruauté: lorsqu'ils exercent leurs brigandages armés, ils ne se bornent pas à dépouiller les personnes qui tombent entre leurs mains, ils les tuent toutes sans exception; si dans le nombre il se trouve des *schérifs*, descendans de Mahomet, ou des docteurs musulmans, ils les font périr d'une manière plus barbare, et avec plus de plaisir, croyant acquérir par-là un plus grand mérite."—*Notice sur les Yézidis*, pp. 206, 207.

‡ "A l'ouest de Sinjar, et dans un lac, il y a un petit ile, habitée par les Arabes, que

All my inquiries on that head, however, brought me no satisfactory information of such a monument, though of the Lake Cottoneah, and of its central island, every body seemed to know, and all were agreed on the impossibility of any but a Yezeedi, or one under his protection, visiting it. The other towns are scattered over the eminences and valleys of the mountain, and some few are seated at the foot of it, along the edge of the plain.

The whole of this district of Sinjār, including both the mountain and the plain, is under the power of the Yezeedis, who call this their own peculiar home, and scarcely suffer strangers to live among them. There are, however, a few Jews, who reside in the town of Cottoneah, on the island in the lake, and act generally as brokers, for the sale and purchase of the plunder, which the Yezeedis bring in from their predatory excursions. Christians, too, can go among them, when under the escort of one of their body, as they themselves so far venerate the Christian religion, as to kiss the hands of the priests, when they visit them at Mardin and other towns. They take the sacrament of the Lord's supper also from them; and believing the wine to be the real blood of Jesus, are careful, while drinking it, not to suffer a drop of it to fall on the ground, or even on their beards.

There is no great head or chief of the Yezeedis, as a nation; but the people of the towns on the plain, and in the hills, have their own governors, distinct from the wanderers of the mountain. These stand in nearly the same relation to each other as the Town Arabs and the Desert ones, or cultivators and Bedouins. The people of the towns live by agriculture, and such trades and manufactures as are suited to their wants. The mountaineers are in tribes, with sheikhs at their heads, and live chiefly by the plunder

l'on nomme Chatonie, et qui tient au continent par une digue fort étroite. On y trouve une pyramide, batée d'une manière fort durable et qui merite peut-être que de voyageurs aillent la voir." He adds, "Otter avait pareillement entendu parler d'une pyramide dans cette contrée, mais il ne l'a pas vue lui-même."—*Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. p. 316. 4to.

of caravans ; to obtain which, they descend from their hills, and intercept the passage of the high road. There are also some tribes scattered about the plain, even near to the borders of Mardin, and these lead the same kind of life. The mountaineers are said, however, to be the most savage and barbarous of the whole : they never trim their mustachios or their beards, nor do they ever cut their hair ; so that, as they go without any other covering than this on their heads, their appearance is quite conformable to their character. The difference which I had noticed in the physiognomy and complexions of the party of these Yezeedis, whom we met with at the khan in Orfah, must have been occasioned by this difference, of residing either in the mountain or on the plain. On the one, there is snow for a great portion of the year ; on the other, the heat is equal to that of any part of the world ; so that fair complexions, light hair, and blue eyes might be produced under the same degree of latitude with the olive Indian colour, dark hair, and black eyes, each of which I had seen among them ; these varieties arising only from the difference of elevation, on which the persons were born and brought up to manhood.

The holy city of these Yezeedis is said to be in the mountains of Koordistan, on the east of the Tigris ; and another of their celebrated religious places is one, called Sheikh Khan, between Mousul and Amadia, to which they make an annual pilgrimage for the performance of some religious rites. The people of the country say it happened, on one occasion, that a Turkish military commander surprised them at this place, when engaged in worship, by coming suddenly on them at night ; and that, his force being too powerful for them to resist, they fled with great precipitation, leaving one of their sacred books behind them. Of this the Turkish officer took possession, and had even the patience to read some parts of it, so that it was probably written in Arabic ; but finding it, as he said, to be full of infidelity and profanation, he destroyed it, on the same principle as that which instigated the Khalif Omar to order the burning of the Alexandrian Library, and Père Sicard to destroy the

old Papyrus Manuscripts of Egypt. The general opinion is, that these Yezeedis have no sacred book; but this, when said by Mohammedans, simply means that they have neither the Bible, the New Testament, nor the Koran, for they acknowledge no other books as sacred. If, however, the anecdote of the Turkish officer be well-founded, it is clear that they once had some religious code, and it is probable that they even still possess some written records, dogmas, or legends connected with their rites and faith.

Between the Lakes of Van and Shahee, in the north of Koordistan, beyond the mountains, and south of Armenia, there are said to be many Yezeedis settled, while others again are scattered along the banks of the Tigris, and in the road between Mousul and Bagdad.

It is not known whether the origin of this respect for the Devil, whom they call Chelibi, or "Il Signore," be from the ancient Persians, with a subsequent mixture of Christianity, or whether it is a remnant of the doctrine of the Manicheans, whose heresy flourished at Edessa. Their name, from Yezd, the evil principle, as opposed to Ormuzd, the good one, with many of their peculiarities of language and customs, would seem to give them a Persian origin; while, on the other hand, some of their superstitions are referable to the Manichean sect; and both of these again have undergone many changes, brought about partly, perhaps, by the residence of Jews in these towns, as they are still suffered to live among them at the present day, and partly by their mixture with Christians, as their country was once even the see of a Chaldean bishop.

At the close of our journey to-day, we opened the lofty mountains of Koordistan, the highest point of the range of which is called Jebel Judee; and this is thought to be the spot on which the "Sefet-el-Noah," or the Ark of Noah, rested, after the "Wugt el Typhoon," or the time of the Deluge, as it is here expressed. This mountain is indeed exceedingly lofty, and, like many other points of the same range, was covered with one unbroken sheet of snow, for at least a third of the way down from the summit, although it

was now the hottest season of the year, and the intense heat of the plains was scarcely bearable to an European. These mountains form the range seen from Diarbekr, going towards the south-east. They appear from hence to lie in a direction of nearly north and south, on the east of the Tigris. Their outlines are broken, and they present numerous beds or ridges, while the mountain of Sinjâr is apparently only one great isolated mass, of even outline, and said to be composed of lime-stone.*

Our evening halt was made beside a small stream, and near a village called Chehel Aga, consisting of two portions of reed huts, and three or four divisions of tented dwellings.

As the rest of our way from hence to Mousul was said to be impassable, except by force, from the plain being always infested by Yezeedis, it became necessary to strengthen our means of defence; and accordingly a bargain was made with the Sheikh of the tribe, encamped at this place, to furnish us with eighty armed horsemen, to each of whom we were to pay three Spanish dollars for their protection as far as the banks of the Tigris, and to this sum every one in the caravan was to contribute in proportion to the value of the property which he had embarked in it; a proposition to which no one objected; as the zeal of religious hatred was added to a regard for personal safety in the minds of all.† The evening was therefore passed in collecting our force, and in preparing our weapons for a fray; and at night we lay down to catch an hour's sleep, to recruit our strength and spirits for the march.‡

* In the Travels of De Haiton, as inserted in Bergeron's Collection, this mountain of Siniar, as it is there called, is noted as the easternmost range in the territory of Mesopotamia; and the scarcity of water in the plains near it is also remarked.

† “D'ailleurs les Mahométans sont dans la ferme persuasion que tout homme qui périt de la main d'un de ces sectaires, meurt martyr; aussi le prince d'Amadia a-t-il soin de tenir toujours auprès de lui un bourreau de cette nation, pour exécuter les sentences de mort contre les Turcs. Les Yézidis ont la même opinion relativement aux Turcs, et la chose est réciproque; si un Turc tue un Yézidi, il fait une action très-agréable à Dieu, et si un Yézidi tue un Turc, il fait une œuvre très-méritoire aux yeux du *Grand Scheikh*, c'est-à-dire du Diable.”—*Notice sur les Yézidis*, p. 208.

‡ We were just now on the very spot where Dr. Rauwolff met the adventure

All my efforts to get even half an hour's rest were, however, unavailing. We were roused by the signals of the guards, and the shouts of the picquets stationed at the out-posts, almost every

described in a former note, (p. 258;) and, as the same fears existed with us, and kept us awake, in continual apprehension, the sequel of his adventure is worth giving, being as completely illustrative of the state of manners and character at the present day, as at the moment when it was first written, about two hundred and fifty years ago. The learned Doctor says: "So we kept awake all the rest of the night, and kept a good watch, and went on our journey again early the next morning about break of the day; and came again to wide and dry heaths, where we saw neither men nor beasts, and so we went on till noon, where we encamped in a large place, which was surrounded with walls and ditches pretty well, just like unto a fortress, whereof there are several in these dangerous places to be seen. When we staid there, two Curters [Koords] came again to us into our camp, and spoke to us, pretending that they came to demand the toll that was due there, it being their place: but our merchants soon perceived that they were not in a right cause, wherefore they would allow them nothing, which put these two into such a passion, that they drew their swords, and would have at us; but our friends did not stay idle neither, but took their swords away, and laid on with dry blows at them, and so flung them out of our camp. After this hubbub was over, we dined, and that the rather that we might not be too much weakened by our hard travelling, and so be the less able to resist these robbers, for want of strength, if they should fall upon us, which we were not wont to do before night, chiefly in great deserts, for there we used to get up presently after midnight, and travel all day long with all speed without eating, which I had often experimented before; wherefore I used to provide myself always with bread, and when I had a mind to eat it, I did either stay behind or go before; for nobody eats openly by the way in the sight of others, except he has a mind to run a hazard, because that most of them are very hungry and so eager at it, that they will assault one another for it, and take it away from their very mouths. After we had refreshed ourselves, and fed our beasts, which useth to be done also but once a day, we broke up with our caravan, and went on again. We quickly saw some mountains before us, where, when we approached them towards the evening, there appeared sometimes, on a high one, that before the rest lieth nearer to the plain, some of them, so that we might very well presume that there was more of them behind in ambuscado, which also proved very true: for, no sooner were we past it, but before we went up the hill, they came out from behind the mountain, in great troops on horseback, which immediately drew up into order in the fields, in two squadrons, three and three in a rank, to the number of about three hundred, almost as many as we were. They exercised their horses, which were very lank, very swiftly, turned sometimes on one, and then on the other hand, and come at length to us within a bow's shot. They had most of them darts, which they played withal in their full speed, sometimes holding it downwards, as if they would run through

ten minutes during the night. Sometimes, the alarm was well-founded, and nothing but a general muster and display of our force, in a state for immediate action, prevented the attacks of several bodies of Koords, formed in different quarters to assail us; at other times, the alarm was groundless, and arose from the idle discharges of pistols and muskets within our own camp: between both, however, sleep, or even bodily repose, was unattainable; so that I burned with impatience to commence our dangerous march.

a deer, which was a pleasant but very dangerous sight to us. When they shewed themselves, so as if they would fall upon us instantly, we drew our caravan close together, in order to resist them. Wherefore we stood still, and tied our beasts together, and bound the fore feet of each of them, that they could not stir; behind them stood our mockery, [Mookeri, or camel drivers,] with their bows, and all those that were not well provided with arms and horses either to shoot at the enemy, or else, in case of necessity, if they should come too near us, to sally out, and cut off their horses with our scymitars. Near unto us our horses were drawn up into a troop, ready for their assault, to venture their success. After a whole hour's delay, we sent at length two of our company to them, and they sent also two of theirs to meet them to parley together; but which way they made up an agreement I know not, but they prevailed so much with them, that soon after they left us, and rode away, and we went on in our journey. After this, we kept our caravan, (that is so much as to say, a great many people, with loaden camels, asses, and horses,) in far better order than we had done before, and came that same day a good way to a small village, where we encamped and staid all night."—pp. 169—171.



CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE PLAIN OF SINJAR, BY ROMOILA, TO MOUSUL.

JULY 3d.—We quitted our station on the plain, just as the moon was setting, and although we had now an additional escort of eighty well-armed and well-mounted men, our whole party did not exceed in number two hundred persons.

Soon after commencing our night-march, going in a direction of east-south-east, we passed over a deep ravine, filled with large basaltic masses, forming a vein in the earth, like the deep and winding bed of a torrent. The rest of our way was over desert ground, though the whole tract was capable of being rendered highly fertile, being covered with a good soil, and intersected by several small rivulets of water.

It was soon after the rising of the Pleiades, or just before the

first gleam of dawn appeared, that we formed our halt, at a spot called Romoila, for the sake of filling our vessels with water, as our next stage was to be a night one, through which we might not find any supply of this indispensable provision. This march was intended to be prolonged without a halt, until we should arrive on the banks of the Tigris, in order that we might thus pass over this dangerous plain of Sinjâr by night, and escape the prying sight of the Yezedis under the cover of darkness.*

The prayers of El Fudjer, or day-break, were performed by all the members of the caravan, with an unusual degree of solemnity, evidently betraying an extraordinary degree of apprehension, and proving that fear was a more powerful incentive than devotion to the exercise of this duty. Among the rest, was one individual who repeated aloud the call to prayer, in a fine voice, and after the peculiar manner of Medina, the native city of the Prophet, which differs from the common invocation, though both of them are peculiar to the Soonnee sect. This was, by some, highly admired, by others, thought an impertinent innovation, at such a place and at such a moment, and, by a third party, it was laughed at, as highly ludicrous. There was indeed just the same diversity of opinion on the merits of this fashion, as there would be in a country village in

* "Les Yézidis sont censés dépendre du pacha de Moussol, qui leur permet de venir acheter de temps en temps des provisions dans les villages de son département; mais ils n'en sont pas moins grands voleurs, et toujours en guerre avec les Arabes de la Mésopotamie: ils ont pour armes, le fusil à mèche, la fronde et la pique. Les caravanes souffrent beaucoup de leurs brigandages; cependant elles ne sont jamais dépouillées complètement par ces bandits, qui ont coutume de les attaquer à l'un des bouts, et n'emportent que ce qui peut servir à leur nourriture, ou à leur habillement. Je ferai remarquer ici que les pachas de Bagdad ont essayé à différentes époques de réduire les Yézidis, en les attaquant avec des forces considérables; mais ils n'ont jamais pu en venir à bout. Ali-pacha, qui a tenté depuis peu la même entreprise, n'y a pas été plus heureux que ses prédécesseurs: on sait que son expédition contre cette race d'hommes agrestes et endurcis par les travaux, n'a abouti qu'à détruire trois ou quatre de leurs villages, et à massacrer ou emmener en esclavage quelques misérables familles, dont la conversion forcée à l'islamisme ne le dédommagera certainement pas de ses fatigues et de ses dépenses."—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 98, 99.

England, on the introduction of any new mode of singing the psalms, or chaunting the Litany of the Church Service.

As the Hadjee's tent was now crowded with the horsemen who formed our escort, and who, from their numbers and consequence, were here the lords paramount, every one of his usual guests was obliged to erect for himself some temporary shelter from the searching rays of the noon-day sun. There was not a breath of air stirring: the thermometer, under the shade of a double cloak spread overhead, stood at 118° , an hour before noon, and at two o'clock was 126° , while the parched state of the country, the dead calm, and the glare reflected from the desert plain, made our situation more oppressive to the feelings than any description can convey an accurate idea of. At the same moment, while thus fainting under so exhausting an atmosphere, we had in view before us, to the north-east, the lofty mountains of Koordistan, covered with snow, the very contrast of which served to increase our desire after a colder region, and to render us more impatient under our suffering in the present.

Our course through the preceding night had been from one to two points southward of east, and the extent of our journey not more than ten miles, in four hours of march, from the last stage of our encampment at Chehel Aga, to the place of our present halt, at Romoila. It was at about an equal distance from both of these, or near the centre of our route, that we passed a stream called Dama Kaupy. The town of Jezeereh was spoken of as being about the same distance from hence, in a direction of north-north-east, as Nisibeen is in a direction of west-north-west. In describing its size, when in the height of its splendour, the people of the country say, that it had three hundred and sixty-six mosques, or as many as there are days in the year, which is not, however, to be taken literally, meaning merely an indefinitely great number. The buildings in this town, like those of Diarbekr, are all constructed of black basalt, which gives it the same dark appearance, and has obtained for it among the Turks the same characteristic appellation of Kara, or black. It

is said to be, even in its present ruined state, as large as Orfah; but all acknowledge that it is not so agreeable, or so well-built a city. The supplies of gall-nuts, which are brought to it from the mountains of Koordistan, and exported from thence to Aleppo, are the chief source of wealth and occupation to the inhabitants, who are principally Koords, with a small proportion of Arabs and Turks.

This town does not boast a very high antiquity. Its name is purely Arabic, signifying an island; and though now applied particularly to the town, was anciently the general name of all Mesopotamia, or the whole space between the Tigris and Euphrates.* Benjamin of Tudela describes the Jezeereh of the present day, under the name of "Gezir ben Ghamar," which he places at "two days' journey from Netsibin." He says, it was "surrounded by the Tigris," from which feature it probably derived its name; "and was seated at the foot of Mount Taurus," as he calls the mountains of Koordistan, "at the distance of four miles from the spot where the Ark of Noah reposed." This town was then the metropolis of all Mesopotamia, and contained, according to the Rabbi's report, about four thousand Jews. The population is greatly lessened since then, and the town declined in consequence; but the local features, both of the site of the city, and the place of the mountain, on which the Ark of Noah is believed to have rested, still remain unchanged.

Having filled our water from the small stream at Romoila, and made such other arrangements as were deemed necessary for our next long march, we began, after the public prayers of noon, in which all joined, to load our camels, and quitted our encampment at one o'clock. We now went to the south-east, over the plain, observing nothing peculiar in the way, except three small eminences, which we passed at equal intervals between noon and sun-set, the hills being called respectively Tal Fraat, Tal Howa, and Tal Moos, each serving as landmarks for our course, and elevated points of observation, like many others of a similar kind, scattered over the face of these desert wastes.

* Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 111.

No halt was made at evening, but we continued our march through the night, having, in the former part of it, a bright moon to light our path. It was on the afternoon of this day that we had first noticed the Seraub, or Mirage of the Desert; and it was on this same night that we experienced the first fall of dew since our entering Mesopotamia.

It was near midnight when we reached a marshy ground, in which a clear stream was flowing along, through beds of tall and thick rushes, but so hidden by these, that the noise of its flow was heard long before the stream itself could be seen. From the length of the march, and the exhausting heat of the atmosphere, even at night, the horses were exceedingly thirsty. Their impatient restlessness, evinced by their tramping, neighing, and eager impatience to rush all to one particular point, gave us, indeed, the first indications of our approach to water, which was perceptible to their stronger scent long before it was even heard by us. On reaching the brink of this stream, for which purpose we had been forcibly turned aside, by the ungovernable fury of the animals, to the southward of our route, the banks were found to be so high above the surface of the water, that the horses could not reach it to drink. Some, more impatient than the rest, plunged themselves and their riders at once into the current, and, after being led swimming to a less elevated part of the bank, over which they could mount, were extricated with considerable difficulty; while two of the horses of the caravan, who were more heavily laden than the others, by carrying the baggage as well as the persons of their riders, were drowned. The stream was narrow, but deep, and had a soft muddy bottom, in which another of the horses became so fastly stuck, that he was suffocated in a few minutes. The camels marched patiently along the edge of the bank, as well as those persons of the caravan who were provided with skins and other vessels containing small supplies of water; but the horses could not, by all the power of their riders, be kept from the stream, any more than the crowd of thirsty pilgrims, who, many of them having no small vessels to dip

up the water from the brook, followed the example of the impatient horses, and plunged at once into the current. For myself, I experienced more difficulty than I can well describe, in keeping my own horse from breaking down the loose earth of the bank on which he stood, and plunging in with the others; it being as much as all my strength of arm could accomplish to keep him back from the brink, while he tramped, and snorted, and neighed, and reared himself erect on his hinder legs, to express the intensity of his suffering from thirst. An Indian fakir, who was of the Hadjee's party, being near me at this moment of my difficulty, and when I was deliberating in my mind whether I should not risk less in throwing myself off my horse and letting him follow the bent of his desires, as I began to despair of mastering him much longer, took from me my tin drinking-cup, which was a kind of circular and shallow bason, capable of holding only about a pint; this having two small holes in the sides for the purpose of slinging it over the shoulder on the march, longer pieces of cord were fastened to the short ones before affixed to it, and having now dismounted, by letting go the bridle, and sliding back over the haunches of the horse while he was in one of his erect positions from rearing, we succeeded in coaxing him into a momentary tranquillity by the caresses and tender expressions which all Arab horses understand so well; and with this shallow bason, thus slung in cords, we drew up from the stream as much as the vessel would hold, and in as quick succession as practicable. But even when full, the cup would hardly contain sufficient to moisten the horse's mouth; and as, at some times, it came up only half full, and at others was entirely emptied by the impatience of the horse knocking it out of the giver's hand, we let it down and drew it up, I am certain, more than a hundred times, till our arms were tired: and even then we had but barely satisfied our own thirst, and done nothing, comparatively, to allay that of the poor animal, whose sufferings, in common with nearly all the others of the caravan, were really painful to witness. This scene, which, amidst the obscurity of the night, the cries of the animals, the shouting and quarrelling

of the people, and the indistinct and perhaps exaggerated apprehensions of danger, from a totally unexpected cause, had assumed an almost awful character, lasted for upwards of an hour: and so intense was the first impulse of self-preservation, to allay the burning rage of thirst, that, during all this time, the Yezedis were entirely forgotten, and as absent from our thoughts as if they had never once been even heard of.

JULY 6th.—Order being at length restored, after a detention of nearly two hours since our first reaching the stream, we again set out from hence, and proceeded in a direction of south-east over a desert and uncultivated plain until sun-rise, when we reached another stream of clear water, running, like the one last described, in a deep bed lined with tall rushes, and, like that water also, of a bitter mineral taste. This, however, was so welcome a refreshment, that, as the daylight enabled us to find parts of the stream accessible to all, we halted here for an hour; some to drink and smoke their morning pipes, others to perform their ablutions and their prayers, and myself to bathe completely from head to foot in the stream, and to refresh my poor horse, for whom my sympathies had been strongly excited, and my affections strengthened, by our joint participations in a common suffering and common danger.

As we had now passed the plain and mountain of Sinjār, and were supposed to be beyond all danger from that quarter, our look-outs were called in, many fire-arms were discharged in triumph, and every one seemed to feel at liberty to follow the bent of his own inclinations. Accordingly, those who were the best mounted of the caravan pushed on, leaving the camels and other laden animals to follow after us.

We went from hence over a succession of small hills, the basis of which seemed to be a white and clouded marble,* and about noon we reached the Tigris. Here we halted, at the tent of a sheikh,

* D'Olivier calls the materials of these hills, "gypse gris, et très-beau gypse blanc, semblable à du marbre."—Vol. iv. p. 264. Niebuhr, however, calls it marble.

whose tribe formed a small encampment on its banks, near to a poor village, and just above the ruins which they call Eski Mousul, or Old Mousul. The sheikh himself, who was of a mixed descent, between the Koord and Arab race, was like an Indian in feature and complexion, and there was an effeminacy about his dress, in his muslin robes, gold ear-rings, and feathered fans, which considerably strengthened the resemblance. The other individuals of the tribe, over which he presided, had, however, nothing of this appearance; though all of them were much darker than any people I had seen since leaving the valley of the Jordan.*

The stream of the Tigris was here narrower than any part of the Thames from the Nore to London, and its current, which was disturbed and muddy, did not flow at a greater rate than three miles per hour, though the Tigris has been celebrated for the rapidity of its current, and is even said to have had its Greek name from an arrow, to express its speed.†

Exhausted as we all were after our long night's march, many of our party fell asleep before the meal of hospitality was set before them; and even those who staid awake to partake of it, did so with a languor and drowsiness which shewed they needed rest more than food. When the meal was finished, the Tartars, or Turkish messengers, prepared to mount and continue their journey alone, or unconnected with others, as the great danger apprehended from the

* The first approach to the Tigris is thus described by Otter, who appears to have come upon its banks nearly on the same spot with ourselves; this being the ordinary route of the caravans:—"Nous campâmes ce jour 10 d'Avril, sur les bords du Tigre, à une petite distance d'Eski Mosul, c'est à dire, le vieux Mosul, que les gens du pays appellent Ninevi. La vue de ce fleuve, dont l'eau est excellente, nous fit oublier les désagréments du désert que nous venions de passer, et nous ne fumes sensible qu'au plaisir de soulager notre soif. Les Orientaux appellent le Tigre Didgelè; il prend sa source au Nord de Diarbekr, auprès d'un vieux fort ruiné, où il sort d'une caverne avec un grand bruit; dans son cours jusqu'à Diarbekr il est augmenté par plusieurs rivières."—Otter, tome i. p. 126.

† See the Note from Dr. Vincent's "Commerce of the Ancients," on the Euphrates and Tigris, at p. 29. Josephus also says, in enumerating the rivers of Paradise, "By Tigris or Diglath is signified, what is swift, with narrowness."—*Ant. Jud.* b. i. c. 1. s. 3.

Yezéedis was now past ; but the caravan made its halt on the banks of the Tigris, and the chief camel-drivers intended not to resume their march until to-morrow. As it was of importance to me to accompany these Tartars, that I might secure my journey with them from Mousul to Bagdad, I took leave of the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and his nephew, Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef ; and although I was now so sore in every limb as to feel nearly dislocated, and my poor horse was jaded and weary almost to death, I mounted with the Tartars, who had here procured for themselves fresh horses from the sheikh, and making a great effort to accomplish my purpose, we galloped off from the camp together.

After passing over some hilly land, and seeing a few small villages in the way, we cut off an angle made by a bend of the Tigris, to the eastward, and, in an hour after setting out, came again on its banks. We were here regaled with the most delightful odours, which filled the air, and were produced by some wild aromatic plants among the heath or brushwood that bordered the stream.* We noticed in our way the remains of a large Roman arch, apparently the portion of an ancient building ; but travelling express with Turkish couriers admits of no minute observations being made.

In going along the western bank of the Tigris, we passed over hilly land, and often travelled on the sides and at the foot of these hills, keeping still close by the stream, and directing our course nearly south. It was here that we passed some inconsiderable ruins, like those of a common town, but possessing no vestiges of former consequence. This was called Eski Mousul, or Old Mousul ; and according to the report of my companions, borrowed from the traditions of the country, was said to be the site of the ancient Nineveh. This, however, was evidently erroneous ; as Nineveh was on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and had no part of it on the west ; while, here, all the ruins that are seen are all on the hilly

* See the Note from Xenophon, who, in the *Anabasis*, remarked this peculiarity of the heaths and brush-wood of Mesopotamia in his day.—p. 141.

ground of the western bank, and the eastern one presents nothing but flat cultivated land, covered with Koord villages; besides which, the few ruins that exist, even on this side, are evidently of a very modern date.*

It was on the west of the Tigris that we ascended over hills, leaving the banks of the river far on our left; in doing which we passed two or three small villages, each formed of about a dozen sheds of loose stones thatched over with mud, and having an appearance of great poverty. We continued now to leave the river still farther on our left, to the eastward, over hilly and uneven land, yet constantly descending towards a lower level. We passed several small villages in the way, of which I could learn nothing but that they were inhabited by Koords; and just before sun-set we reached the large village of Hamadân, where we halted to sup, and to take an hour's repose.

The habitations of the people were here equally as mean as those of the villages through which we had passed before. The occupiers of these last resembled very strongly the African Arabs, or Moors, and also the mixed race of Egypt, in their physiognomy, complexion, and dress. The reception given by those villagers to my

* The following are the observations made by Otter on this subject:—"On ne voit à Eski-Mosul, que des tas de pierres, et dans la plaine, à quelque distance des ruines, une arc qui paroît avoir été le frontispice d'un Temple ou d'un grand palais. Les gens du pays disent que Nineveh avoit soixante milles de circonference, et qu'elle fut bâtie l'an 1073 après le déluge, par Ninus fils de Balôs, (Belus.) Ils montrent dans son voisinage le lieu qu'habitoit le Prophète Jonas, en l'honneur de qui ils ont bâti une chapelle, qu'ils visitent avec devotion. Ebul-Feda dit que Nineveh étoit du côté oriental du Tigre, à l'opposite de Mosul, et il entend par Mosul, celle qui existe aujourd'hui. Il faut qu'il soit trompé, ou que les habitans du pays soient dans une grande erreur; car ceux-ci placent Nineveh sur la rive occidentale du Tigre, à l'endroit qu'ils appellent Eski Mosul, ainsi quand même on voudroit concilier les deux opinions en supposant que Nineveh étoit bâtie sur les deux bords du Tigre, on n'avanceroit rien, puisqu' Eski Mosul est à sept au huit lieues plus haut, en remontant le Tigre. Une chose paroît favoriser le sentiment d'Ebul-Feda; c'est qu'il y a, à l'est de Mosul, un endroit appelé Telli-Toubè, c'est à dire, la colline de la penitence, où l'on dit que les Ninevites firent penitence, pour détourner la colère de Dieu."—Otter, t. i. pp. 132—134.

Tartar companions was like that of the most abject slaves to a powerful master ; and the manner in which these yellow-crowned couriers of the Sublime Porte treated their entertainers in return, was quite as much in the spirit of the despotic Sultan whom they served.

JULY 5th.—After a hearty meal, and an hour or two of sleep, the Tartars mounted fresh horses here, and I remounted my own, whose spirit and energies had held out beyond all our expectations, and made his value greater and greater in my eyes ; when we set out together after midnight from Hamadān, just as the moon was setting. Our course was directed generally to the south-east, as it had constantly been since leaving the banks of the river on the preceding day, the stream itself going more easterly as it approaches Mousul. Throughout the whole of the night we rode over hilly ground, and still constantly descended towards a lower level, without passing any villages in our way.

It was just as the dawn opened that we reached the gates of Mousul, having scarcely seen it at the distance of a hundred yards on our approach. As I had pictured to myself something of magnificence in the first external appearance of Mousul, from remembering the report of some travellers to that effect,* I was disappointed in finding nothing, in the first prospect of the city, that could deserve admiration, although we had reached it through a succession of miserable villages and barren plains, by the contrast of which its beauties would have been much increased.

On entering the town, the interior seemed equally devoid of interest ; and on the whole it struck me as being the worst-built, and altogether the least interesting city, especially considering its large size, that I had yet seen in the East.

The Tartars proceeded to the palace of the Pasha, attached to which is the station of the couriers ; and I repaired to the house of the chief Christian merchant here, who was also one of the

* Campbell, in his Journey over land to India ; and others.

secretaries to the Government. Having brought with me a letter from the Syrian Patriarch of Mardin, I found a welcome reception, and was furnished with a room for my accommodation.

As soon as the ceremony of receiving the visits of the family was over, and I had partaken of the breakfast which was set before me, a servant was sent to accompany me wherever I wished through the town, and we repaired together to the bath, the most agreeable of all modes of refreshment after excessive fatigue.

On leaving the bath, I found attendants in waiting ready to conduct me to the Pasha, who had already heard, through his secretary, that an English traveller had arrived here, and had sent his guards to conduct me to his divan. I followed them to the palace, which was close by, and was immediately ushered into the Pasha's presence. I found him to be a particularly handsome man, of about thirty years of age, habited in all the splendour of the Turkish costume, and surrounded by all the pomp and state of which their manners are capable. He sat alone, on a rich sofa, in a corner of the room, near to an open window, which commanded an agreeable prospect. Around the rest of the hall stood upwards of fifty Georgian and Circassian slaves, forming his body-guard of Mamlouks, most of them extremely handsome, and all of them young and superbly dressed, awaiting, in the most profound silence, and in respectful attitudes, the commands of their lord.

My reception was at once polite, gracious, and even kind. This young man, whose name was Hamed, was a descendant of a Turkish house, in whose family the Pashalic of Mousul had remained for many generations; and his character, according to the report of those over whom he ruled, and his manners, such as I myself beheld them, bespoke in the strongest manner the feelings and notions of a kind-hearted and benevolent man. In our conversation on the state of affairs in Europe, he displayed much more intelligence regarding that quarter of the world than I had been accustomed to witness in similar personages; and in making my inquiries of him regarding the countries eastward of us, to which my views were

directed, I found him capable of giving me much valuable information.

Our interview closed by his offering me his protection and assistance, in any thing that I might wish to undertake. When I spoke of my proceeding to Bagdad, he advised my going with the couriers by land, if expedition was my object; but on rafts, by the Tigris, if comfort was my study. In either case, he again assured me of his readiness to forward my views; and desiring only to know my wishes, pledged himself for their prompt execution.

I confess, that a fear of the expenses in necessary presents to the inferior agents, was the only motive which induced me to decline the aid so promptly and apparently so cordially offered; but this I knew would be greater than that of continuing my journey with the Tartars from Diarbekr, and the state of my finances at the present moment, after the fleecings which we had all undergone in our passage through Mesopotamia, was such as to make this consideration paramount.

When I took leave of the Pasha, which we all did, retiring backward, with our faces still towards him, which is the etiquette of the country, before great men, two of his cawasses, or silver-stick bearers, were ordered to attend me in my excursions through the town; and, under their guidance, I devoted the remaining portion of the day to that purpose, in the course of which, as we were all mounted on fine horses of the Pasha's own stud, we went over every part of it that was deemed worthy of a visit.*

* Although manners do not change much in the East, the personal characters of individuals who happen to be in power make great alterations in the modes of reception, and the nature of the treatment experienced by travellers, at different periods of visiting the same places. The following is the account of Rauwolff's visit to and reception by a Turkish Pasha, two hundred and fifty years ago:—"When we came into the room of the Bashaw, which was but very ordinary, yet spread with delicate tapestry, and well adorned, and appeared with accustomed reverences, he asked us, sitting in his costly yellow-coloured long gown, by one of his servants, in French, which he did not understand very well, from what places we came, what merchandizes we had brought with us, and whither we intended to go. After we had punctually answered him to

On our return, in the evening, I was conducted by the cawasses to my own lodgings, where a large party of the different sects of Christians, residing here, was assembled to greet me with welcome. These were chiefly mercantile men, and most of them had travelled over a large portion of the Turkish empire. They were generally, as I thought, much more liberal in their sentiments, and more forbearing towards each other, than the Christians of the East usually are. So that our party, though composed of many different sectaries, was nevertheless a happy and an harmonious one. Our evening feast was crowned by the copious draughts of ardent spirits, without which no Christian meeting in these countries would be considered an orthodox one; and before midnight many had measured their lengths on the floor where they sat, and few were able to find their way home to their own dwellings.

each question, yet he was not satisfied, but bid us to withdraw, and stay until we heard his answer. We understood his meaning very well, that it was only to screw a present out of us, yet we would not understand it, but shewed him our pass, subscribed both by the Bashaw and the Cadi of Aleppo, to try whether that would give him content. So he took it and read it over, and looked very diligently upon their seals, as they use to seal, after they had dipped it first into ink, so that all but the letter is black. When he found them right, and did not know any more to say to us, he let us go; then we made him his reverence again, and so we went backwards out of his lodgings, for if you turn your back to any one, although it be a far meaner person, they take it as a great incivility, rudeness, and disparagement."—p. 144.



CHAPTER XV.

DESCRIPTION OF MOUSUL.

JULY 6th.—The departure of the Tartars for Bagdad being fixed for to-morrow, I had another day of leisure to complete my examination of the town, and having directed the Pasha's cawasses to attend me early in the morning with three fresh horses, we mounted together at daylight, and resumed our task. In the course of our way, protected as I was by these officers on each side, every mark of civility and respect was shewn to me wherever I went, and all my inquiries were very readily answered.

It was about noon when we returned from this second excursion, and after partaking of the refreshments prepared for our party, the greater number of them retired to repose. I, therefore, profited by the retirement and leisure which their withdrawal afforded me,

to embody such observations as I had been able to collect regarding Mousul, as well from information previously collected, as from my own personal observation, and the communications of residents on the spot.

This city is seated on the western bank of the Tigris, and in a low and flat country, extending for several miles around it. The plan of it, as given by Mr. Niebuhr, appeared to me to be in general accurate, though my own observations enabled me only to judge of the fidelity of the outline, without being qualified to pronounce on its details. On entering the town from the north-west, there are appearances of its having been once surrounded by a ditch, which is now filled up. The wall itself is in a ruinous state, and would certainly offer but a slight obstacle to a besieging army provided with artillery, though it is here considered a sufficient barrier to keep out all the enemies that are ever likely to appear before it.

The general aspect of the town is mean and uninteresting: the streets are narrow and unpaved, the lines of their direction irregular, and, with one exception only, there are neither fine bazārs, mosques, or palaces, such as one might expect in a city of this size, to relieve occasionally the dull sameness of the common buildings. The houses are mostly constructed of small unhewn stones, cemented by mortar and plastered over with mud, though some are built of burnt and unburnt bricks. One of their most striking peculiarities is, that they are built on the inclined slope, common to ancient Egyptian temples, and that the angles presented towards the streets are almost always rounded off, as is seen in the improved openings at the corners of narrow streets in London. From the great scarcity and consequent high price of timber, very little of this material is used in their buildings; so that most of them, instead of beams, have vaulted ceilings with rooms above, and vaulted roofs to support their flat terraces. Most of the entrance-doors also, which are in many cases the only apertures presented to the street, as the windows open on square courts within, are crowned by an arch cut

out of a block of veined marble from the neighbouring hills. The form of the arch is, in some cases, the high pointed Gothic, in others the flatter Norman, but in very few indeed is the proportion of the Saracen arch seen, the two others being more in fashion. In some cases, these blocks of marble are ornamented with sculptured designs of flowers, but they are always very clumsily done. Among the devices which I observed on the architraves of these door-ways, was a frequently repeated one of a pillar with something like rams' horns on the top, and another of two triangles interlaced with a star in the middle, like one of the emblems worn by freemasons in Europe. Some of the poorer houses, occupied by the weavers of cotton cloth, are half subterranean, and the lower part being the coolest in the day-time, it is used for their looms, while they sleep on their terraces at night. Many of these terraces are walled around, to seclude those who may resort there from general view; and some of them have windows formed of hollow earthen pots, and loop-holes for musketry in the walls, as if to provide for defence.

The bazārs, though not so fine as those of Cairo, with one exception only, are numerous, and well supplied, from the adjoining country of Koordistan, with an abundance of all the necessaries of life; but these places of public resort are as frequently open as roofed over, are generally dirty, and not remarkable for the symmetry and order which is commonly seen in this department of Eastern towns. There is only one bazār, where the richest merchandize is sold, that is much better in its structure and design; and this is at all times well filled with a great variety of the richest commodities, the produce of Europe and of India.

The coffee-houses are numerous, and in general very large; some of them, indeed, occupy the whole length of an avenue, extending for a hundred yards, with benches on each side of the passage, which is shaded by a roof of matting above.

The baths are estimated to be about thirty in number; but although I was conducted to some of the principal ones, I saw none

that could be compared to those of Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, either in appearance or comfort. The mode of bathing seemed to be exactly the same, but the details were not so carefully attended to, either by the master or the servants of the bath, as in those of the large cities of Egypt and Syria.

The mosques are computed to amount to fifty in number, thirty of which are small and ordinary, and twenty large. The principal one of these has a minaret, equal in size to any that I remember to have seen. It is built of brick; and being of a circular form above, with a square base below, it rises like the shaft of an enormous column from its pedestal. The whole of its exterior is covered with a fancy-work of Arabesque, wrought by the projecting and receding of the bricks in the masonry itself, which produces a great richness of effect. The mosque, from which this minaret rises, was originally large and handsome, but it is now completely in ruins. The traditions of the place assign a very high antiquity to the lower part of the building, making it anterior to Mohammed; but it seems certain that the minaret, which is by far the finest in the city, was erected by Nour-el-Deen, the Sultan of Damascus. Near to this large mosque is a smaller one, of the form of an octagonal pyramid. This is built of brick, and is said to be even still more ancient than the other, which, from its singular form, is not improbable. There are other minarets of brick-work, ornamented with green-varnished tiles in fanciful devices, and layers of different colours: but none of them are remarkable for their size or beauty. Among the few domes that are seen, some are guttered or ribbed, like those described at Mardin; but instead of the gutters being serpentine, they are straight, descending in right lines from the summit to the edge of the roof.

The Christian churches amount to fourteen, of which there are five of one sect of Chaldeans, and four of another; three of Syrians; one of Yacoubites, (as they are here called;) and one of Roman Catholics, in the following order.

CHALDEANS, 1st.—Muskinta, Shumraoon el Suffa, Mugwergees, Mar Bethewn, Miriam el Athra. CHALDEANS, 2nd.—Mar Eeesiah, Mar Kreeakoos, Mar Johanna, Mar Georgis. SYRIANS.—Taharat el Fokāney, Taharat el Hedjereen, Mar Toma. YACoubITES.—Mar Hewdaini.—ROMAN CATHOLICS, Miriam el Athra.*

I had an opportunity of seeing a drawing of the interior of this Chaldean church of the Virgin Mary, at Mousul, which was taken by Mr. Rich, the British resident at Bagdad, during a visit he made to this city. It is esteemed as one of the earliest Christian places of worship now existing here, and is said to be built on the same model as the ruined church of St. James, at Nisibeen. The arches of the aisles are of the regular pointed Saracenic form; the smaller arches are, however, flatter, and of the Saxon shape, while the broad frieze around the nave is formed of the Arabic and Turkish dropping ornament, like a stalactite. The smaller ornaments, though generally regular in their outline, are not uniform in their details. The flattened and indented arch, as seen in the mosque of Ibrahim-el-Khaleel, at Orfah, is also found here, and Arabesque ornaments are frequent, while around the whole of the church the inscriptions are in the old Syriac character; so that in this, which is thought to be one of the oldest buildings in this part of the country, there is such a mixture of styles and orders, that it darkens rather than throws light on the long-agitated question of whether the Gothic architecture originated in the East or the West.

Of the particular differences of faith between these sects, I could learn nothing satisfactory. The children seemed to follow impli-

* In the time of Rauwolff, the Nestorians seem to have been the most numerous. He says, "The town Mossel is, as above-said, for the greatest part inhabited by Nestorians, which pretend to be Christians, but in reality they are worse than any other nations whatsoever, for they do almost nothing else but rob on the highways, and fall upon travellers, and kill them; therefore being that the roads chiefly to Zibin (to which we had five days' journey, and, for the most part, through sandy wildernesses) are very dangerous, we staid some days longer, expecting more company, that we might go the surer."—p. 167.

citly the footsteps of their fathers, and no one troubled himself about the faith of his neighbour, being content with believing that there was an irreconcilable difference between it and his own, and never attempting to accommodate or unite them.

The population of Mousul is thought, by the people of the place, to exceed a hundred thousand; but I should think, from the loose estimate I was enabled to make, by comparison of different data, that it was even less than half that number.

The principal portion of this is Mohammedan, in about equal proportions of Arabs, Turks, and Koords. There are also about three hundred Jewish families, who have a synagogue for their worship. The Christians are thus estimated in relative numbers: of the Chaldeans of both descriptions, one of which differs but little from the Catholics, there are thought to be a thousand families; of the Syrians, five hundred; and of the Jacobites, or Yakoubi, as they are here called, about three hundred.

The government of Mousul is in the hands of a Pasha of two tails, who has a territory extending a few miles only from the town; but as he receives his investiture of office immediately from the Sultan, at Constantinople, he is thus independent of the Pashas of Aleppo, Orfah, and Bagdad. The present Pasha, whose name is Hammed, is highly popular, esteemed by all classes, and thought, even by those over whom he governs, to be a very indulgent master.

The military force maintained for the defence of the town and its neighbourhood does not exceed a thousand men, and these are chiefly cavalry. There are frequently half that number in attendance at the palace, or residence, of the Pasha, which is a meanly-built but extensive pile, being almost as spacious, including its courts and offices, as some small villages. The gay parade, which is sometimes seen here, of beautiful Arabian horses, richly caparisoned in velvet and gold, mounted by Turkish riders, habited in flowing robes of coloured shalloons, with costly arms, Indian shawls, and other marks of pomp and wealth, offers a striking contrast to the poverty of the

buildings in general, and the rude and mean exterior of the imperial palace in particular.

The fortifications toward the land-side consist only of an enclosing wall, without cannon; and toward the river the city is defended by a castle. This is a small and now ruined building, seated on an artificial island, formed by letting in the waters of the Tigris, on the banks of which it stands, to fill a deep ditch by which it is surrounded. It lies near the bridge of boats by which the river itself is crossed. The building is of triangular form, and constructed of bricks, having only a few small dwellings for the soldiers who garrison it. Near the castle there are several brass cannon lying scattered about, dismounted and unserviceable. On one of these I noticed two European coats of arms, one of which was a cross, occupying all the shield; the other was quartered, with a cross in the upper sinister and lower dexter compartment, and in the two corresponding ones an arm extended, with the hand open, and a scarf, or broad band, filled with crosses, hanging over the wrist. The date on it was 1526, but through what channel it had reached this place I could not learn.

The trade of Mousul, which was once so considerable, is now reduced to a very low state. There are still some merchants, who go from hence to Aleppo, with the galls of Koordistan, and the few Indian commodities which reach them from Bussorah, to exchange in Syria for European manufactures. The Indian goods are also forwarded to Tocat, and the higher parts of Asia Minor, from whence copper is received in return, and sent down to Bagdad. The only manufacture now carried on to any extent within the town is that of coarse cotton cloths, which are dyed blue, and used for the clothing of the lower classes.

In the people of Mousul I thought I could observe a cast of countenance, sufficiently peculiar to mark them as a race nearly allied to, and long settled and intermixed with each other. The shape of the face is rounder than that of either Arabs or Turks, and the hair is universally black, and the eyes small, sharp, and pene-

trating, while the complexions are like those of the south of Spain. The young boys generally wear one ear-ring of gold, and the girls an ornament like a button, with a small turquoise stone set in it, pierced through one nostril. The men dress mostly after the Turkish mode, except that they wear turbans and overhanging tarbooshes, like the people of Syria, instead of the Turkish kaook; and fine Angora shalloon instead of cloth, for benishes. The women wear the blue checkered envelope common to Egypt and Syria, and have a stiff veil of horse-hair cloth, which is black, and covers the whole face, so that they look as uninteresting as can be conceived. The straw-mat fans, like little square flags on handles, which are used on the Abyssinian and Arabian shores of the Red Sea, are seen in the hands of all classes; but the more gay use a triangular fan of feathers, which has a small looking-glass in the centre of its inner face, and is suspended from the arm by a ribbon.

The Arabic spoken at Mousul, differs considerably from that of Cairo, and even from that of Aleppo. There is a mixture of Turkish, Persian, and Indian words in it; and both the manners of the people, and many other appearances that I noticed, already apprized me of my approach toward the latter country.

Of the history of Mousul but few particulars are known. It is unquestionably, however, a place of some antiquity, and has once enjoyed a much higher degree of splendour than it at present possesses. It is thought, by Gibbon, to have been the western suburb of Ninus, the city which succeeded Nineveh; and the erudition and critical discernment of that historian, on all points of ancient geography, are such as to make his authority almost conclusive. It was known, however, by its present name of Mousul, under the Khalifs, and as such is mentioned in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot.

The celebrated Rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela, who commenced his travels in the East in the year 1173 of the Christian era, visited this place in his way to India. He calls it "Mutsul," and places it

at two days' distance from the town of Gezireh, and, like it, on the western bank of the Tigris. He says, that it was anciently called "the Great Assar," which was no doubt the tradition prevalent among the people there.* There were then, at this place, seven thousand Jews, who were governed by two chiefs, one of whom was Zacchee, a prince of the blood of David, the King of Israel; and the other was Joseph the astrologer, who, like his ancestor Daniel, was counsellor to the king. This king was then Zain-el-Deen, the brother of Nour-el-Deen, the reigning King of Damascus.

Mousul then commanded the kingdom of Persia, and preserved all its ancient grandeur. Nineveh is spoken of, by the Rabbi, as seated on the opposite bank of the river, and then completely in ruins.

Mousul was sufficiently strong to withstand a siege from the famous Salah-el-Deen, (Saladin,) in the year of the Hejira 578. This warrior was himself a native of the neighbouring hills of Koordistan, being the nephew of a celebrated Koordish chief, called Assudeen-Sheer-koh, or Lion of the Mountain, who was obliged to fly his country for having killed a man of high family, who had insulted an unprotected female.†

This city suffered again when Bagdad was taken by the Tartars under Jenghiz Khan, in the year of the Hejira 654, or A. D. 1256,‡

* Asher was the name of him who went out of the land of Shinar, and built Nineveh, and Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen.—Genesis, c. x. v. 11.

† "Sallah-u-deen, so famous in the crusades, was nephew of a Koord chief, called Assudeen Sheerkoh, or, Lion of the Mountain, who was obliged to fly his country, for having killed a man of high family, who had insulted an unprotected female. His uncle and his brothers, who accompanied him, found refuge at the court of Nour-a-deen Mahmood, the ruler of Baalbeck, and was afterwards sent by him in command of a force, to aid the Waly, or Governor of Egypt, against the Infidels of the West. The young Sallah-u-deen accompanied his uncle, and succeeded him in the office of Vizier, or Waly, and, on the death of the chief himself, he assumed the government of Egypt, which, with all Syria, soon submitted to his command, and he thenceforward became the successful champion of religion, in the celebrated Frank crusades."—*Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 380.

‡ Ibid, p. 422.

when it is said that between seven and eight hundred thousand persons were put to death, and that the stream of the Tigris was swollen with waves of blood. It was again nearly ruined by Timur, or Tamerlane, in his invasion of the country, in the year of the Hejira 796; so that, after such successive devastations, the wonder is, that it still retains so much of its former importance as it really does.

The celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, passed through Mousul, and reports that, in his time, they made their precious stuffs of gold and silk. At that period, he remarked that in the mountains dependent on this kingdom were certain men, called Cardis, or Curds, of whom some were Nestorians, others Jacobins, and others Mohammedans, who were great robbers.* It is from this traveller's report, that fine cottons are supposed to derive the name of muslins, from Mousul, a name which they had in common with gold tissue and silk, because those articles were either made or to be purchased there.†

The last notice of Mousul, in an historical point of view, is its having, in 1743, sustained a bombardment, during forty days, from the celebrated Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, who was obliged to abandon the siege, in order to return into Persia to quell a rebellion there. Since that period it has received no great shock, though it may be said to have been progressively, and still continues to be, on the decline.‡

* See Bergeron's Collection of Early Voyages and Travels, in French, printed at the Hague, by Jeane Neaulme, in 1735, 4to. p. 13, 14.

† "Tutti le pani d'oro e di seta chi si chiamana Mossoulini, si lavorano in Moxul." —*Marco Paolo*, lib. i. cap. 6, as quoted by Dr. Vincent, in his *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, vol. ii. p. 273. 4to.

‡ The following descriptions of Mousul, from two travellers, between the age of Benjamin of Tudela, and that of Nadir Shah, may be given here:

Le Sieur Boullaye-le-Gouz, a gentleman of Angers, who had travelled over the greater part of the world in the beginning of the seventeenth century, speaks thus of Mousul, which he takes to be the same with Nineveh.

"Elle est assise à trente-six degrez de la latitude sur le bord du Tigre du costé de

In the evening, the caravan which I accompanied from Aleppo made its entry into Mousul, and so great was the consideration enjoyed here by the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, that a crowd of his friends and dependants went out beyond the walls of the city to greet his arrival, and to bring him into his own house, amid their

l'ouest, et peut estre comparée à Pise, ou à Angers ; il y a un beau pont de bateaux pour passer du costé de la Perse. La plupart des habitans de Moussol sont Chrétiens, de la secte des Jáhoabites ; il y a un Pacha, avec peu de milice Ottomane. Cette ville est renommée par toute l'Asie pour les toiles teintes en rouge, qui ne perdent jamais leur couleur, et pour les noix de galles, que l'on en transporte en Europe, et autres parties du monde, des montagnes circonvoisines, avec quoy l'on accommode le Maroquin du Levant. Il y a aussi aux environs de cette ville le long du Tigre de très-bon reglisse, que les Arabes appellent Rgls ; la feuille de cette plante mise dans la bouche a le mesme goust que les carnes molles ; la racine est ce que l'on nous apporte en Europe, laquelle ne vient jamais droite, n'y plus grosse que le bras, comme j'ay observé ; les naturels s'en servent dans les bains, et nous autres pour les ptisanes."—*Voyages et Observations du Sieur de la Boullaye-le-Gouz*, 4to. Paris, 1657.

The following observations of Otter apply to a period of about eighty years later, (in 1736,) and only seven years before the bombardment of Nadir Shah, spoken of in the text.

"Mosul, capitale du pays de Dgezirè, est située sur la bord occidentale du Tigre, dans un pays uni à six journées de Miafarikin, si l'on prend le chemin du fort de Kifa, et à huit si l'on passe par Mardin. Ebul-Feda dit qu'elle avoit deux enceintes de murailles plus grandes que celles de Damas, mais qu'elles étoient en partie ruinées de son tems, de même que le fort : elle a aujourd'hui un mur, des fossés, et un rempart du côté de la rivière. Les kiervanserais, les palais, et les autres édifices, bâtis de pierres dures, sont assez beaux. L'air y est bon dans le printems, qui est pour ce pays la meilleure saison. Le chaleur y est grande en été, le froid rude en hiver, et les fièvres y regnent pendant l'automne. La ville est riche, et les habitans sont braves. Ils parlent communement quatre langues, savoir, l'Arabe, le Turc, le Persan, et le Kiurd. On y fait un grand commerce, surtout de toiles de coton blanches et noires, qui s'y fabriquent. On y vend aussi des marchandises des Indes qu'on apporte de Basra ; et on tire par la voie de Haleb les draps et autres marchandises de l'Europe."—*Otter*, tome i. pp. 136, 137.

"Vis-à-vis de Mosul, de l'autre côté de la rivière, est une source de Nafte, et plus loin encore à l'est il y a une autre source appelée Reés-ul-Naoura, de laquelle on tire un limon qui sert à teindre en bleu, comme l'indigo. Au sud, en tirant du côté de Bagdad, il sort de la terre quantité de résine dont on fait de la poix pour enduire les barques et les bains ; et à une journée de Mosul du même côté, on trouve près du Tigre dans le désert de l'eau naturellement chaude. On y a pratiqué un bassin pour

acclamations of welcome. As we met these on our return from an excursion round the town, I dispensed with the further attendance of the Pasha's cawasses, and joined the party who were going to the Hadjee's house.

On our reaching this, we were all received with great respect by the servants and slaves in waiting; but the Hadjee and his nephew were almost worshipped by them; having their knees embraced, and the hems of their garments kissed by the crowds who pressed around them as they entered the court of their dwelling.

The house itself, which was now quite new, was esteemed to be inferior to none in the city, excepting the residence of the Pasha, and, indeed, its interior decorations were as costly as those of any private abode that I had seen in the East, excepting only those of the rich Jews at Damascus. This house had been begun by the Hadjee just before his setting out on his pilgrimage, and, during the two years of his absence, it had been completed by the confidential slave or chief steward of his household. While the host and his nephew retired to receive the welcome of the females of the family, all the strangers were shewn over the dwelling, and every thing was found to be in the most perfect order for the lord's reception. The Hadjee and his nephew soon returned to us, both dressed in garments of white, all perfectly new, and prepared during their absence, to clothe them on the day of their return.

le bain. Il en sort une espèce de mastic d'un fort bon goût, et dont l'odeur est agréable."

—*Otter*, tome i. p. 140.

" Environ à deux heures de chemin de Kierkiouk est une colline appelée Kiourkiour-Baba, où, au rapport des gens du pays, on trouve, en creusant sur le sommet à peu de profondeur, une matière qui s'enflamme à l'air jusqu'à faire bouiller l'eau: mais la flamme dispaçoit des qu'on la couvre de terre. A une petite distance de là, vers l'occidente, on rencontre trois sources de Nafte, qui forment un ruisseau. Si l'on jette dans ces sources du coton, ou des morceaux de toile allumés, on entend un bruit effroyable. Il sort d'abord de la flamme qui s'élève fort haut. La source reste après couvert de fumée jusqu'à ce que la matière soit entièrement consumée; alors la feu s'étient. On trouve aussi tout auprès une source d'où il sort de la resine qui s'écoule dans la plaine. Si quelqu'un par mégarde passe dessus, il y est tellement empôtré qu'il ne peut s'en retirer."—*Otter*, tome i. p. 153.

A sumptuous feast was now ready to close the scene, and while the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān was seated on one carpet, surrounded by all the strangers who journeyed in his train, the nephew entertained, on another carpet, all those of the town who came to greet them jointly on their safe return. Even here, however, amidst all the parade of wealth and hospitality, the hoary pilgrim did not disdain to bargain with me in whispers for the purchase of my horse, as he understood that I should be obliged to sell it and go to Bagdad with post-horses in the company of the Tartars, (no single animal being able to keep up with their rapid pace;) and in this transaction he sufficiently verified the proverb, on the influence of a journey to Mecca,* by persuading me into the sale of this excellent animal, for about half the price it would have brought in the public bazār, though I was in some degree disposed to yield to his terms, from a conviction that the horse, to whom I had now become strongly attached, would be better treated, and more happy under his care, than in the hands of an entire stranger.

* See this proverb at the end of chap. vi. p. 129.



CHAPTER XVI.

VISIT TO THE RUINS OF NINEVEH, AND JOURNEY FROM MOUSUL TO THE RIVER LYCUS.

JULY 7th.—All things being arranged for my journey with the Turkish Tartars, from Mousul to Bagdad, I received intimation from the Tartar-Aga, or chief of these couriers, that our horses would be ready at nine o'clock this morning, and that, on no consideration, would any delay beyond that hour be permitted.

As I was up, however, before the sun, I procured the use of a horse and a guide from my Christian entertainer, and set out on a visit to the ruins of Nineveh, which are scattered along the eastern bank of the Tigris.

Descending through the town to the river, we crossed it, over a bridge of boats, which was just one hundred and fifty horse-paces in length. The boats were badly constructed, and not being fastened

together in the most secure manner, the whole bridge was set in motion by the least agitation of the water. They were moored head and stern by iron chains, and were sharp at each end. The rate of the current in mid-channel seemed at present not to exceed two miles an hour; but it was said by all, that this was the slowest rate at which it ran, and that it sometimes possessed three times its present rapidity. The water was nowhere deeper than from three to four fathoms, and it was of a yellow muddy colour throughout; though it soon became clear by being suffered to rest, and was at all seasons fine and sweet to the taste.

We went from hence towards the north-east, and passing over a stone bridge of Mohammedan work, thrown across a small stream, which discharges itself into the Tigris, came in about an hour to the principal mounds which are thought to mark the site of the ancient Nineveh.

There are four of these mounds, disposed in the form of a square; and these, as they shew neither bricks, stones, nor other materials of building, but are in many places overgrown with grass, resemble the mounds left by entrenchments and fortifications of ancient Roman camps.

The longest of these mounds runs nearly north and south, and consists of several ridges of unequal height, the whole appearing to extend for four or five miles in length. There are three other distinct mounds, which are all near to the river, and lie in the direction of east and west. The first of these, counting from the southward, is the one called "Nebbé Yunus," having a tomb on it, which is thought to contain the ashes of the prophet Jonas, and a small village collected round it; the next to the northward is called Tal Hermoosh, which is not marked by any striking peculiarity; and the third is the one we first ascended, and which, by way of distinction, from its regularity and height, is called Tal Ninoa, or the Hill of Nineveh.*

* This might probably be the mound spoken of by Diodorus in the following passage; at least, there was no other in sight, to which his description would so well

In order to mark the place of this last with the greater precision, I took from its centre a set of bearings, by compass, of the principal objects in view.*

There are appearances of mounds and ruins extending for several miles to the southward, and still more distinctly seen to the northward of this, though both are less marked than the mounds of the centre. The space between these is a level plain, over every part of the face of which, broken pottery, and the other usual *debris* of ruined cities, are seen scattered about.†

If it were true, as asserted by Strabo, and other early writers, that Nineveh was larger than Babylon, it might be considered to have been the largest city that ever existed in the world, and one

apply:—"Semiramis," he says, "buried her husband Ninus in the royal palace at Nineveh, and raised over him a mound of earth of considerable size, being nine stadia in height, and ten in breadth, as Ctesias says, so that the city standing in a plain near to the river, the mount looked at a distance like a stately citadel. And it is said, that it continues to this day, though Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes, when they ruined the Assyrian empire."—*Diodorus Siculus*, b. ii. c. i. p. 59.

* Southern extreme of Mousul,	...	...	...	...	S. S. W. 3 miles.
Northern ditto ditto,	...	...	...	...	W. S. W. 2 miles.
Centre of the City, and Minaret of the Great Mosque					
of Nour-el-deen	...	...	...	...	S. W. 2 miles.
Village of Catheeah	...	...	...	...	N. W. by W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. 2 miles.
Deer Kharazey, a village on the ruins of Nineveh	...				N. W. by W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles.
Jebel Gara, a high mountain of Koordistan, covered with					
snow	...	...	...	...	N. by E. 50 miles.
Range of Jebel Makloubé, also in Koordistan					from N. N. E. to E. by N. 10 miles.
Tomb and Village of Nebbé Yunus	...	...	...	...	S. 1 mile.
Tal Harmoosh, centre	...	...	...	...	S. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

† "As it was a very ancient, so was it likewise a very great city. In Jonah, it is styled 'that great city,' (i. 2. iii. 2.) 'an exceeding great city.' (iii. 3.) In the original, it is * 'a city great to God;' in the same manner as Moses is called by St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostles, (vii. 10.) *αἰεὶς τῷ Θεῷ*, fair to God, or exceeding fair, as our translators rightly render it; and so 'the mountains of God, (Psalm xxxvi. 6.) are exceeding high mountains,' and 'the cedars of God, (Psalm lxxx. 10.) are exceeding tall cedars.'"—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 144, 145.

* עיר-גדולה לאלהים, Deo magna civitas, *πολις μεγάλη τῷ Θεῷ*. Sept.

might even credit the assertion, that "Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey,"* not in circumference, as it has been assumed,† but in length, since Jonah did not begin to proclaim the denunciations of God against it, until he had entered the city a day's journey, which would then have been its further extreme, if three days only had been the extent of its circuit.

But we are furnished with its actual dimensions in stadia, which enables us to compare how far its comparative magnitude was greater than that of Babylon, or not. Herodotus assigns to this last a square of four hundred and eighty stadia, or a circumference of sixty miles, counting fifteen miles for each of its sides, reckoning the stadium at its highest standard of eight to a mile.‡ Diodorus Siculus gives the dimensions of Nineveh as one hundred and fifty stadia in length, and ninety stadia in breadth, or about nineteen miles in front along the river, and eleven and a quarter in breadth, from the river to the mountains, estimating the stadium at the same standard of value.§

* Jonah, c. iii. v. 3.

† Kinnier's Geographical Memoir on Persia, p. 259.

‡ Herodotus. Clio.

§ "Ninus having surpassed all his ancestors in the glory and success of his arms, was resolved to build a city of that state and grandeur, as should not only be the greatest then in the world, but such as none that ever should come after him should be able easily to exceed. Accordingly, having himself got a great number of his forces together, and provided money and treasure, and other things necessary for the purpose, he built a city near the river Euphrates, (Tigris,) very famous for its walls and fortifications, of a long form, for on both sides it ran out in length above an hundred and fifty stadia, (about nineteen miles,) but the two lesser angles were only ninety stadia in each, so that the circumference of the whole was four hundred and eighty stadia, (about sixty miles.) And the founder was not herein deceived, for none ever after built the like, either as to the largeness of its circumference, or the stateliness of its walls. For the wall was an hundred feet in height, and so broad, as that three chariots might be driven together upon it abreast. There were fifteen hundred turrets upon the walls, each of them two hundred feet high. He appointed the city to be inhabited chiefly by the richest Assyrians, and gave liberty to the people of any other nation, (to as many as would,) to dwell there; and allowed to the citizens a large territory next adjoining to them, and called the city after his own name, Ninus."—*Diodorus Siculus*, b. ii. c. 1. p. 55.

There was, it is true, a greater length in the city of Nineveh; but, from its more confined breadth, the space actually included within the limits given was somewhat less than that of Babylon. It may, however, be admitted to claim for itself a higher antiquity, since the second great capital of the Assyrian empire did not begin to flourish until this, its first metropolis, whose origin mounts up to the period just succeeding the deluge,* was abandoned to decay.

The nature of the ground here determines, with sufficient precision, what must have been the local features of its site, and confirms the accuracy of the historian, who describes it as of an oblong form.

From the extent of the Plain of Babylon, that city might have spread itself out to any given length, its limits being circumscribed only on the west, by the existence of marshes and lakes there. Nineveh too might have stretched a front along the river of any extent, but its breadth was absolutely fixed within ten or twelve miles, that being the whole extent of the plain on the eastern bank of the Tigris, from the river to the range of Jebel Makloubé, the mountains which form its eastern boundary.

As far as I could perceive, from our elevated point of view, on the highest summit of Tal Ninoa, there were mounds of ruins similar to those near us, but less distinctly marked, as far as the eye could reach to the northward; and the plain to the eastward of us, or between the river and the mountains, had a mixture of large brown patches, like heaps of rubbish, seen at intervals, scattered over a cultivated soil.

Whatever might have been the exact dimensions of Nineveh, it was unquestionably very large; and, like most other great cities of antiquity, was, in the period of its highest glory, a sink of wickedness and abomination. The disastrous history of Jonah, and his singular habitation during three days and three nights, when on his way

* Genesis, c. x. v. 11.

to prevent the destruction of this city, are familiarly known. There is an expression, however, worth adverting to, more particularly as conveying some idea of the population of Nineveh at the period in question. It is where the Almighty, in reproving Jonah for his anger at a worm, for destroying the gourd by which he was sheltered from the sun, and his pity for the gourd itself, says, "Thou hast had pity on the gourd for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow, which came up in a night and perished in a night; And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left, and also much cattle?"* Considering this number of one hundred and twenty thousand to mean the children and infants, who, as well as the cattle with whom they are coupled, might be mentioned as being all in a state of innocence, and therefore not deserving to be made partakers with the guilty in the Divine vengeance, some estimate may be made of the whole population, which would thus, in the ordinary proportions of the several classes, amount to little short of half a million of people.

The denunciations of the prophet Nahum against this devoted city are extremely eloquent, but equally full of the bitterness of wrath with those pronounced by other inspired tongues, against the great empires and kingdoms of the ancient world.†

* Jonah, c. iii. and iv. throughout.

† "Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies and robbery; the prey departeth not; the noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear: and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases, and there is none end of their corpses: they stumble upon their corpses. Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well-favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts. Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of Hosts; and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, and I will shew the nations thy nakedness, and the kingdoms thy shame. And I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazing-stock. And it shall come to pass, that all they that look upon thee, shall flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid waste: who will bemoan her? whence shall I seek comforters for thee?"—*Nahum*, c. iii. v. 1—7.

That which follows this denunciation includes, however, an illustration of ancient geography, too curious to be omitted. The question is asked of Nineveh, "Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite. Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains."*

Bruce, the celebrated Abyssinian traveller, has, I remember, considered this populous "No," to be the Egyptian "Thebes;" and though at the time of my visit to the ruins of that hundred-gated city of the gods, the identity of it with the No of the Scriptures seemed to me objectionable, from the mention of the sea as its rampart; yet here, on the ruined mounds of the fallen Nineveh, while reading from the Prophets all the denunciations of vengeance which had been uttered against it, the propriety of a comparison of its state with that of the Thebes of Egypt struck me very forcibly, and left on my mind the impression that there was no other city of antiquity, excepting this, to which the allusions made by the Prophet when speaking of "No," could at all apply.

From the number of the canals and the serpentine curves of the Nile, even while running through Thebes, it might be said, with great propriety, "to be seated among the rivers," and "to have the waters round about it." So, also, as the whole of Egypt is inaccessible but from the sea, that sea might well be called its rampart;†

* Nahum, c. iii. v. 8—10.

† I know of no description, either among the ancients or moderns, which is at once so brief, and yet so happy, as that of Josephus, regarding this country. It may be appositely given here, in confirmation of what is asserted above. He says, "Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath, on the west, the dry deserts of Lybia; and on the south, Syene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over; and on the east, the Red Sea, extending as far as Coptus; and it is fortified on the north, by the band that reaches to

while the celebrated wall, which was constructed as a defence, and placed as an eastern barrier to the whole of that land, extending from Pelusium to the cataracts of Philoë, of which the remains are still to be seen in Egypt, was actually, as is expressed, "from the sea." Ethiopia and Egypt were, indeed, the strength of "No;" and this, too, according to every testimony, was infinite. Yet this Hecatompylon of the poets,* and Diospolis of the historians,† so pre-eminent for its antiquity, and so renowned for its colossal splendour, was literally carried away, and went into captivity, when her temples were violated, her altars overturned, her defenceless children slain, and the great and the honourable among her leaders bound and made captive by their Eastern conquerors.

Nineveh is said to have been surrounded by walls that were a hundred feet in height,‡ and of a sufficient breadth for three

Syria, together with that called the Egyptian Sea, having no havens in it for ships. And this is Egypt, walled about on every side."—*Wars of the Jews*, book iv. c. 10, sect 5.

* Homer.

† Strabo and Diodorus.

‡ To the north of the Lesser Zab, and near the Tigris, the Ten Thousand found in their retreat a city, the walls of which were no less lofty than these. "Marching the rest of the day without disturbance," says Xenophon, (*Anab.* iii. p. 212,) "they came to the river Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city called Larissa, anciently inhabited by the Medes, the walls of which were twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangas in circuit; all built of brick, except the plinth, which was of stone, and twenty feet high." The city here named *Larissa*, by Xenophon, is conjectured by Bochart to have been the *Resen* of the Scriptures, Gen. x. 12. He supposes that, when the Greeks asked the people of the country "what city are these the ruins of?" they answered, "Laresen," that is, *of Resen*. It is easy, says Spelman, to imagine how this word might be softened by a Greek termination, and made *Larissa*. At a very short distance from Resen, the army passed an uninhabited castle of enormous dimensions, standing near the town of Mespila, formerly also belonging to the Medes. "The plinth of the wall was built with polished stone full of shells, being fifty feet in breadth, and as many in height. Upon this stood a brick wall, fifty feet also in breadth, one hundred in height, and six parasangas in circuit." As the word *τειχος* frequently signifies "*a city*," I am surprised that Mr. Spelman should, in this instance, have followed the Latin versions, and translated *castle*, what would have borne the much better interpretation of

chariots to pass along it together abreast, as well as to have been defended by fifteen hundred towers along these walls, which were each of them two hundred feet high. If the walls of Babylon, however, which were comparatively of so much more modern erection, are thought to have left no trace remaining, those of Nineveh may well have totally disappeared.

From the height on which we stood, extending our view to a considerable distance in every direction, we could not certainly perceive any marked delineation of one great outline; but mounds and smaller heaps of ruins were scattered widely over the plain, sufficient to prove that the site of the original city occupied a vast extent, notwithstanding that some of the latest visitors to this place have thought that the remains were confined to the few mounds of the centre only.

Macdonald Kinneir conceived that the ruins at this place were those of Ninus, the city which succeeded to Nineveh, and not those of Nineveh itself. It is evident, however, that this writer spoke only of the central mounds; as he expressly states that the circumference of all the remains he saw did not exceed four miles, and very inexplicably observes, that he saw neither *stones nor rubbish of any kind*, though the mounds are naturally altogether formed of the last.*

If the temple of Araske, in which Sennacherib was slain, after

"fortified city." The word *καρχηδίατης*, "a stone full of shells," which occurs in the description of this fortress, has occasioned the usual quantity of learned trifling among the commentators. Leunclavius imagined, that the historian meant *stones on which the figures of shells had been sculptured!* But Hutchinson observes, that in this opinion he can by no means concur; he thinks, the shells must have been the work of nature; and no doubt, *he was right*. The stone was probably of the same description as that used in the walls of Orfah.† A pyramid of singular structure was observed near Resen: "Close to the city stood a pyramid of stone one hundred feet square and two hundred high, in (*upon*) which a great number of barbarians, who fled from the neighbouring villages, had conveyed themselves."

* Geographical Memoir on Persia, 4to. p. 259.

† See page 122 of this volume.

returning from his Egyptian war, when all the armour of his soldiers was knawed to pieces by mice, in one night, at Pelusium,* and a hundred and eighty-five thousand of his army, with all their captains and generals, were carried off by a pestilence, before the walls of Jerusalem, in another,† was equal in extent, either to the temple of Priapus at Thebes, or of Belus at Babylon, the mounds here forming an oblong square, nearly in the centre of the city, might perhaps mark the site of that building; but I remember no particular details regarding the size or form of that edifice, which could assist in the elucidation of this question.

From among the ruins of Nineveh, many antique gems, intaglios, and hieroglyphic devices on stone, have been dug up; of some of which, drawings and descriptions are given in the “Mines de l'Orient,” by Mr. Rich, of Bagdad; and not long since, a large stone was found here, inscribed all over with sculptures and unknown characters, which, falling into the hands of the Turks, was by them broken to pieces and destroyed.

On descending from the mound of Tal Ninoa, we walked across the level space, included between it and the other principal mounds near the river, and found the whole extent of it covered with broken pottery, of a very coarse quality, and in general but slightly ribbed, though evidently of the ancient kind.‡

* Herodotus. † Berosus, as quoted by Josephus, Ant. b. x. c. 1. s. 5.

‡ The completeness of the destruction of Nineveh, which Arbaces the Mede is said to have *levelled with the ground*, makes it matter of wonder that its ruins are still to be seen. “This point, I think,” says Bishop Newton, “is generally agreed upon, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; these two rebelling and uniting together subverted the Assyrian empire: but authors differ much about the time when Nineveh was taken, and about the king of Assyria, in whose reign it was taken, and even about the persons who had the command in this expedition. Herodotus§ affirms, that it was taken by Cyaxares, king of the Medes; St. Jerome, after the Hebrew chronicle,|| asserts that it was taken by Nabuchodonosor, king of the Baby-

§ Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

|| Hieron. in Naum. ii. 12. p. 1574. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Seder Olam Rabba soli Nabuchodonosoro rem attribuit, et tempus ponit. Anno primo Nabuchodonosor subegit Nineven, id est, non diu post mortem

In riding across this plain, we passed a small stream, called "Maee Kosa," or the water of Kosa, which comes from the eastern

onians: but these accounts may be easily reconciled, for Cyaxares and Nabuchodonosor might take it with their joint forces, as they actually did, according to that which is written in the book of Tobit, (xiv. 15,) if the Assuerus in Tobit be the same (as there is great reason to think him the same) with the Cyaxares of Herodotus: 'But before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh.' Josephus,* who saith, in one place, that the empire of the Assyrians was dissolved by the Medes, saith in another, that the Medes and Babylonians dissolved the empire of the Assyrians. Herodotus himself† saith, that the Medes took Nineveh, and subdued the Assyrians, except the Babylonian portion; the reason of which was, the Babylonians were their allies and confederates. Ctesias, and after him,‡ Diodorus Siculus, ascribe the taking of Nineveh, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire, to Arbaces the Mede, assisted by Belesis, the Babylonian. I know that§ Eusebius, and after him several excellent chronologers, Usher, Prideaux, and others, reckon this quite a different action, and fix it at quite a different time; but it is not likely that the same city should be twice destroyed, and the same empire twice overthrown, by the same people twice confederated together. Diodorus, who relates this catastrophe, doth not mention the other; but saith expressly,|| that Arbaces distributed the citizens of Nineveh in the country villages, levelled the city with the ground, transferred many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana, the royal city of the Medes; and so, saith he, the empire of the Assyrians was subverted."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 149—151.

patris. Ebraicum hoc Chronicon secuti sunt S. Hieronymus, &c. Marshami Ch. Sæc. xviii. p. 559.

* συνεβη την των Ασσυριων αρχην υπο Μηδων καταλυθηναι. Assyriorum imperium a Medis eversum iri contigit. Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 2. sect. 2. p. 435.—Μηδους και τους Βαβυλωνιους, οι την Ασσυριων κατελυσαν αρχην. Medos et Babylonios, qui Assyriorum everterant imperium. Ibid. cap. v. sect. 1. p. 441. Edit. Hudson.

† και την τε Νινον ειλον, και τους Ασσυριους υποχειριους εποισαντο, πλην της Βαβυλωνιης μοιρης. et Ninum expugnaverunt, Assyriosque, excepta Babylonica portione, subegerunt. Herod. lib. i. c. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

‡ Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 78. Edit. Steph. p. 110. Edit. Rhodmani.

§ Eusebius (more suo) utramque sententiam in canonem retulit: ad mentem Ctesiae, Arbaces Medus, ait, Num. 1197. Assyriorum imperio destructo, regnum in Medos transtulit. Dein (post annos 213) ex auctoritate Herodoti, Numb. 1410. Cyaxares Medus subvertit Ninum. Ista autem ασυστατα sunt. Marshami Chronicon. Sæc. xviii. p. 556.

|| ο δ' ουν Αρβακες τοις κατα την πολιν επιεικως προσενεχθεις, αυτους μεν κατα κωμας διψικισε,—την δε πολιν εις εδαφος κατεσκαψεν. επειτα των τε αργυρον και χρυσον,—πολλων οντα ταλαντων, απεκομισε της Μηδίας εις Εκβατανα. η μεν ουν ηγεμονια των Ασσυριων—υπο Μηδων κατελυθη τον προειρημενον τροπον. Simili quoque levitate erga cives usus, quamvis in pagos eos distraheret,—urbem autem solo æquavit. Tum argentum et aurum—(multa certa talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam transtulit. Hoc ergo modo Assyriorum imperium—a Mediis eversum est. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 81. Edit. Steph. p. 115. Edit. Rhod.

mountains, and passing by the foot of Tal Hermoosh, discharges itself into the Tigris. In this hill, or large mound, excavations have been made, seemingly with a view to ascertain of what material it was formed, and probably with a hope of being able to extract burnt bricks from thence for building, as is done from mounds of ruins at Babylon; but there was here no appearance of such brick-work; the whole, from length of time, and the nature of the materials, having become condensed into one solid mass.*

As we passed by the mound, called "Tal-Nebbe-Yunus," I examined, with more attention, an opening recently made on its northern side, and here I saw, most distinctly, a section of masonry. The bricks were apparently sun-dried, and in dimensions two spans long, and one span deep; they were of a very coarse kind, and were united by layers of common mortar. The supposed tomb of the Prophet Jonah, which stands on the top of the hill, and has collected a tolerably large village about it, is in the hands of Mohammedans. It appeared to me so like the common tombs of saints, seen all over the East, that, pressed as I was for time to return to Mousul, I did not go up to visit it.

As we went down from hence, by the eastern bank of the river, towards the bridge of boats, which goes across the Tigris, we passed again by the stone bridge, over a rivulet coming from the eastward, till it empties itself, close by this, into the river, and remarked, that it has fifteen pointed arches, but of very inferior masonry.

In approaching Mousul from the eastward on our return, its appearance was much more interesting, than that offered on entering


* "And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness. And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations: both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work. This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, there is none beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her shall hiss, and wag his hand."—Zephaniah, c. ii. v. 13—15.

it from the west. From hence, it appeared to extend itself along the western bank of the river, for at least three miles in length. The houses seemed to be thickly crowded, though the mosques were not proportionately numerous. The centre of the town, standing on more elevated ground than its northern and southern extremes, shewed the minaret of Nour-el-Deen, which rises from the great mosque to considerable advantage. The view of the country, to the north of the town, offered nothing of peculiar interest; but to the south, the Pasha's gardens, and some little villas seen through the trees, made a highly picturesque appearance.

On reaching the opposite bank of the river, we re-entered Mousul, and going up through the "Sookh el Khiale," or the Horse-Bazār, where I noticed the only minaret of stone that I had seen in the city, we came to the "Konauk Tātar Agasī," or head-quarters of the couriers, near the palace of the Pasha, where the horses for our journey were just saddling, while the Tartars were cracking their whips, parading about in heavy boots, abusing the grooms and horse-keepers, and in short, giving themselves all the airs which are common among the same class of people, including post-boys, coachmen, &c. in England.

We mounted here, and set out on our journey from Mousul to Bagdad, soon after nine o'clock, the Tartars being the same Jonas, and Ali, who had come alone from Diarbekr, and with our caravan across the Desert of Sinjār; they being charged with packets from the British Ambassador at Constantinople, to Mr. Rich at Bagdad. As our horses were now fresh and good, and our saddles and furniture put in order during our short stay at Mousul, we set out with high spirits, and the prospect of an expeditious journey at least, Ali and myself going on before, and leaving Jonas to overtake us.

After crossing the Tigris, over the bridge of boats before described, we travelled in a southern direction, receding gradually from the eastern banks of the river, as the stream made here a course of about south-south-west. For the first two hours, during which the



whole distance traversed was about ten miles, we continued among hillocks and mounds, which had all the appearance of being formed from the wreck of former buildings. It resembled, in this respect, the indefinite remains and rubbish seen on the sites of other ruined cities, as Alexandria, Memphis, Sais, and Tanis, in Egypt; and left no doubt, in my own mind, of its marking the extent of ancient Nineveh, to be fully equal to the dimensions given of it by the early geographers and historians.

On leaving these, we came out on a dusty plain, and soon after noon we reached the first stage, or "Konauk," as it is called, at a tolerably large village, called Karagoash. We had passed in the way two streams of water, coming down from the eastern mountains, running through the site of Nineveh, and discharging themselves into the Tigris; and we had seen, to the eastward of us, or on our left, several small places, the names of which I could not learn.

In this village of Karagoash, all the houses were constructed of sun-dried brick, cemented with mud, exactly like the masonry seen in the section of the mound at Tal Hermoosh, and thought to be the remains of some of the old dwellings of the Ninevites.

This, indeed, must have always been, and will, no doubt, always continue to be, the style of building used by the poor of this country, from the great expense of procuring stone, and the facility of raising a habitation of earth. Stone, it is true, is to be had, but not from a less distance than ten or twelve miles, which is that of the nearest range of mountains on the east; and as we have seen, at Mousul, the marble or veined gypsum, brought from the hills to the northward of that city, is but sparingly used, even in the houses of the rich, for door-frames, pillars, &c.

As these are permanent causes which influence the manner of building in the present day, so the same causes prevailed in the earliest periods, and naturally produced the same effects. Thus, besides the visible remains of such brick-work at Nineveh, we find

an allusion to this mode of building in the Prophet's proclamation of its fall.*

Among the houses of Karagoash, which are all of sun-dried bricks, there are some large ones, with a hollow rail-work of plaster carried around the terraces on the flat roof; but the greater part of the dwellings are small huts, with conical roofs of mud, looking like clusters of large bee-hives.

The inhabitants are chiefly Christian, and are of the Syrian church; among themselves, they speak the Syriac language only; but they address themselves to strangers both in Arabic and Turkish. Their occupations are chiefly pastoral and agricultural, but they live in general in a state of great poverty.

We were received here by the "Seroodjee Bashi," or Head of the Saddlers, as a keeper of post-horses for the government is here called, and treated by him and his attendants with an extraordinary degree of respect. A room was appropriated expressly to our accommodation, and this was spread out with carpets and cushions for our repose. Pipes and coffee were also served to us, and a number of dishes were expeditiously prepared; but as Jonas still delayed to join us, Ali, who was the younger of the two, did not feel himself at liberty to partake of them without waiting yet longer for his companion.

We waited here at least two hours for this Jonas, who, it was said, was detained in dalliance with a young wife to whom he had been newly married at Mousul, and who was unwilling to part with him. The hard-riding life that this Tartar led, in constantly repeated journeys from one extremity of the empire to another, by no means unfitted him, it would seem, for softer pleasures; for, to fulfil both the law and the prophets, he possessed his full number of four legal wives, who were judiciously distributed along his usual route, the handsomest living at Constantinople, the oldest at Diarbekr,

* "Draw thee waters for the siege; fortify thy strong holds, go into clay, and tread the mortar, make strong the brick-kiln."—Nahum, c. iii. v. 14.

the youngest at Mousul, and the richest at Bagdad : so that he had beauty and wealth to solace him at the extremes of his journeys, and staid age and youth to comfort him on his way.

Our patience being exhausted in hopeless waiting for his arrival, we partook of our meal without him, and, after another pipe, mounted fresh horses, and set out on our way. We had now two horsemen as drivers, who each led two other horses, lightly laden with the packets, &c., of which Ali had before taken care ; so that the number of our horses was now eight, and of drivers only four.

It must have been about three o'clock when we started from this village, from which we went in a south-south-east direction, travelling at the rate of about six miles an hour.

At four, we crossed a large clear stream, which was so deep as to be barely fordable ; and at five we went over another similar one. These were both called Kauther, or Kauzir Sou, and were said to be two branches that came from the mountains of Koordistan to the north-east of us, when, uniting into one stream a little to the south-west, it discharged its waters into the Tigris.

In the latest and largest map accompanying the Geographical Memoir on the Countries between the Euphrates and Indus, by Macdonald Kinneir, the station of Karakawh is omitted, though it is mentioned in the memoir itself as being four farsangs, or about fifteen miles, from Mousul.* The courses of the streams here enumerated, as crossed since leaving that place, are also very inaccurately deli-

* " D'Altoun-Kopri, en suivant la direction du nord, en arrive à *Erbil* (*Arbelles*) après un trajet de dix lieues. Cette ville est située sur un monticule qui domine une vaste étendu de terrain, dont les productions sont les mêmes que celles du district de Kerkouk. Erbil, si renommée par la victoire qu'Alexandre remporta dans ses plaines sur l'armée de Darius, est regardée comme une des plus fortes places du Pachalik de Bagdad ; elle est gouvernée par un *bey*, ou lieutenant, et elle a un château et plusieurs manufactures des étoffes en laine et en coton. Un canal assez large en fertilise le terroir, et ses habitans montrent aux voyageurs curieux qui en parcourent les environs, plusieurs ruines d'anciens châteaux, qu'ils supposent avoir été bâtis par les monarques Persans de la dernière dynastie."—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, pp. 85, 86.

neated, and the two branches of the Kauzir Sou, or Hazir Sou, are confounded with the Greater Zab.

The Hazir Sou of this map is, no doubt, the ancient Bumadis, or Bumade, or Bumallus, by all of which names it occurs in the ancient geographers and historians;* but this is certain, that the two branches or arms of it, which we crossed, are distinct from the Greater Zab, according to all modern descriptions of that river.

It was on these wide plains, on the banks of the Bumadis, that Darius was encamped, just previous to the fatal battle of Gaugamela. Soon after Alexander, in his expedition into the East, had crossed the Tigris without opposition, the capture of a body of cavalry belonging to the Persians furnished him with the intelligence of Darius being so near him. The troops were allowed to repose but a few days, and recruit their strength and spirits, both worn and exhausted by their passage through the burning plains of Mesopotamia, when Alexander led them on again in person, and halted within sixty stadia of the Persian army.

These are the preliminary particulars, which are given by Arrian;† and it is to be inferred, from Diodorus Siculus, who also mentions the two armies being encamped in the presence of each other, that the battle between them was fought two days after the Macedonians had passed the river;‡ which, if marching days only were meant, without counting those of rest, would agree pretty accurately with the distance.

The learned author of the "Critical Inquiry into the Historians of the Life of Alexander the Great," has very justly exposed the contradictions of Quintus Curtius, who, in his account of this battle, seems to have sacrificed the sober consistency of the historian to a vain display of his powers as a rhetorician. On the plain, as he tells us, where the two armies encountered, neither bush nor tree

* Quintus Curtius, lib. iv. c. 9, &c.

† Arrian Exped. Alex. lib. iii. c. 7—9.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 17.

was to be seen, and the view was as boundless as the horizon.* Yet Alexander had given orders to level every obstacle that interrupted the motions of the troops,† and according to the testimony of this same writer, one of the detachments of the Macedonians occupied, just before the action, a height which the Persians had abandoned,‡ while, as he afterwards says, when speaking of the battle itself, the woods and valleys echoed with the shouts of the armies.§

There is, however, some truth in the midst of these seeming contradictions; and the errors are, perhaps, rather the effect of too high a colouring than of wilful perversion of facts. The ground here, in the neighbourhood of these streams, is sufficiently destitute of very marked hills to be called, in general, “a wide plain;” and it is quite true, that throughout its whole extent, as far as I could myself perceive, not a tree was any where to be seen. The view too, on every side, is “extensive,” and, in many places, as “boundless as the horizon.” Yet, for all this, there are a sufficient number of undulating ridges, to form both “heights and valleys” in a military sense, where the smallest difference of elevation is of importance in the choice of positions, so that the Macedonians might really have occupied such an eminence, after it had been abandoned by the Persians. But, for the expression of the “woods and valleys echoing with the shouts of the contending armies,” it must be abandoned, as quite inapplicable to the scene of the event, and having an existence only in the fervid imagination of the Roman writer.

A million of men is the number which the best historians of the

* “*Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat equitabilis et vasta planities : ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum : liberque prospectus oculorum etiam quæ procul recessere permittitur.*”—*Quint. Curt.* lib. iv. c. 35, tomus ii. p. 233.

† “*Itaque si quæ campi eminebant, jussit æquari totumque fastigium extendi.*”—lib. 4. c. 35.

‡ *Mazæus*—cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra consederat—Macedones eum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt, nam et tutior planitie erat.”—lib. 4. c. 48.

§ Macedones, ingentem pugnantium more, edidère clamorem—*Redditus et a Persis, nemora vallesque circumjectas terribili sono impleverat.*”—*Quint. Curt.* lib. 4. cap. 48.

times assign to this army of the Persians; and, as the French critic* has observed, though the calculation may appear extravagant, it certainly does not exceed the bounds of probability. All the nations, in fact, from the Euxine Sea to the extremities of the East, had made a common cause with Darius, and sent him numerous and powerful reinforcements. It was the custom then, as well as now, for the Asiatics to carry even their wives and children along with them, in their military expeditions; and Persian luxury could not dispense with the want of a crowd of the useless followers of a camp; two circumstances which will considerably diminish the number of the real and effective troops.

If we consider, also, the living clouds of Barbarians that have spread themselves in different ages over the western world, and those immense bodies of more regular troops, which, under the command of Tartar princes, possessed themselves of almost all the provinces of Asia, we may easily conceive, that such a multitude might have been collected, to combat, on the plains of Assyria, for the safety of the Persian Empire.

The issue of this battle was fatal to the power of Darius; and the myriads of his devoted followers were dispersed and overcome by the superior discipline, as well as courage, of the Macedonian conquerors.

After crossing the second or eastern branch of the river, we continued our way still south-easterly, and at sun-set began to descend on a lower level, going through hills of pudding-stone, showing cliffs of considerable depth, in which the rounded pebbles were imbedded in a matrix of so pure a lime, that it was difficult not to believe it to be the remains of some old masonry, or at least the work of human hands, rather than a natural production. This descent brought us out on a plain, in which was a small village, the dwellings of which had conical roofs of straw thatching, though the usual fashion of the country is to have the roofs flat.

* The Baron de St. Croix, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*.—Paris. 4to.

It was dark when we reached the north-western bank of a large stream flowing from the eastward, which was broader, deeper, and more rapid than any part of the Tigris itself that I had yet seen ; and we had gone, since leaving Karagoash, about twenty-four miles in a south-south-east direction.

Our horses were here unsaddled ; and boys, riding astride on skins, filled-out with wind, swam over to the other side, leading in their hand the animals, who swam also. We ourselves were then conveyed across with all the baggage and horse-furniture, on kelleks, or rafts, formed of stripped branches of trees supported by inflated skins, in the way in which these rivers were navigated at the earliest periods of antiquity.* As large trees are scarce here, the blades of the paddles were made of the sections of split yellow

* See Herodotus, in his description of the commerce and supplies of Babylon. Those kelleks were also used in the time of the younger Cyrus, to navigate the Euphrates. "In their march through the Desert," says Xenophon, "they discovered a large and populous city, situated on the other (the Arabian) side of the Euphrates, called Carmande, where the soldiers bought provisions, having passed over to it upon rafts, by filling the skins, which they made use of for tents, with dry hay, and sewing them together so close, that the water could not get therein." Spelman observes, in his note on this passage, that, anciently, rafts, of the kind here spoken of, were much used in passing rivers ; and adds, "that Alexander passed several rivers in this manner, particularly the Oxus, in his victorious march through Asia."—*Anabasis*, b. i. p. 60. In the third book of the same work, we find an account of the very ingenious invention by which a certain Rhodian proposed to convey the Ten Thousand over the Tigris:—"While they (the generals and captains) were in perplexity, a certain Rhodian came to them, and said, 'Gentlemen, I'll undertake to carry over four thousand heavy-armed men at a time, if you'll supply me with what I want, and give me a talent for my pains.' Being asked what he wanted ? 'I shall want,' says he, 'two thousand leather bags. I see here great numbers of sheep, goats, oxen, and asses ; if these are flayed, and their skins blown, we may easily pass the river with them. I shall also want the girths belonging to the sumpter horses ; with these,' adds he, 'I will fasten the bags to one another, and, hanging stones to them, let them down into the water instead of anchors, then tie up the bags at both ends, and when they are upon the water, lay fascines upon them, and cover them with earth. I will make you presently sensible (continues he) that you cannot sink, for every bag will bear up two men, and the fascines and the earth will prevent them from slipping.'"

cane, tied together side by side, and in shape resembling the classic oar of Grecian sculpture.

We were conveyed across the river on these rafts, amid the cheering songs of the rowers; not however without some alarm, from the smallness of the vessel, compared with the weight of its lading and the rapidity of the stream; the eddies of which sometimes whirled our little raft round and round, and defied the controuling power of the oar.

This stream, the depth of which it is difficult, from the rapidity of its current, to ascertain by sounding, ran at the rate of about five miles an hour when we crossed it. Its sources are said to be in the mountains of Koordistan, about four or five days' journey to the eastward of this. It is, consequently, lower in the spring and winter, and higher in the summer and autumn months; the first, from the melting of the snows, and the second, from its augmentation by rains: but, from the nature of the bed through which it flows, its waters are always clear and sweet. The name of this river here is Therba, or Zerba, as it is pronounced both ways by the people of the country; and this, which is distinct from the two branches of the Kauzir Sou, which join together and run in one into the Tigris, is unquestionably the Greater Zab of the ancients, the Zabatus of Xenophon, and the Lycus of Ptolemy.

D'Anville supposes an error, either in the text or the translation of the Arabian Geographer, Edrisi, when he says, that the Greater and Lesser Zab join each other, and their united stream then equals, or even surpasses, the half of the Tigris; "for," says the French Geographer, "it is notorious that they do not join at all."*

This is, however, too rigid a criticism, as nothing is more liable to change than the course of rivers, in flat countries like these, where

* "Il y a quelque défaut dans la traduction de l'Edrisi, ou il le trompe lui-même, dans la sixième partie du quatrième climat, en disant que les deux Zab, lorsqu'ils se joignent (quando in unum coalescunt) égalent et surpassent même la moitié du Tigre: car il est notoire qu'ils ne se joignent point."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, 4to. Paris, 1779.

the points of union and separation, particularly when the branches themselves are near each other, may be subject to many and frequent alterations. Neither is it impossible, that the Arabian geographer might have spoken of the two branches of the Kauther, or Kauzir Sou, as I understood the people of the country, who spoke very indistinctly, to call the two branches which we passed between Karagoash and this place. These really do unite, and are but then about equal to half the breadth of the Tigris; while the Greater Zab, at the point of its discharge into that river, appeared to the Greeks, according to Xenophon, to be as large as the Tigris itself, and at the point where we crossed it was certainly fully so.*

This river is called the Lycus, by Ptolemy; and it is apparently its rapidity, says D'Anville, which, by a comparison with the fury of a wolf, has occasioned it to be called, in Persian, *Ab-e-Djenoun*, or the Furious Water. In Pliny, it has the name of Zerbis, which is just its present one, with a Greek termination; and by Xenophon it is called Zabatus; and by other ancient writers, Zabus, all evidently variations of the same word.†

Nicolaus of Damascus relates, that Antiochus‡ erected a trophy

* This river, at the time that Xenophon and the Ten Thousand passed it in their retreat, was four hundred feet in breadth. The mode in which they crossed over is not described.—*Anabasis*, lib. iii.

The following is what Otter, a curious but cursory traveller, observes of the Zab:—“Le Zab se jette dans le Tigre, à deux journées plus bas que Mousul, au-dessous de Hadicè, autrefois capitale de ce pays. Ebul-Feda dit que le Zab a été appelé Medge-noun, ou le furieux, à cause de sa rapidité. Au rapport du Géographe Turc, on a donné ce nom à une rivière appelée Zibar, qui passe par le pays d'Amadia. Les Zibaris ont été nommés ainsi à cause qu'ils habitent sur ses bords. C'est peut-être la même rivière sous différens noms.”—Tome i. pp. 147—148.

† “Le Grand Zab est appelé Lycus dans Ptolémée, et c'est apparemment sa rapidité, qui, par un comparaison avec un Loup, le fait appeller en Persan, ‘Ab-e-djénoun,’ ce qui signifie, ‘Eau furieuse.’ Le nom de Zerbis, sous lequel le Grand Zab paroît dans Plin, (lib. vi. cap. 26,) est remarquable, en ce qu'il se maintient dans le pays même, comme Thevenot et Tavernier concourent à nous en instruire, en écrivant Zarb.”—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 90.

‡ This was Antiochus the Seventh, or Sidetes, and not Antiochus the Tenth, or Pius, though the latter was called, as Josephus says, Antiochus the Pious, from his great zeal for religion.

on the bank of the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians. Josephus, who has preserved this as a testimony of the good disposition of Antiochus towards his nation, adds, "It was at the desire of Hyrcanus that this was done, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, on which the laws of the Jews did not allow them to travel." These two days of rest were occasioned by the feast of Pentecost falling out on the day following the sabbath, as the same writer himself observes.*

We were received, on our landing on the opposite bank of this river, by the chief of the village, seated above the cliff here, and called by the same name as the rafts, on which we had crossed the stream, namely Kellek. The village itself was small, and stood on the brow of a cliff, presenting the same appearance of pudding-stone as those seen on the eastern bank of the river. The roofs of the dwellings were all flat, though, on the other side of the stream, they were conical: we could learn no other reason than long tablished custom, for this difference.

The people on the north of the Zab are mostly Christians, of the Greek church; and there are whole villages in which only the Syriac language is spoken among themselves. The people of the village of Kellek were Yezeedis, differing in some points of belief, the particulars of which we could not learn, from the Yezeedis of Sinjār, and considering themselves therefore as a distinct race. The party of the Sheikh, his children, and their dependants, who entertained us with coffee on the beach, were the handsomest group of men that I had ever seen together, of the same number, in any part of the world; indeed there was hardly one of them, that, taken individually, could not have been admired in any country for his beauty of person and elegance of form.

Few as these villagers are in number, they guard this passage of the river as their own, and boast of their being independant of all the Pashas around them. They treated us with an attention and

† Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. cap. 8.

civility that proved how well they could behave to strangers, who respected their independence, and paid the moderate demands which they made for the passage of their river ; but it was said, that they were intrepid defenders of those rights when invaded, and were as remarkable for their ferocity against their enemies, as for their urbanity to those with whom they were at peace.

They considered the place of their origin to be the mountains of Koordistan, and among themselves generally spoke the language of that country, though Turkish was equally familiar to them. The Koords have been, in all ages, remarkable for their love of independence ; a blessing which the nature of their country enables them easily to retain, since its local features are rugged mountains, narrow passes, confined valleys, inaccessible heights, and easily defended positions. Strabo remarks, that the Parthians, whose territories were upon the banks of the Tigris, were formerly called Carduchi,* and the character of these Parthians is well known. The retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks through their country gave Xenophon an opportunity of bearing testimony to their being then a warlike nation, and not subject to any King ; a state in which the greater part of the country has continued ever since.†

While we were regaling on the banks of the river, and learning, from our entertainers, that there were many other villages along the Tigris, and the plains to the eastward of it, peopled by Yezeedis of their own sect, the Tartar Jonas was heard to hail for the kelleks to be sent over for him on the other side. He soon after joined us, lavishing his abuse, both on Ali and myself, for having dared to swallow up the meal, prepared chiefly on his account, at Karagoash, and for presuming to leave that village on our way without him.

When the rage of this angry Turk had spent itself in imprecations, and the necessary payment was made to the Yezeedi chief of the pass of Kellek, we set forward on our journey together, Jonas having himself the best horse, and now taking the lead, as if to

* Spelman's *Cyrus*, p. 111.

† Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 245.

punish us for our offences, by the only means within his power : for all his terms of abuse being exhausted, he kept us on one continued gallop, at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, though the ground we went over was a stony and desert tract, and a constant succession of ascent and descent, so as to render it unusually fatiguing. We were favoured, however, by a bright moonlight, so that no accident occurred to any one, though it required not only sure-footed beasts, but animals really familiar with the road, not to have fallen with us at the rate we galloped.

It was near midnight when we reached a large village, called Ain Koura, having travelled, since leaving Kellek, on the banks of the Zarba, about twenty-four miles in a south-easterly direction. Young Ali, the Tartar, having been sent off at a forced gallop, about a league before we reached the village, to prepare for our reception, every thing was in order when we arrived ; and when we alighted, carpets, cushions, pipes, and coffee, were all ready prepared, and an excellent supper set before us, after which we lay down on soft and clean beds, on the terrace, to sleep.



CHAPTER XVII.

FROM AIN KOURA, BY THE ANCIENT ARBELA, TO KERKOOK.

OUR repose was sweet, but short ; for our slumbers were broken by the hoarse voice of Jonas, bellowing through the court just as the moon was setting, and not more than three hours after we had lain down to rest.

While fresh horses were saddling, the Tartars and myself sat down to a breakfast of roasted fowls, cream, honey, and sweetmeats ; while a man stood at each of our elbows with a bottle of strong arrack, and a cup to supply us at our pleasure. It is difficult to describe how much these villagers, who were all Syrian Christians, seemed to stand in awe of the Turkish letter-carriers, on whom they waited. There stood around us not less than forty persons, some bearing full and others empty dishes ; some having water-pots and

basons ready for washing—one holding the soap and another the towel—the humbler ones among them being content to have the boots of the riders ready for them when they rose from the carpet ; and all, indeed, seeming anxious to make themselves in some way or other subservient to the pleasures of these lordly tyrants.

Large doses of arrack were swallowed, both by Jonas and Ali, though the former seemed to pride himself on his pre-eminence in this, as well as in all other respects ; and, even at this early hour of the morning, he emptied two full bottles for his share. I was myself obliged to drink, almost to intoxication, though a much less quantity than that swallowed by them would have disabled me from proceeding : but the haughty Turk honoured me with his permission to drink in his presence, and this was granted as a favour which it would have been an affront of the highest kind to refuse.

We had no sooner descended into the court, than the effects of these exhilarating draughts began to manifest themselves pretty unequivocally. Jonas found fault with the horse that had been saddled for him, and insisted on its being the worst of the stud, though it was an enviably fine creature, and worth any three of the others put together. Ali, not to be behind his comrade, had all the baggage-horses loaded afresh, and changed his own saddle to two or three different horses in succession, until he condemned them all as the worst group of animals that God had ever assembled together since the brute creation were first named by Adam.

The poor Syrians bore these vexations with so much patience, that they might be said literally to have fulfilled the injunction, “ If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also.” The very want of some resistance to this treatment was, however, a cause of fresh vexation to the Tartars ; since they inferred from it, that their tyranny had not been felt as an annoyance ; so that, handling their whips, one of them exclaimed, “ What ! you will *not* be angry, then. By God, but we will make ye so !” and laid about him with the fury of a maniac. Ali contented himself with the use of the whip only, saying, that as they were bullocks, and mules,

and asses, and brute beasts, this was the only punishment fit for them ; but Jonas, having received some indignity from a young lad, who spit in his face and ran off faster than the other could pursue him, drew his yatagan, and chased those near him with this naked dagger in his hand, till they flew in every direction ; and he, at last, in the rage of disappointment, threw it with all his force amidst a group of three or four who were near him, and shivered its ivory handle by the fall into twenty pieces. The only regret that he expressed was, that the blade had not buried itself in some of their hearts, instead of the weapon thus falling uselessly on the ground. After such conduct, none of the people could be prevailed on to approach us, though at least a hundred of the villagers stood aloof gazing at these two enraged Turks, and flying at the least symptom of pursuit. We were, therefore, obliged to finish the saddling of our own horses, and to mount, and leave the leaders of the baggage-horses to follow us when their fears had subsided.

It was not yet daylight when we left the village of Ain Koura, and going now in a direction of south-south-east, over a partially cultivated country for about four miles, we came, just as the sun was rising, to the town of Areveel, or Arbeel, for it is pronounced in both these ways by its own inhabitants.

This was the largest place that we had yet seen since leaving Mousul, and its population was reported to exceed ten thousand, half of which may be nearer the truth. The people are chiefly Mohammedans. We saw here two tolerable mosques with minarets, extensive, and, even at this early hour, well-filled bazārs, streets shaded by awnings of leaves and branches supported by poles, many good dwelling-houses of sun-dried bricks, and a number of well-dressed people.*

* The following is the brief notice given of this place by Rauwolff: —“ The last day of December we travelled on, and came through well-tilled fields about night into the town Harpel, which is pretty large, but very pitifully built, and miserably surrounded with walls, so that it might easily be taken without any great strength or loss; there we rested again the next day, being the Sabbath, and on the same day fell New-Year's Day.—p. 164.

The principal feature of this town is a large castle, seated on an eminence in the centre, looking, from a distance, like the castles of Emessa and Aleppo in Syria, and equally as large as either of these. The mound on which it is elevated is of a square form, raised on an inclined slope; and though of great extent, is, no doubt, the work of human labour, as far at least as the shaping and casing of its exterior with stone, though the interior basis of the structure is perhaps a natural hill. Within the walls of the castle, which are constructed of brick, there are many inhabited dwelling-houses, though the most extensive part of the town is spread around the foot of the citadel.

The united testimonies of all modern geographers agree in admitting this to be the site of the ancient Arbela, whose name it still retains. It was to this place, that Darius retreated, after the battle of Gaugamela,* flying under the cover of the night, from the troops of Alexander. He made no stay here, but hastened into Media, to recruit his army, while the Macedonian conqueror, following up his advantages, arrived soon after him at Arbela. The city instantly surrendered to him, and put him in possession of considerable spoils, consisting of the royal furniture and equipage of Darius, four thousand talents in money, and all the riches of the army, which had been left there in his flight.

D'Anville observes, that though it is usual to apply the name of Arbela to the battle which lost the Persians the empire of Asia, and gave it to the Greeks, yet it is always spoken of as a very small place by Strabo, Arrian, and Plutarch. Strabo adds, indeed, says this writer, that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had destined this place to

* "This battle happened in the month of October, much about the same time of the year in which was fought the battle of Issus, two years before, and the place where it was fought was Gaugamela, in Assyria; but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a battle from so contemptible a place, but called it the battle of Arbela, because that was the next town of any note, though it were at the distance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck."—*Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*, pp. 714, 715.

On going out of the town to the southward, we noticed a fine tall minaret, now isolated, and in ruins, though the green tile-facing of its original exterior was still visible in many places, and from its size and style of ornament, it must have been attached to some considerable mosque.*

offer a few strictures on historians generally, has some pertinent remarks on this subject. He says, "in the same manner, the last battle with Darius (from whence he took his flight and continued it from place to place, till he was seized by Bassus and slain upon Alexander's approach) is as confidently reported to have been fought at Arbela, as the preceding one was at Issus, and the first equestrian battle at the river Granicus. The first equestrian battle really happened on the banks of the river Granicus, as did the other at Issus; but Arbela is distant from the field where this last battle was fought, six hundred, or at least five hundred stadia. For both Ptolemy and Aristobulus assure us, that the scene of this last action with Darius was at Gaugamela, upon the river Bumadus. And whereas Gaugamela was only an obscure village, and the sound of its name not grateful to the ear, the glory of that battle has been conferred on Arbela, as the chief city of these parts." But, he asks, "if this battle may be said to have been fought at Arbela, which was really fought at so great a distance from it, why may not the naval action at Salamis be ascribed to the Corinthian Isthmus, or that at Artemisium, in the island Eubœa, to Egina, or Sunium?" (book vi. c. 11.) Curtius, indeed, who must be confessed to have been a most inaccurate geographer, in one place (book iv. chap. ix.) places Arbela on the west of the Tigris, and, consequently, far remote from either the Lycus or the Bumadus; though in the same chapter he places it on the east of it, (book iv. chap. ix.) He calls it also an inconsiderable village, and memorable for nothing but for this battle between Alexander and Darius; but, in addition to the opposing testimony of Arrian, Strabo says, expressly, that it was a large city, and the capital of a province, (book xvi.) Curtius states that Darius fled from the field of battle, which was at Gaugamela, according to Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch, and reached Arbela at midnight, (book v. chap. i.) But, besides that this is making Arbela too near to the scene of action, Arrian says, that Darius, immediately after this battle, fled through the mountainous tract of Armenia into Media, (book iii. chap. 16.) and Diodorus Siculus (book xvii.) confirms this, by saying that he hastened away to Ecbatana, which was the capital of that country, without either of them mentioning his taking Arbela in the way. Curtius, indeed, goes so far as to say, that Alexander was driven from Arbela sooner than he intended, by the stench of the dead carcases left unburied on the field of battle; (book v. chap. i.) but as this is so expressly stated to have been six hundred stadia distance, such an extensive corruption of the air, from this cause, is hardly credible.

* Pliny speaks of a singular stone called Belus, found at this place:—"The stone called Belus' eye is white, and has a peculiar property, which causes it to glitter like

Our course was still directed to the south-south-east, and the country over which we travelled was mostly waste and destitute of villages. The stage was long, the horses jaded, the sun scorching, the air on fire, the soil parched, not a breath of wind from the heavens, and no water on the road. When we had been six hours on the full gallop, having ridden nearly fifty miles, we arrived, exhausted with thirst and fatigue, on the banks of the Altoun Sou, or Golden Water, which, to us, at this moment, seemed richly to deserve its name.

We entered the town of Altoun Kupree, or the Golden Bridge, so called from its having a fine lofty arch over the Altoun Sou, and never did repose and shelter seem to me more welcome. We had met large troops of Arab horsemen on the way, who seemed bound on some predatory expedition, though they did not molest us; and we exchanged salutes and inquiries with two Tartars from Bagdad, who were themselves escorted by a troop of Arab horse, from the same tribe as those we had met before, to guard them from expected enemies in the way. We had additional reason, therefore, to congratulate ourselves on a safe arrival, and this consideration gave increased sweetness to our repose.

When we were refreshed by a sleep of three or four hours, I procured a guide, and took a ramble on foot through the greater part of the town, for which there was yet time, as the hour of our departure was fixed at sun-set.

Altoun Kupree, or the Golden Bridge, consists of two separate portions or quarters, each of them tolerably large, and each having their own separate bazārs and markets of supply. The Altoun Sou, or Golden Water, as the river is called, has two branches, one of which runs through each of the separate portions of this town; so

gold. This stone, for its singular beauty, is dedicated to Belus, the most sacred god of the Assyrians. There is another stone called Belus, found, according to Democritus, about Arbela, of the size of a walnut, and in the manner and form of glass."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* book xxxvii. chap. 10.

the maintenance of the camel which had carried his personal baggage in his expedition against the Scythians.*

By some of the ancient geographers, this town of Arbela is placed on the river Lycus;† but, as we have seen, it is nearly thirty miles to the south-east of that stream, supposing this to be the same with the Zabatus, or Zarba, as before assumed. D'Anville seems to have had very imperfect materials to guide him through this part of Alexander's route, though, in his dissertation, he blames Ptolemy, and quotes Arrian, after which he fixes Arbela on the river Caprus, or the lesser Zab, which is equally far from the truth, as there is no stream sufficiently near to Arbeel, for this town to be considered as seated on any river at all.

With regard to the observation of this geographer, that Arbela is always spoken of as a *small* place: it may have been originally a very inconsiderable one; but Strabo says, that Arbela was adorned by Alexander, on account of his victory there, and that a mountain or hill in the neighbourhood of it (probably indeed the one on which the castle is now built) was called Nicatorius, to commemorate the same event.‡

* “ Quoique il soit d'usage d'appliquer le nom d'Arbelles (Arbela, qui est au pluriel,) à une fameuse bataille qui fit perdre aux Perses l'empire d'Asie, pour le donner aux Grecs, c'est toutefois sous le nom d'un très petit lieu qu'il en est parlé dans Strabon, dans Arrien, et dans Plutarque. Strabon ajoute sur ce sujet, que Darius, fils d'Hystaspe, avoit destiné ce lieu à l'entretien d'un chameau qui avoit porté le bagage propre à sa personne dans son expédition contre les Scythes.”—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 88. 4to.

† See the authorities for this position, quoted by Lempriere.

‡ The conflicting testimonies, not only of different writers, but of the same historians, in various portions of their narratives, on the position and events of the battle of Arbela, require to be analyzed and compared.

Arrian, in his history of the Expedition of Alexander, says, that the whole army of Darius consisted of forty thousand horse, a million of foot, two hundred hooked chariots, and about fifteen elephants, which arrived from the parts beyond the river Indus. With these forces Darius encamped at Gaugamela, upon the banks of the river Bumadus, about six hundred stadia distant from Arbela, in a country every where open and champaign; for whatever inequality was in the surface of the earth thereabouts, and

Our stay at Arbela was but just sufficient to water our horses, and take a cup of coffee at one of the houses in the streets, with our bridles in hand; when we set forward again on our journey.

whatever it was deemed could be any impediment to the armed chariots, was all levelled by the Persians, and made commodious for them to wheel round upon. For Darius was persuaded by some of his followers, that the defeat at Issus was chiefly occasioned by the narrowness of the place of encampment, and this he easily believed. (book iii. chap. viii.) In a note on this passage, the able translator of Arrian (Rooke) exposes the contradiction of Curtius's estimate with regard to the number of the Persian troops in this battle, which, in one place, he makes forty-five thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, (book iv. chap. xii.) and in another states, that it was more numerous by one half than the army that Darius had in Cilicia, (book iv. chap. iii.) which army he himself makes to consist of sixty-one thousand two hundred horse, and two hundred and twenty thousand foot, besides thirty thousand mercenaries. Justin (book xi. chap. xii.) reckons them at one hundred thousand horse, and four hundred and four thousand foot; Diodorus Siculus (book xvii. chap. xxxix.) at two hundred thousand horse, and eight hundred thousand foot; and Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, says, that the whole number of horse and foot together made up a million. These accounts vary much; but from them also it may be inferred, that the Persian force was prodigiously numerous. The translator of Arrian again accuses Curtius of contradiction, in saying, that the field of battle was all levelled by the Persians, (book iv. chap. ix.) and then placing Mazæus with a party on a hill to discover the enemy's movements. (book iv. chap. xii.) But it is plain there were such hillocks near the ground, as Arrian himself says, that when Alexander marched from Arbela at the second watch of the night, in order that he might be ready to attack the Persians by break of day, he halted within sixty stadia of the Persian camp, and both armies ranged themselves in battle array, from the information given of each other's positions by their spies, as the armies themselves were not yet come within sight of each other, for some small hillocks lying in the middle hindered them. But, adds the same historian, when Alexander had advanced with his army almost thirty stadia, he arrived at these hillocks, from whence he had a full view of the Barbarian camp. (book iii. chap. ix.) Alexander, in his pursuit of Darius, who was flying towards Ecbatana, in Media, crossed the river Lycus, and made a halt there; it being night, and his soldiers and horses needing refreshment. After some rest, they set out again at midnight, and marching forward, arrived at Arbela the next day, after having pursued the fugitives six hundred stadia. (book iii. c. 15.) It is evident, from this, that the battle was fought as far on the west side of the Lycus, as Arbela is on the east of it; and that the battle should, therefore, have been called the battle of Gaugamela, from the nearest village to the scene of action, or the battle of the Bumadus, from the river on whose banks the armies were encamped. Arrian, himself, in a digression which he makes, to

that, on entering it from the one side, it is necessary to pass over a bridge; and, on quitting it by the other, to go out over a similar one, each of them being formed of a single arch, and both being steep, lofty, and wide. The united population of these two quarters of the town is estimated, by the inhabitants themselves, to exceed twenty thousand; but, from what I observed of the size and buildings of the place, I think the number could not be greater than six or seven thousand at most. These are chiefly Mohammedans, in equal proportions of Arabs and Turks; so that both these languages are well understood among them. The complexions and features of the people already began to wear a southern look, resembling those of the Arabs of Yemen much more than those of the upper parts of Syria. The dresses were like those of Mousul, chiefly light and gay-coloured shalloons and muslins, some of them indeed almost fantastic from their variety of finery. I observed here, for the first time, the short-trimmed beards, which are usually worn by the Arabs and Persians along the lower parts of the Euphrates, and in the provinces of Shooster and the low countries on the east of the Tigris.

The two branches of the Altoun Sou, which run through the town, are neither so wide, so deep, nor so rapid as the stream of Zerba to the northward. Its waters are, however, equally sweet and clear; and the rate of its current, at the present season, was somewhat less than four miles an hour, being fully equal to that of the Tigris. These branches were said to unite themselves just below the town, and go in one to the Tigris, being navigable all the way from hence to the point of its discharge into that river near the village of Kellek.

This stream is, no doubt, the Zabatus Minor of Xenophon, and the Caprus of Ptolemy;* and its latter appellation, as opposed to

* This appears to be the same stream as that crossed by Rauwolff on his way from Bagdad to Mousul, as well as can be gathered from the distances on his route, and named by him in the following passage:—"After we had joined him, we went from thence on the fifth of January in a very handsome number, for the merchant alone

that of Lycus, given to the former on account of the fury or rapidity of its waters, may, as D'Anville suggests, be appropriately used to signify a stream less rapid in its course.*

Taking this for the Lesser Zab, and the Zerba for the greater one, according to the opinion of this writer, the town and fortress of Arbela is then seated just between these two streams, exactly in the position assigned to it by Ptolemy. The French geographer reproaches him with error in so doing, while he commits himself a greater one in attempting to correct the position given to it by this writer. Some of the Greeks, as we have seen, placed the town on the stream of the Lycus, or Greater Zab; and D'Anville seats it on the Caprus, or Lesser Zab, from both of which it is some distance;† so that Ptolemy is therefore more correct than either in placing it between them.

had about fifty camels and asses, which were only loaden with gauls, with him to carry to Carahemit, (Kara Amid) where he lived, and to send from thence to Aleppo, where they are bought by our merchants, to be sent into our country. So we travelled all day long, and also half the night, without eating or drinking, very fast, and began to rest about midnight. After we had for the remaining part of the night hardly refreshed our beasts and ourselves with eating and drinking a little, we broke up again before daylight, to go on in our way. When we were gone a good way through fruitful and pleasant valleys, we came betimes to another river, by Ptolemy called Caprus, which, although it is not very broad, yet it is very deep, so that we had much to do to get through, which I found not without a great detriment to my plants, which I carried on horseback before me."—p. 165.

* "Le petit Zab, nommé Caprus dans Ptolomée, ce que peut le faire croire moins précipité dans son cours que le Grand Zab, est appelé en langue Turque, qui est un dialecte Tartare, 'Altoun Sou,' signifiant 'Rivière d'Or.'"—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, pp. 89, 90.

† "The Lesser Zab falls into the Tigris at Len or Assen: the Greater Zab, at Haditha, or thirty-six miles higher. They are large rivers, both together equal to half the Tigris. They are written indifferently Zaba, An-Zaba, or Diava, A-diava, both from זַבָּה, Chaldaic, and זֶבֶב, Zeeb, (Zab,) Hebrew, a wolf. Hence Λυκος, and Ptolemy's misnomer 'Leukus.'—*Schulter's Vita Saladini. Index Geog.* 'Fluvius Zabus.' It would have been as well if he had given us a good derivation of Kaprus. A wolf, a wild boar, and a tiger, are proper associates."—*Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients*, Diss. on the site of Opis, vol. i. p. 534. Note.

It is not impossible but that these two branches of the Altoun Sou may represent the two Zabs, of which the Arabian geographer, Edrisi, speaks, and whose separation and subsequent union, as described by him, is denied by the French critic; for the description given of it will apply with equal truth both to this stream and to the Hauzir Sou.

On our return to the house of the Aga, with whom the Tartars had put up, and which was in the southern quarter of the town, we found an excellent supper prepared for us, of which we all partook together in an open room, overlooking the stream from a height of fifty or sixty feet, and having full in view before us, to the eastward, the lofty mountains of Koordistan completely capped with snow. The prospect open to us, from the window of the room in which we sat, was altogether grand and picturesque, embracing a rich variety of objects and great extent of view. Though the rays of the setting sun were now burnishing the sheeted summits of these hills in the East, we had here in the low country a sultry and oppressive atmosphere; and, notwithstanding the plentiful supply of ice, which was served in bowls of sherbet at our table, the noise of running water below, and the sight of snow-clad mountains in the distance, we courted every breath of air, by fans and other artificial means, to cool us in this burning day.

It was partly in consideration of this oppressive weather, and partly on account of the roads being reported to be now much infested to the southward and along our path, that some thoughts were entertained by the Aga of the town, who held himself responsible for our safe passage through his territory, to send us down by the river from hence to Bagdad, on kelleks or rafts. This was a proposition embraced with great eagerness by all; and we began even to prepare for our cool trip by water, so sanguine were we in our hopes of ease and repose after the dislocating rides and scorching exposure that we had lately undergone. Our disappointment was, therefore, proportionately severe, when we learnt that, from some unusual interruption of the navigation, by the Yezedis, along

the banks of the Altoun Sou, and the eastern edge of the Tigris, there was now no passing by that way in safety.

These Yezeedis, as far as I could learn, were similar to those of Kellek, at the passage of the Zarba, who trace their descent from the mountains of Koordistan, and consider themselves as a distinct people from those of Sinjâr, though, like them, they are said to pay divine honours to the evil principle, as well as to the good.

It is observed, by the author of the Dissertation on the Tigris and the Euphrates, that the Ten Thousand Greeks, in their retreat under Xenophon, found on the eastern bank of the Tigris, between Nineveh and Babylon, and before seeing the city of Cœné or Senn, on the other bank, which is directly opposite to the point at which the lesser Zab discharges itself into the Tigris,* several villages belonging to the domain of the Queen Parysatis, the mother of the younger Cyrus.—*Parysatidis pagi*, to which is added, *Yezdem domus*, that is to say, “the habitation of the gods.” This same writer goes on to observe, that as there are, among the Koordes, some who still preserve the ancient religion of the Parsis, and admit of honours to the evil principle, as well as to the good, this term of *Yezdem*, which is applied in the plural, may as well mean the infernal as the celestial divinities, and be applied to the habitations of either the one or the other.

It is true, that Yezdan, in the singular, means God; but, as it is applied in the plural here, it would scarcely be thought far fetched,

* “Les Dix Milles, dans leur retraites, trouve sur la rive orientale du Tigre, qui borde ce même pays, (entre Nineve et Babylone,) et *avant* que d’avoir la vûe d’une ville sur l’autre rive, ce qui est Caenê ou Caenn, (vis-à-vis de l’entrée du petit Zab dans le Tigre,) des villages du domaine de la Reine Parysatis, mère de Cyrus le jeune.—*Parysatidis pagi*, auxquels est ajouté *Yezdem domus*, c’est-à-dire, ‘l’habitation des dieux.’ Car le terme *Yezd*, propre à la divinité, est employé au pluriel dans *Yezdem*, comme en plusieurs autres idioms de l’Orient. Il peut même avoir lieu à l’égard des divinités infernales comme des celestes, dans une religion qui, comme le Magisme, admet deux principes, l’un du bien, l’autre du mal, sous les noms d’Horomaz et d’Arimane. Les races Kurdes, qui, en conservant l’ancienne religion des Persis, sont en horreur aux Mahométans, font profession de se menager la bienveillance du génie mal-faisant, comme du contraire.”—*D’Anville sur l’Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 96.

to interpret the expression of *Yezdem domus*, as the habitations of the Yezeedis, or worshippers of Yezdan, the peculiar name of God in their language ; more particularly, as it is applied to several villages on the domain of an ancient Persian Queen, Parysatis, the mother of the younger Cyrus. If this be admitted, it will correspond with the actual, as well as the former, state of the country here ; for we had ourselves seen a village of these Yezeedis, who trace their descent from the Koords and ancient Persians, now guarding the pass of the greater Zab. By them, we were assured of there being other villages, peopled by Yezeedis, similar to themselves, both in their immediate neighbourhood, and between them and the lesser Zab.* Here, too, upon this last stream itself, we learnt that there were still other villages, scattered over the parts through which it passed, before it reached the Tigris ; and that these were the very people who now interrupted the navigation of the stream, and prevented our descending to Bagdad on rafts by the river.†

As we smoked our evening pipes with the Aga, and the principal residents of the town, who had collected imperceptibly, to inquire

* Of the Lesser Zab, Otter says: “ Nous passames le 25, (Avril, 1734,) Altoun Soui, (the Golden Water,) qu’ Ebul-Feda appelle Zab-al-asgar, c’est-à-dire, le petit Zab, quoiqu’il soit fort grand. Le Géographe Turc dit qu’il vient du pays de Diarbekr, et qu’il se jette dans le Tigre à un endroit nommé Tendge-Bogazi, où il y a des hauteurs, des arbres et des roseaux, qui servent de retraite aux lions. Le même prétend que la ville d’Açour étoit située au confluent du petit Zab et du Tigre ; mais il n’en reste aucun vestige aujourd’hui.”—Tome i. p. 149.

† Rauwolff speaks of the existence of this mode of conveyance in his day. “ The thirtieth we went from thence, and about noon we came to a town called Presta, which is chiefly towards the river whereon it lieth, very well fortified, but what the inhabitants call that river I do not remember, but according to its situation, it must be that which Ptolemy called Gorgus, which runs below into the Tiger. In this place they make floats, which, although they are not very big, nor have much wood in them, yet they have abundance of bucks and goat skins blown up, hung, or fixed underneath the bottom, without doubt, by reason that they may load the more upon them, and also because the river is rapid, that they may have the less fear or danger. On these floats they carry several sorts of merchandizes, but chiefly fruit, viz. figs, almonds, cibebs, nuts, corn, wine, soap, &c. a great part whereof goeth farther into the Indies.”—pp. 163, 164.

the news from the City of the Faith, or Islamboul, as Constantinople is called among the Mollahs and Muftis of the Turks, we were all alarmed by the passage through the town of a multitude of Arab horsemen, most of them so muffled up about the face, that their eyes could scarcely be seen, all of them armed with lances and swords, and most of them galloping by, without answering the questions put to them, or even returning the salute of peace. Neither the name, the station, nor the destination of these troops could at first be learned, until one of the sons of the Sheikh, who followed in the rear, alighted at the Aga's dwelling; by which we learnt, that it was a friendly tribe going out to the northward, on an expedition against another tribe, who had encroached on their rights, and were now indeed encamped on the eastern border of their territory.

As it was said by all, that advantage had been taken of this tumult, by robbers, who are never wanting here, to infest the roads with impunity, a guard of ten of this friendly tribe was solicited from the Sheikh's son, by the Aga, to protect us as far as the danger was thought to extend. This, the young lad, though still a boy of little more than fourteen years of age, had the authority to grant, and nothing could more plainly mark the high degree of respect in which the authority of Arab chiefs is held, than the promptitude with which, at least, a hundred horsemen assembled at the orders of this child. He himself now mounted a high blood mare; and his furniture being costly, and his dress and arms of the very best kind in use among the Arabs, nothing could be more interesting than the figure he made, as he galloped through the crowd of his own followers, poising his lance, and giving it the fine tremulous motion of which it is capable when well balanced, calling out to his tried men by name, and ordering them to follow him as he rode.* All the

* This will remind the reader of Xenophon, of the description given by that beautiful writer of the youthful conduct and accomplishments of the elder Cyrus, who, at an age little exceeding that of the young Arab chief, was distinguished by equal skill in horsemanship, and by a degree of prudence which excited the wonder of the Median monarch.—See the *Cyropædia*, book i.

Arabs are exceedingly fond of this display of horsemanship, and skilful management of arms; and it must be confessed, that when the animals are of a high cast, the accoutrements good, and the riders firmly possessed of their seat, there are few exhibitions which shew either the skill or vigour of the man, or the fire and the beauty of the horse, to greater advantage.

When the ten chosen guards were selected out for us, the young leader headed his troop and left us, to hasten towards the rest of the tribe whom we had met on their march in the morning. We prepared also to depart, and about nine o'clock we left the town of Altoun Kupree, going out over the southern bridge, and continuing our way in close order.

We went now on a course of south-east, over a generally level country, with detached patches of cultivation, and a few small villages scattered in different directions near our road. We travelled in so complete a silence, that not a sound, except that of the tramping of our horses, was heard for several miles; and though we often set out on a gallop as if by one impulse, and drew up again together to ease the horses over bad ground, not a word was exchanged throughout our whole party; even midnight coming upon us, without a single voice having broken silence since our first setting out. Every one, indeed, seemed too intent on looking around him for an expected attack from enemies, to think of any thing beyond preparation for his own defence.

JULY 9th.—Soon after midnight, we came among ridges of stony hills, which, in some places, pointed up the sharp edges of their strata perpendicularly to the horizon, and in other places were of an undulating or wavy form in their outline.

We continued among these for about three hours, our rate of travelling being slower here, on account of the badness of the road, and on leaving them, we came out on a wide and level plain.

Here our Arab escort quitted us, as we were considered to be clear of all the reported danger of the road; they returned to over-

take the rest of their tribe to the northward, and we continued our way more southerly over the plain, till we came at day-light to the town of Kerkook, having galloped about thirty-five miles since leaving Altoun Kupree, and in a general direction of south-south-east.

After reposing from the fatigues of the night, we all arose before noon, and I went out, as was my usual custom, with some one of the inhabitants as a guide, to see as much as I could of the town during our halt here. It is composed of three distinct portions, each of a considerable size.* In the principal one of these, is a high and extensive mound, artificially shaped on the inclined slope, like that of Arbela, before described. On this, stands a fortified town, rather than a castle, within the walls of which are included a great number of dwellings, and the minarets of three mosques are seen to rise above the rest of the buildings from below. In this, it was said, none but Moslems were privileged to reside, and the number of these was considered to be five or six thousand, but probably overrated.

The second portion, though inferior, in consequence, as to the rank of those who reside in it, and its importance as a place of defence, is yet by far the most extensive and the most populous of the three. This is spread out on the plain around the foot of the citadel, as the elevated portion is called, and in it are the principal khans, coffee-houses, bazārs, &c.; though the minarets of only two mosques are seen, as the inhabitants are not all Mohammedan, but contain a mixture of Armenians, Nestorians, and Syrian Christians. The population of this portion amounts to about ten thousand souls, and the burying-ground below is as extensive, in the space which it covers, as a moderate-sized village.

* Rauwolff speaks of it thus: "After the Sabbath of the Jews, my companions, was over, we went on again, and came the twenty-sixth of December to Carcuck, a glorious fine city, lying in a plain, in a very fertile country; at four miles distance is another that lieth on an ascent, whither we also travelled, my companions having business in both of them, and so we spent two days in them before we were ready to go on again." —p. 162.

The third portion is distant half a mile from the two former ones, and it was at a house in this that we had halted to sleep away the burning heat of the day. This is smaller and more scattered than either of the other parts of the town, and cannot add more than a thousand to the gross number of the population of Kerkook, which may, therefore, upon the whole, be nearly fifteen thousand.

This was the first place at which we had seen any trees since leaving Mousul, and here the date-tree was more numerous than any other. I heard a great deal, at this place, of the springs of naphtha, which are in the neighbourhood of Kerkook, and of the earth from which issues flames, which are both looked on by the inhabitants as prodigies, known nowhere else in the world, and marks of God's peculiar favour to their soil. They are said to be chiefly among the rocky hills through which we had passed at midnight on our way from Altoun Kupree to this place, so that I had no opportunity of seeing them.

In the examination of the countries bordering on the Tigris and Euphrates, after passing the Zab, and still speaking of the course of the latter towards the sea, D'Anville says, the country adjoining to the left or eastern bank is called Garm, in which he thinks it is plain to discover that of Garamæi, which is the name of a country placed by Ptolemy in Assyria, near the middle of its whole extent from north to south.* In my inquiries after this name, I could gain no satisfactory assurance of its being applied to the country here, though those of whom I made such inquiries could only inform

* "Le pays adjacent à la rive gauche, ou orientale, est appelé *Garm*, et ce nom conserve évidemment celui de *Garamæi*, que Ptolomée place dans l'Assyrie, vers le milieu de son étendue du nord au midi. Dans M. Assemani, Garm est un district dependant de Maphrein, residant à Tekrit, et il est fait mention d'un metropolitain de Garm—cette metropole est appelé *Beth so loce* (sive Seleucia) autrement Kark; et Carcha, dans le recit de la marche de Jovien, par Ammien; Carcha dans Simocatte, dont la leçon est préférable, et qui se lit de même à l'égard d'une ville située également en Assyrie, mais voisine de Ninive, comme il en est parlé dans Masius, *in libro Mois de Paradiso*, et dont Ortelius fait mention."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 95.

me of what was popularly known, and knew nothing of history or geography. It is probable, however, that the Kark, or Carcha, of Ammianus Marcellinus, and Simocattus, was the present Kark, near Samarra, on the banks of the Tigris, to the southward of this; and that the Carcha nearer to Nineveh, spoken of by Masius and Ortelius, from which the former was distinct, was the present Kerkook, which is generally thought to be the Demetrias of Strabo, and the Corcura of Ptolemy. The three divisions of the town as it now stands are, however, large enough to admit a belief that it might have been a metropolitan see in later times, and have given its name to the district in earlier ones, if it be still thought to be the Garm of Assemani, as it is still the largest town throughout the plains to the east of the Tigris; while, on the other hand, the appearance of its castle, seated on an elevated mound, is sufficient to induce a belief of its having been always a fortified post of some importance, and with equal probability a military station of the Romans during the existence of their power here. At all events, little doubt can remain of this Kerkook being the place intended to be identified with these ancient stations by the French geographer, on a comparison of the details which he gives of its local features with those which actually exist near this spot.* Tibullus, in his Elegies,† speaks of the territory of Erec, one of the cities founded by Nimrod on the banks of the Tigris, and in the land of Shinar, as producing springs of naphtha, which the poet calls the "combustible waters of the land of Erec," alluding, probably, to

* " Dans le voisinage de cette ville, il sort des rochers, de l'huile de napthe, qui est reçue dans un espèce de puits; et je trouve dans une relation manuscrite d'un voyage au Levant par le Père Emanuel de St. Albert, visiteur des Missions de son ordre des Carmes, et depuis Evêque *in partibus*, qu'en remuant la terre aux environs, il en sort des bluettes. On lit dans la Géographie Turque, qu'en creusant la terre sur un tertre appelé Khor-kour-baba, il en sort du feu qui fait faire flamme, et que des vases posés dans des trous, qu'on y voie, bouillir l'eau dont en les a remplis; en ajoutant, qu'on éteint la chaleur de ces trous en les comblant de terre."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 107.

† Lib. iv. *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tome xxvii. p. 30.

some known account in his own time of these springs, as the geography of Babylonia and Assyria must have been always popularly known to the learned among the Romans, after the histories of Alexander's expedition into the East were written.*

On my return to the house at which the Tartars had put up, I found a large party assembled, who seemed to derive great entertainment from the antics of a dancing bear. This was a large white shaggy animal, which had been brought by the Koords, who exhibited it, from the snow-clad mountains of their own country, at a distance of four days' journey to the eastward. They said that these animals were very rare among their hills, and the liberality with which the spectators rewarded their shewing it, seemed to imply that it was a creature still less frequently seen here.†

From the report of my guide, corrected by some confronting testimonies of others whom I questioned on the same subject, I learnt that there were, in each of the three portions of which Kerkook is composed, ten mosques, twenty-four coffee-houses, ten khans, and two public baths; and that the number of Christian places of worship, of different sects, was either four or five. The town is subject to the Pasha of Bagdad, and its environs are sufficiently productive to yield him a respectable tribute. The governor is one of his own immediate dependants, and attached to him are just a sufficient number of soldiers only to form a body-guard for his personal defence.

* Naphtha is mentioned as abounding in Babylonia, and was said to run in the manner of liquid bitumen. The affinity between it and fire is insisted on, and it was thus, says Pliny, that Medea burnt her husband's concubine. Her girdle, being anointed by it, was caught by the fire when she approached the altars to sacrifice.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* book ii. c. 105.

† Wild beasts of almost all the larger species were found in this country in the time of the elder Cyrus; and the hunting of them formed an important part of the education of the princes and nobles of Persia.—*Cyropædia*, book i.



CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM KERKOOK, BY KIFFREE, TO KARA TUPPE, OR THE BLACK HILL.

WHEN the Tartars had partaken of a hearty meal, and lounged away an hour over their pipes, we prepared again to depart, though the heat of the day, to avoid which was the alleged cause of our long halt here, instead of having subsided, was now at its greatest height. There was no persuading my companions to this, however, so that we saddled our horses and mounted, and at three o'clock set out from Kerkook.

Our course went now to the southward, over a country that was generally waste and uncultivated, and on the south-east of us was an extensive plain, the horizon of which was as boundless as that of the sea, and to the east and north-east the view terminated in the hills of Koordistan.

At sun-set, having gone about eighteen or twenty miles, we came among a number of gardens, with watch-towers dispersed over them, and a small hamlet near ; and before midnight, by which time we had gone about ten miles more, we came to the village of Taook, having passed no stream throughout our way, though one of the branches of the Lesser Zab is there laid down by Major Macdonald Kinneir.

This place, from as much as we could observe of it at this hour of the night, appeared to be large ; I noticed three mosques, with minarets, and a number of houses, built of ancient bricks. At the entrance of the town, was a Mohammedan tomb of a very singular construction. Its base was a square, on which was raised a dome, not of the usual shape, but pointed like a sugar-loaf, and formed of a chequered open work of bricks, resembling the pyramidal form, in which cakes of soap are sometimes piled up in perfumers' shops, with their ends only resting on each other, and the interstices hollow.

We were entertained at this place with a good supper ; changed horses with less noise and bustle than we had any where yet done ; and being furnished with another escort of five Arab horsemen for the way, we departed about midnight, observing, as we went out of the town, a tall isolated minaret, with a square base and circular tower, like the pedestal and shaft of a large column.

JULY 10th.—On leaving Taook, we continued our course still southerly, over a desert country, which was often pebbly, and destitute of cultivable soil, but never loose or sandy.

We next came to a ground of gravel and clay, and passed in sight of some small villages scattered near our route, when, at sunrise, after a ride of about twenty miles, we entered the town of Koolmāty.

This is a large place, stretching itself along the eastern foot of a range of barren hills ; the whole town, however, lying in the midst of gardens, plantations of date-trees, and cultivated patches of

land. There were three or four mosques, and some good dwelling-houses, a market abundantly supplied with fruit, and springs of excellent water.

We were entertained at the house of the Aga, or governor of the town, where it is usual, when there is no good caravanserai, for the Tartars to halt; and after sleeping for an hour, we set forward on the same horses, fresh ones not being to be procured at this station.

We left the town of Koolmāty, by a road leading out through gardens and groves of palm-trees, enclosed on each side with mud walls, and resembling, in these features, many of the villages in the Sharkeeah, or eastern part of Lower Egypt. The resemblance was heightened by our coming suddenly out upon desert ground, and meeting large herds of camels and sheep, under the care of Arab drivers.

Our course was still generally a southern one, and, after a ride of about eight miles, we alighted at the Khan of Baiaat, around which were a few scattered dwellings, just sufficient in number to deserve the name of a village.

This caravanserai was one of the finest buildings that we had seen since leaving Mousul: it consisted of an outer and an inner room, both having domed ceilings, very nicely stuccoed, and the latter apartment containing a raised bench for a divan, with beds, carpets, and smaller recesses for the convenience of those who might desire to repose here.

We remained at this place two hours, which were divided in nearly equal portions between eating, drinking, smoking, and sleeping; and at El Assr, or near the hottest part of the day, we prepared again to mount, though, as before, the alleged reason of our making any stay here at all, was to avoid the oppressive power of the sun.

We were furnished with fresh horses for our use, but the baggage-animals carrying the packets could not be replaced by others; and we had an escort of twenty Arab horsemen given to us for protec-

tion, as the road from hence to the southward was said to be still more infested with robbers than that over which we had already passed from the north.

On leaving Baiaat, our course was directed toward the east, and we continued to follow this direction, along the southern foot of a line of bare hills, with desert ground on our right, which continued all the way without intermission, until we reached the town of Kiffree, having travelled about thirty miles.

JULY 11th.—Before we had lain down to sleep, on the preceding night, a great deal of bustle, quarrelling, and abuse, had passed between the Tartars and keepers of the post-horses, at this station; the latter insisting that they could not furnish us with animals until some should return this way from Bagdad. Under this impression, the youngest of the Tartars, Ali, with Suliman the merchant, and myself, composed ourselves quietly to rest, in the firm assurance and belief, that whatever could be done by bullying, would be securely effected by the hoarse voice, the thick whip, and the lordly air of Jonas; and that, if horses were to be had, we should be furnished with them through his influence, without any exertions of our own.

When we awoke in the morning, however, after enjoying an undisturbed sleep, without the din of voices to rouse us as usual, the extraordinary silence and tranquillity was soon accounted for by our being told, that Jonas had left us alone to our fate. We regarded each other with a mixture of surprise, incredulity, and vexation; but it was too true to be any longer doubted; for the noisy little Tartar having found that only one horse could be procured, had silently secured this for himself before it quitted the stable, and had gone off alone, at midnight, to convey to the British resident the news of our being on the way, but leaving the public packets and baggage with which he was charged, to be brought after him by Ali, his companion, abandoning Suliman and myself, by each of whom he had been paid a good round sum for taking us under his

protection, to find our way to Bagdad in the best manner we could.

It may be remarked, with regard to the practice of travelling with government Tartars, that the only reason of its being resorted to, is the impossibility of otherwise procuring relays of horses on the road. In each of the stages, between the great towns of the Turkish Empire, but more particularly in those on the direct road, between Constantinople and Bagdad, there are certain persons, who contract with the government, to supply the couriers with horses from that stage to the next. These, however, keep no greater number than is just barely necessary to fulfil their contract, and these mostly of an inferior kind, and in wretched condition; since the contract is always a losing one to the parties furnishing the horses, and is generally forced on them by the government, as one among many other modes of exacting tribute. A person travelling alone could, therefore, procure no horses on hire at any of these stages, none being usually kept for that purpose. To travel on one's own horse with a caravan, is insupportably tedious to any person in haste, and to proceed either safely or expeditiously alone, that is, without the protection either of a caravan or couriers, is quite impracticable. It is, therefore, usual for all travellers who are in haste, to apply to a Tartar going on the road, and to pay him a certain sum of money for the whole journey. The traveller, for this compensation, is provided with a horse at every stage, and both his provisions and presents to servants are all furnished by the Tartar. The only thing necessary for him to take on such a journey, is his own saddle and bridle, portmanteau, whip, and leathern bottle for water. Every thing else may be had on the road, if the mode of living common to the country be adopted; but neither the articles of table-furniture, wine, tea, or other comforts of travelling in Europe, will be found. The best line of conduct to be pursued towards these men is, according to the testimonies of most persons who have travelled with them, a proud and haughty demeanour, and a general seriousness and reserve. There are no class of people

who domineer more readily, or with more vulgar insolence, over those whom they have in their power, than these Tartars; but, like most braggadocios, they are soon made to yield to a manly and persevering firmness of resistance to their encroachments.

But to return—Ali, Suliman, and myself, were now left here, without an immediate prospect of our being able to procure any animals to proceed. Like good Moslems, we consoled each other with the belief that our detention was written in the Book of Fate, and could not be avoided, although neither of my companions failed to invoke curses on the head of the treacherous Jonas, as the instrument of this infliction; but, unwilling to dwell on what could not be remedied, we ordered the best dinner that the place could afford, and sent out our mandate, as persons in authority, to invite all who would come to partake of our hospitality.

We had scarcely sat down, before there arrived a Tartar from Bagdad, bringing under his charge two Europeans, both dressed as Tartars, and bound to Constantinople. They arrived so opportunely, that we made them joint partakers of our feast; and the two gentlemen, who were but yet in the commencement of their journey, being well provided with cordials and spirits for their own use, we assisted to drain, notwithstanding the heat of the weather and the presence of some of the Faithful, their travelling cases of a portion of the fine French brandy and excellent Ratafia with which they were furnished. The notion of these travellers, that in the dog-days cordials were necessary to repair the exhaustion of animal heat and strength, justified this course in the eyes of the one party, and the bumpers swallowed by Ali and Suliman, to the curse of Jonas who had deserted us in our utmost need, warranted the otherwise forbidden draught in the eyes of the other.

Over our afternoon pipes, and while the Turks beside us were sleeping away the heat of the day, I began to learn more of my companions, who had thus suddenly come upon us, and who now very agreeably relieved the tedium of our detention. Both of them were Italians; the eldest, named Padre Camilla di Jesu, was a friar

of the Carmelite order, who had been many years resident at Bagdad, and was now returning to Rome, by way of Constantinople ; the other was a young man who had gone originally from Italy to Constantinople, where he had resided some time with his father, a merchant of that city. Having heard, from some of the distant traders with whom his father corresponded, of the fame of Damascus, he solicited permission to make a journey to that city, and it was granted to him, under the hope of his being able to transact some useful business there, at the same time that he gratified his curiosity. The most singular part of the history of this young man's travels was, however, that he went from Constantinople to Alexandria in Egypt, believing that to be the straightest and shortest road to Damascus ; and, after landing there, he went up to Cairo by the Nile, under an impression that that city was also in the direct road to the place of his destination. When he had at length reached Damascus, by this circuitous route, having gone from Cairo to Jerusalem by the Desert of Suez, one would have thought that the recollection of this error would have taught him to make more careful inquiries regarding the relative positions of places he might have to visit in future. But it appears he never did discover that he had not come by the nearest way, believing always, on the contrary, that his voyage to Alexandria by sea, and his journey from Cairo to Damascus by land, had been in nearly a straight line. It was thus, that when he was about to leave Damascus, on his return to Constantinople, having heard of great caravans going from the former place to Bagdad every year, and being aware of others coming also from Bagdad to Constantinople in about the same period of time, he conceived that these caravans must be the same ; and concluding from this that Bagdad lay in his direct road home, he had actually journeyed from Damascus to that place over the Syrian Desert, in the hottest season of the year, without ever once asking, during the whole forty days of his route, in which direction Constantinople lay !

The whole of this was narrated to me with such an apparent unconsciousness of its absurdity, that, incredulous as I was at first, as

to such ignorance being possible, I was at length compelled to believe it really to have happened as described, especially when I heard this young man affirm his conviction, that the distance from Constantinople to Bagdad, by the way of Cairo and Damascus, could not be less than fifty thousand miles; while that between Bagdad and Constantinople, by the way he was now returning, could not exceed five hundred; adding that, for his part, he could not conceive why the longer route was ever taken, since it was as disagreeable as it was distant; but, at the same time, shrewdly suggesting that there might be reasons for this course, known only to Him from whom no secrets are hid!

About midnight, the Tartar, who was taking these travellers from Bagdad to Constantinople, being obliged to proceed with the horses on which they had arrived here, gave orders for departure, and the animals being very promptly saddled, and the water-bottles filled, our companions left us, with mutual salutations, benedictions, and regrets.

JULY 12th.—As no hope of a release from our detention at this place yet presented itself, we strolled about the town, and lounged at the coffee-house with as much resignation as was practicable, though without the same sources of entertainment which we possessed on the preceding day to dissipate our cares.

The town of Kufree, or Kiffree, is seated on a plain, at the termination of the line of bare hills, described on our way from Baiaat to this place, and extending throughout the whole distance between them. The town is moderately large, and is enclosed within a wall, which, as well as the buildings within its enclosure, is constructed of mud, hardened by pebbles being imbedded in it. There is a stream of clear water which runs within the wall, on the east; and this is distributed by small canals through the central parts of the town, contributing to the cleanliness of the place, and the convenience of its inhabitants. The wall of the town, near which this stream begins to run, has a high parapet, or breast-work,

pierced with loop-holes for musketry ; and the platform of this is ascended to by narrow flights of steps, but there were no cannon planted in any part of it.

The bazārs are very mean in appearance, though they are furnished with a sufficiency of provisions, and particularly with excellent fruit, among which melons and grapes are the best and most abundant.

There is a good cook-shop, at which kabaubs, or roasted meat and sausages, can be procured ; and though there is only one coffee-house in the place, this is adequate to the supply of all the idlers and passengers through the town.

The caravanserai at which we put up, during our detention here, was like the one described at Baiaat, in the general style of its architecture, which was purely Turkish. It consisted of many apartments, some of them having fire-places in the walls, like European chimneys ; others, with benches and niches, or recesses, for the accommodation of travellers, and all ornamented and vaulted, in the Turkish rather than the Arabic manner.

It is remarkable, that though all the arches in the caravanserai and coffee-house are pointed in the Saracenic form, with concave or hollow parts beneath them, all those seen in the other buildings of this town are of a different kind : some of these are round arches, of the pure semi-circular Roman shape ; others are the flattened segment of a circle, approaching to the Saxon form ; and others again have a broad indentation in the centre of a flat arch, like those described in the mosque of Ibrahim el Khaleel, at Orfah ; all apparently constructed without regard to any fixed rule, just as the caprice of the architect directed.

The language, features, and complexions of the inhabitants are chiefly Turkish. This circumstance, added to the fact of the caravanserai here, and at the last station, being of Turkish architecture, renders it probable, that the first settlement of many of these smaller places, as villages, was the erection of a post-house, or *konauk*, for the couriers between Constantinople and Bagdad, when

this last became the distant frontier town of the Turkish empire; and that villages of Turks have since grown up progressively around these halting-places. This would sufficiently account for their being placed at stated and equal distances from each other, while all the rest of the country between them is desert and unpeopled; as well as for the great predominance of Turkish features, and the preservation of the Turkish language, in these places, lying in the great post-route, though they are bordered on the one side by Arabs and on the other by Koords.

There are a few gardens, with date and other fruit trees, here; and in walking in one of them I observed myriads of insects, of the genus *Coccinella*, all seemingly regaling themselves on the Aphides, or plant-lice, which are said to be their favourite food; they covered the leaves of all the lower shrubs, in countless multitudes. They were of the species that have red shells with black spots; though the spots were in many of them not very distinct, and they frequently went in pairs, attached together by their tails. Some pieces of clouded marble were brought to me in the course of the day, as stone from the neighbouring range of hills. These were all the natural curiosities, if these could so be called, which the place produced, excepting the large storks, "Hadjee Lug Lug," which had their nests on almost every house in the town.

On every part of our road from Mousul to this place, we had seen, for the last five days, the beautiful bird, called Syren by the French, and War-War by the Arabs; but here, probably on account of the great heat, we lost sight of them altogether. From the same cause, also, fleas, which had hitherto abounded in our route, had now entirely disappeared; though more offensive vermin were still seen on every carpet and cushion on which we could venture to recline. The heat was, indeed, intense, the thermometer being from 120° at noon to 125° at three hours after meridian, so that even the people of the country were oppressed by it. The wind was south-west blowing from the Desert, and in very light airs; and persons residing here, who had been often at Bussorah and Bagdad,

complained of the sultry air and suffocating blasts of hot wind, as being equal to those of the worst seasons at these respective cities.

As our detention began to be generally known and commiserated, we were invited, after the prayers of El Assr, to the house of a certain Hadjee Habeeb, who wished to learn the particulars of our being abandoned, and expressed an intention of assisting us out of our difficulty. As we proceeded to his abode, Suliman began to entertain an idea that this pilgrim might be a particular friend of his, of the same name, and when they met, this was verified by their embracing each other. We now learnt that the Hadjee had himself come thus far from Bagdad with a small caravan of merchandize, and this being now disposed of, he was homeward-bound with the returns of his speculation, which were to be carried back on the same animals, the beasts and their lading all belonging to himself. Our difficulties, as to further progress, were now at once removed. By increasing the lading of some of his mules, and making his servants dismount from others, to ride and walk by turns, a horse and two mules were set at liberty for the use of Ali, Suliman, and myself. The horse was given to me, as the greatest stranger of the party, it being known to all that I came from Egypt; and though the Tartar, Ali, had not only the self-regard to ask it for himself, but the effrontery to demand it as a right, he being the Sultan's messenger, yet no entreaties of mine could prevail on the young Suliman, for whose sake alone we had obtained these animals, to take the horse, and permit me to ride the mule. The laws of hospitality, he said, forbade it, and he was on this point quite immovable.

At sun-set, a grave and formal party was assembled at the Hadjee's place of halt, consisting of a sleek and full-bearded Moolah, and some of the chief elders of the town. Here, most of the party prayed, Ali and myself being the only ones who did not join; at which the Moollah was not a little scandalized. From hence we retired to the bank of the stream, which ran through the town, and

partook of an excellent supper given by the Hadjee to all his dependants, including two dervishes, who had become permanent hangers-on in his train. We were then summoned to mount, and about two hours after sun-set proceeded on our way; the whole party consisting of six horses, and about fifty mules and asses, besides two Tartars from Mousul, who had just joined us as we were setting out, and who rode the same horses which they had brought from their last stage.

JULY 13th.—Our course, during the night, had been nearly south, and the whole of our road lay over a level and desert plain; when, after six hours of easy travelling, at the rate of about three miles an hour, we entered the town of Kara Tuppé, or the Black Hill, which that name, in Turkish, implies.

While the Tartars, and those who had charge of the laden animals, went to alight at the public khan, a new mosque, which stood just at the entrance of the village, was selected for our place of halt; it being suggested, by the Moollah, who had come with us from Kiffree, that within the building there would be good accommodation for ourselves, and in the court an excellent place for our horses. We accordingly alighted, and after formal prayers, led by the Moollah himself, as Imaum, at the head of the party, we took care of our animals, and all lay down to sleep.

On awaking, which was long after the sun had risen, I found near me an old white-bearded Sheikh, the priest and schoolmaster of the village, who was surrounded by about twenty pupils, all reading loudly the different portions of the Koran assigned to them as their tasks. The book, from which they were reading, was in Arabic; but the language of their conversation with each other, as well as the features and complexions of all, was still Turkish, and sufficiently bespoke their origin. The old Sheikh was very communicative; and as he pressed his inquiries on me with great earnestness, I answered them with readiness and freedom. The sun growing insupportably powerful, even soon after the day dawned,

some of the young scholars were despatched by their master to procure the cooling breakfast of raw sliced cucumbers steeped in sour milk, which, however little known among the epicures of Europe, is here a choice and favourite dish. This was set before me by the Sheikh himself; and, little as it was to my taste, we finished it between us. This same old man, who was priest of the mosque, spread out my carpet within the sacred precincts without a scruple, although, by this time, he knew, from my frank communications with him, that I was not a Moslem; and I retired into the most shady part of the building to enjoy a second nap, the whole of my tired companion being still soundly asleep.

When the grave elders of our travelling party awoke, and began to arrange themselves in a line, with the sleek Moollah at their head, for noon-day prayers, this holy and well-fed expounder of the law, on seeing me reposing on the ground near him, started back, as a Pharisee would have shrunk from a Publican, a Jew from a Samaritan, or a Bramin from the polluting touch of a Pariah. Strong objections were now raised by the Moollah, the Hadjee Habeeb, and two others of the party, to my remaining within the temple, and their prayers were consequently interrupted. The priest of the mosque, the young Suliman, and another of our companions, whom I had made my friend, by telling him long and entertaining stories on the road, all contended, however, for my not being disturbed from the spot where I lay. I was awake during the whole of this strife between fanaticism and hospitality; but I continued to remain quiet, and apparently still asleep, from a conviction, that any thing which I could do or say would rather inflame and irritate than calm the contention.

My friends ultimately prevailed; and the others, after a great deal of murmuring, at length went on with their devotions, though they all removed from near me, where they had just ranged themselves, to the other extremity of the mosque, in order to avoid the contamination of an infidel.

Our afternoon was lounged away, without my seeing much of

the town of Kara Tuppe. It appeared to me, to be hardly more than half the size of Kiffree, and the population still less in proportion ; that of Kiffree being estimated at three thousand, while the inhabitants of this are thought not to exceed one thousand. The appearance and language of the people are as decidedly Turkish as the name of the place itself, and all seemed to confirm the opinion already expressed as to the common origin and progress of these halting-stations on the road.



CHAPTER XIX.

FROM KARA TUPPE, BY DELHI ABASS, TO BAGDAD.

IN the evening, when we prepared to mount, we began to feel the effects of the Hadjee Habeeb's displeasure, though his revenge was, as we all believed, rather at the suggestion of the offended Moollah, than from the dictates of his own more benevolent heart. My long-story-loving friend was "sent to Coventry," for his open espousal of my cause. The horse I had originally mounted was now given to one of the Hadjee's servants, and I was set on a heavily-laden mule ; while the unladen animal, on which Suliman had ridden thus far, was transferred to another individual, and he was set on one carrying melons in panniers.

It was in this order that we set out soon after sun-set, kept at a distance by the heads of the party, and held in derision by the rest.

Our course was south-west, over a barren plain: two hours after our setting out, we passed a square enclosure on our left, apparently a deserted khan; and at midnight, we came to a deep ditch, filled with bitter and brackish water.

JULY 14th.—Just beyond this, we began to ascend over a high and rugged range of sand-stone hills, which crossed the road at right angles, and extended widely over the plain. We were full two hours before we got clear of this pass, in which gutters or paths have been formed by the constant passage of animals, and these are now worn to a depth that renders them dangerous, except to the surer-footed beasts. We continued still on the same course of south-west until an hour after sun-rise, when, having travelled on the whole about thirty miles, we reached the station of Delhi Abāss.

We passed no stream, nor even the bed of one, in our way from Kara Tuppe thus far; for the ditch, to which we came at midnight, having bitter and brackish water in it, was crossed by a bridge of a few planks, and was not ten yards wide. In the map of Macdonald Kinneir, the Odorneh, or the Phuskus, is made to pass from the north-eastward into the Tigris, and to intercept the road, just midway between these two stations; but, in this, there must be some error, as the river he speaks of was a very considerable one. In the memoir, accompanying the map, this writer says, "The Odorneh, (supposed, by some authors, to be the Phuskus of Xenophon,) is formed by the junction of many streams, which arise in hills between Kerkook and Solymania. It pursues a south-west course, and falls into the Tigris, twenty fursungs above Bagdad. I crossed the Odorneh," he continues, "at the village of Tooze Khoorma, forty-five leagues from Bagdad, on the road to Mousul. The bed of the river was about sixty yards in breadth, and in the spring it contains a great body of water."*

* Geographical Memoir on the Persian Empire, p. 297. 4to.

On referring to the map, it is seen that the Touz Kourma, mentioned as the place of crossing, is at the very head of the stream, and a long way to the eastward of the direct road from Bagdad to Mousul; whereas, Tour Khoorma, which I suspect to be the same place, and that at which the traveller supposed he crossed this river on the road to Mousul, is laid down on the branch of another stream between Kufree and Taook, which, from its inconsiderable size, has no name given to it. I cannot omit to mention, however, that between Taook and Kufree I neither observed any such stream, nor did we pass through any place called "Touz Kourma," which is seated, by Major Macdonald Kinneir, on a river sixty yards wide, and made by him the boundary of division between the fertile, populous, and picturesque country to the north, and the barren, deserted, and naked country to the south of it. It must, therefore, be to the eastward of the track by which we came, and not in the direct road, if such be its features; or, if it be the Tour Khoorma in the straight route, then these features of it cannot be accurate.

At Delhi Abāss, we found a river running close to the south of the village, and going towards the south-west. It was not fordable in any part, even at this advanced period of the dry season, but was so broad as to be crossed by a brick-built bridge of four pointed arches. The source of this stream was said to be several days' journey to the eastward, among the mountains of Koordistan, and it here bent its way towards the Tigris in a west-south-west direction. Though this stream is broader, deeper, and of a longer course, than the Jordan of Palestine above the Lake of Tiberias, yet it did not, according to the report of persons living here, reach the banks of the Tigris at all, being entirely exhausted by canals, which drained off its waters for the cultivation of the land around it. I did not readily credit this statement, though I could find no one who positively knew of its junction with the Tigris, while all contended that it did not reach that stream; but the size of the river, and the large body of water it even now contained, justified, as I thought, some incredulity on this point.

As this was the most considerable stream, next to the Greater and Lesser Zab, that we had met with since crossing the Tigris at Mousul, it may, perhaps, be assumed to be that of the Physcus, or Odorneh, of the ancients. In a Memoir on the Expedition of Heraclius into Persia, and the flight of Chosroes from his palace at Dastagherd, by which this expedition was terminated, the author says, "When Heraclius had crossed the Tigris at Mousul, he passed, in succession, the rivers of the Greater and the Lesser Zab, and a third river named Torneh."* This is conceived, from the resemblance of names, to have been the same as the Tornadotum of Pliny, who, when speaking of an Antiochia, thought to be the Opis of Xenophon and Strabo, says, it is seated between two rivers, "*inter duo flumina, Tigrim et Tornadotum.*" A river, called by Tavernier, "Odorne," by D'Anville, "Odorneh," by Xenophon, "Physcus,"† and by Ptolemy, "Gorgus," and thought to be but one stream under these many names, is assumed to be this Tornadotum of Pliny, and the Torneh crossed by Heraclius after his passage of the Tigris and the Greater and Lesser Zab. For myself, I inquired of the few passengers and stationary people here, what was the name by which this stream was known among the people of the country; but I could obtain no other answer from either Turks or Arabs, than that by some it was called "the river," by others, "the brook," and by others, "the water" of Delhi Abäss. My informers were, however, in general so ignorant and indifferent to every thing about them, that I was not likely to obtain any more accurate information regarding the name, than I was respecting the course and ultimate disappearance, of the stream. Its position, as the third in order after passing the Tigris, in a march directed this way, is probably a

* Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

† According to the map constructed from the details of the Anabasis, the Physcus fell into the Tigris considerably below the site of Bagdad. It was sixty miles to the northward of the place where the Greeks crossed the Tigris, and was a hundred feet broad. Opis stood on its northern bank.—*Anabasis*, book ii

more accurate guide than a resemblance of name only, unsupported by other points of coincidence.

It is true, that in the description given by Aristagoras of the royal road from Sardis to Susa, as preserved to us by Herodotus, after enumerating the Tigris and the Greater and Lesser Zab as three of the rivers to be passed in the way, the fourth is called by him the Gyndes. This is the celebrated stream which was divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels, to revenge himself on it, as it was said, for the death of one of the sacred horses, which was carried away by its waters. But the able *Illustrator of the Geography of Herodotus* has proved that either Aristagoras himself, or the historian who preserves his details of the road, have confounded this stream with the Mendeli, farther to the eastward, and in the province of Susiana, the fact of Cyrus's division of which was popularly known and accredited.*

The city of Opis is generally admitted to have been near the confluence of the Phycus with the Tigris. It is so placed by both Xenophon and Pliny, and by the latter of these it is also spoken of under the name of Antiochia, which, as we have seen, was given to numerous cities of the East. Herodotus, however, places it below the confluence of the Gyndes with the Tigris, which is the same thing; considering this to have been the name given to the third river after passing the Tigris, by Aristagoras, whose description of that part of the country he had before been quoting.

After all, it may be said, that though this, the third river from the crossing of the Tigris, would answer to the Phycus of Xenophon, the Gyndes of Aristagoras, and the Tornadotum of Pliny, or the Torneh passed by Heraclius in his approach to the Persian palace, if the route of march lay close along the eastern banks of the Tigris; yet, that it might not have been crossed at all, either on Aristagoras's road to Susa, or that of Heraclius to Dastagherd, sup-

* See Rennell's *Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus*, 4to.

posing the line of march to have led further east, and the source of this stream to have been left a little on the right. The Diala would then have been the stream meant, as both D'Anville and Rennell agree, though their opinions were evidently formed without any knowledge of the existence of this stream at Delhi Abāss.

The country all around us appeared to be one wide desert of sandy and barren soil, thinly scattered over with brushwood and tufts of reedy grass.

The bare and stony ridge of hills, through the pass of which we had come on the preceding night, intercepted the horizon in the north-east, and a lofty range of very distant mountains bounded the view in the south-east; but in every other quarter of the compass, the prospect was like that of a level and unbroken sea.

We had seen no settlement of pure Arabs throughout our way, since leaving Mousul, until now; the tribe of Arab horsemen, whom we met at Altoun Kupree, being on an expedition, and the people resident in the towns being mostly Turks, or Koords. Here, however, at this small village of Delhi Abāss, the features, the complexion, the language, and the habits and manners of the people, were all purely Arabian, and that too of the Bedouin, or Desert, rather than the Fellah, or cultivating class. By some of these, who were now encamped in brown hair tents, and fed their flocks on the thorny shrubs near the stream, I was assured that the nearest part of the Tigris was three days' journey, for a man on foot, from Kara Tuppe, and two days' journey from this place. By this estimate it could not be less than forty miles from hence, though this is a much greater space than is marked in the map; and the circuit made by the couriers to the eastward, instead of coming in a straight line from Mousul to Bagdad, is no doubt for the sake of passing through the towns in the way, and halting at the stations, fixed at convenient distances, and furnished with water and provisions.

The whole number of families permanently resident at this small station of Delhi Abāss, does not usually exceed twenty; so

that our supplies, except of milk from the goats of the Bedouins near, were very scanty, and no horses could, of course, be procured. We were, therefore, obliged to proceed on the same laden animals which had borne us thus far ; and each of us who were in disfavour, namely, Suliman, Ali, and myself, were obliged to load our own beasts before we mounted them.

The very hottest part of the day was now chosen for setting out, just after the prayers of El Assr, or between three and four o'clock ; and the scorching power of the sun was even a smaller evil than the parching and suffocating heat of a Simoom wind, which came in furnace-like blasts from the western Desert. Even when reposing in the shade, without garments, catching every breath of air by sitting in its current, and furnished with a fan in one hand and a jug of water in the other, it was still insupportably hot, and every part of the body, even in this state of rest, streamed with the effects of the heat. But to load a refractory animal with a very heavy burden, and without the assistance of any one even to hold his head by a halter, was, as may be imagined, not a very cool or agreeable occupation. I exerted myself, however, with a strength increased by vexation at the indignity thus put upon us all ; and, fortunately, a proud determination not to sink under it, bore me through all my labour. I was, however, in such a burning state of fever, and so completely exhausted by the time I had buckled the last girth of my mule, that I was much more ready to stretch myself along upon the earth, than either to mount and ride, or continue the journey on foot beside the beast I had laden. The faithful Suliman, who continued to adhere to me to the last, cheered me, as he passed on a higher and better animal, with the prospect that Bagdad was not now far off, and I regained my spirits and my strength. But, before we finally started, I went down to the edge of the river, and stripping off all my garments, dipped my shirt in the water, and put it on, unwrung, and in a streaming state. I did the same by all my other garments, even to the skull-cap, my head being close shaved ; and, beneath the folds of my turban, I

wound a long cotton towel, wetted in the same manner, my whole dress thus containing several quarts of water.

In this state I quitted Delhi Abass, in company with the same party, going out over a bridge of four arches, an old Mohammedan work fast falling to decay, and pursuing a south-westerly direction across the plain. The country was mostly desert, though intersected by canals, some full and others dry. It continued all the way to be intensely hot, so that the richest of our party carried large and thick parasols, and the poorest defended themselves from the sun in the best way they could, by doubling the folds of their cloaks and other thick garments over their heads. The skin of my face and lips was cracked and split by the dry and parching heat, and my eyes were so swollen, reddened, and inflamed, that it was painful even to keep them open. Notwithstanding the precaution I had taken before setting out, of saturating the whole of my garments with water, the evaporation was so great, that the innermost of them was completely dry at sun-set. After this, the air became less oppressive, though it still continued to be hot, even until midnight.

JULY 15th.—We continued our even course over the plain, without once varying the direction, passing a square enclosure, and a small village about midnight, and at day-break, opening a view of a country exactly like Lower Egypt. On the level plain, which now spread itself on all sides, were seen, in different quarters of the horizon, groves of palm-trees, each forming a separate cluster apart from the others, and each marking the place of a separate village. The soil was highly fertile, having already yielded its harvest of the present year, and the plain was intersected by one large canal, with several smaller ones branching off from it, all of which strengthened its resemblance to the lands on the banks of the Nile.

It was just as we had crossed one of the canals, and while suffering intensely from thirst, that I asked a Dervish, who was drinking from the hollow shell of a cocoa-nut at the stream, to give me a

draught of water from his vessel; but this man, though devoted by his order to the exercise of hospitality and charitable offices to all mankind, and though he had but the moment before returned me the salutation of the faithful, added insolence to his refusal, and pricking my mule with a sharp instrument, caused the poor beast, already sinking under his double burthen of a lading and a rider, to rear and kick, and ultimately to throw me off, with a part of the lading upon me. The agility of this Dervish, who was young and active, enabled him to escape the punishment I should otherwise have inflicted on him, for this breach of his own precepts to others; but, as I was now dismounted, I began to reload the articles that had fallen off, after which, I repaired to the stream, to allay both my thirst and my anger at the same time. On endeavouring to remount, which was a task of no small difficulty, as the lading of the beast was wide and high, and there were neither stirrups, nor a stone, or the smallest eminence of any kind near us, the whole of the poor creature's burthen came tumbling on the ground. It had at first perhaps been but badly secured, though I had used all my strength and skill in loading it: but the effect of the rearing, kicking, and rolling of the animal on the earth, when the Dervish provoked it to throw me, had made the whole so loose that it rolled entirely under the animal as it stood. To increase the evil, as I let go my hold of the halter, in order to use both hands in securing the packages, the mule made off at a full gallop, frisking and flinging its head in the air, pawing with its fore-legs, and kicking with its hind ones, as if in derision at my dilemma, and triumph for its own happy riddance and escape. As the rest of the party had by this time got far a-head, I waited in this miserable plight for two full hours, by the way-side, literally guarding the merchandize with one eye, and keeping a look-out with the other on the movements of my truant mule, who regaled himself on the shrubs near; besides being in continual apprehension of having the whole property (which was not my own) taken possession of by robbers, who are never wanting to follow up the stragglers of a caravan, and plunder

all they can lay their hands on. At length, some peasants of the country coming by, very charitably assisted me to catch my mule, and even helped me to reload it, when, with their assistance, for it could not otherwise have been done, I remounted, and continued my way; they themselves soon branching off to their own villages near the road.

Though I was now perfectly alone, and liable therefore to insult and pillage from any handful of men who might cross my path, I went on with a light heart at the prospect of my troubles being soon to be at an end, and had filled my pipe on the mule's back, to smoke away my cares, and to make its enjoyment compensate for the want of a companion. As I abandoned the halter of the beast, by throwing it for a moment across his neck, while I struck a light, which requires the use of both hands, and while I was in the act of drawing my first whiff, the refractory brute, probably from imagining the pricking of the Dervish to be near him again, first cocked his ears forward, then stood fixed and immovable, and at length, after three or four repeated flingings of his hind legs in the air, again unseated me, and now, in the confusion of this totally unexpected result, the baggage and the animal itself came tumbling after and upon me, and nearly crushed me to death by their fall. I was a long while before I could extricate myself from this state, for even the beast was in some way entangled by its own girths and bandages, and could not rise from the ground. When I had with difficulty regained my legs, I found the burthen, from the firmness with which it was last braced on, to be all secure; and by my assistance, and a vigorous effort of its own, the mule rose again, with all its lading fast as before. All my efforts to mount were, however, quite ineffectual; the packages, being large and comparatively light, making an elevation of three or four feet above the animal's back. My poor mule had had his share of disasters, as well as myself; and he seemed determined, by all the freaks and tricks within his power to perform, to shew that he would not hazard any more. I was obliged therefore, bruised and tired and irritated as I was, to trudge the rest of my way on foot, holding the

halter of my charge firmly in my hand, to prevent his escape, and much more disposed to give him the stripes of the Parisian ass-driver, as related by Sterne, than to feed him on the macaroons of the sentimental traveller.

It was not until full four hours after sun-rise that I entered, alone, the village of Hebheb, leading my mule after me, and attracting the inquiries of the idle and curious, as well as of the humane and charitable, as to what accident had befallen me; these inquiries being suggested by the dust with which I was covered, the ragged state of my rent garments, and the fashion of my turban, which was unlike the shape of any class, and my whole costume disordered and awry. I succeeded, at length, in finding out the coffee-house or shed at which my young friend Suliman had put up; and after anointing my bruises, washing myself from head to foot, and giving my torn garments to be repaired, I lay gladly down, to recruit my exhausted strength.

It was long past noon when I awoke, and the pain which I suffered from the bruises sustained in my fall was now much greater than before, and almost disabled me from walking. Suliman expressed the most earnest solicitude for my comfort, and did a hundred kind offices, to which nothing but a humane heart could have prompted him. We were both in the same coffee-shed, or khan, for these were here united, as the Hadjee Habeeb and his friend, the fat Moollah of Kiffree; but these would neither of them now speak to any one of our party: and when they were told of my disasters, they exultingly exclaimed, "Thus does God punish those who violate the sanctuaries of his Prophet." We cared but little for a resentment, so perfectly harmless in its effects, in spite of which Suliman and myself made an excellent dinner together, desiring nothing better than that it might fall to our lot to be fellow-travellers on some future occasion.

I saw no more of the town of Hebheb than the portions passed through on our entry into and exit from it. The most remarkable features of it were a fine stream of clear water running through the

town, many enclosed groves of tall palm-trees intermingled with the dwellings, and in these an abundance of wild pigeons and turtle-doves. The population of the place is thought to be about three thousand, but two would, perhaps, be nearer the truth. I was particularly struck with the resemblance of the people in general to Egyptians, both in complexion, stature, feature, and dress; and even the Arabic spoken here seemed to my ear to approach as nearly to that of Egypt, as the features of the country along the Tigris resemble those of the lands that border on the Nile.

This was the first place at which, during all my travels in Mohammedan countries, which had now been considerable, I had ever seen boys publicly exhibited and set apart for purposes of depravity not to be named. I had, indeed, heard of public establishments for such infamous practices at Constantinople, but I had always doubted the fact. I saw here, however, with my own eyes, one of these youths avowedly devoted to purposes not to be described, and from the very thought of which the mind revolts with horror. This youth was by no means remarkable for beauty of person, and was even dirtily and meanly dressed. His costume was that of an Arab, with a peculiar kind of silk handkerchief, called keffeeah, hanging down about the neck, and thrown over the head. He wore, however, all the silver ornaments peculiar to females; and from his travelling khoordj he exhibited to the persons in the coffee-house a much richer dress of muslin and gold stuffs, in which he arrayed himself on certain occasions. The boy was about ten years of age, impudent, forward, and revoltingly fond and fawning in his demeanour. He hung about the persons of those who were seated in the coffee-house, sitting on their knees, and singing indescribable songs; but no one, as far as I could learn, avowed any nearer approach. There were many of the party, indeed, who insisted that the practice had no existence in Turkey; but that the object for which boys of this description was exhibited was merely to sing, to dance, and to excite pleasurable ideas; and that for this purpose they were taught alluring ways, and furnished with splendid dresses.

Others, however, more frankly admitted that the vice was not merely imaginary, and common notoriety would seem to confirm this view of the case. This youth was under the care of an elder and a younger man, who travelled with him, and shared the profits of his exhibition and his use. As neither the state of morals nor of manners in any country can be accurately judged of without facts of this nature being stated, as well as those of a more honourable kind, I have felt it my duty, as an observer of human nature, to record, in the least objectionable manner in which I can convey the description so as to be intelligible, this mark of profligacy, to which the classical scholar will readily remember parallels in ancient manners, but which among the moderns has been thought by many to be nowhere openly tolerated.

We prepared to set out as on former occasions, after the prayers of El Assr, and about the hottest time of the day. Some causes of detention however happening, it was four o'clock before we were all mounted and on our way.

Going still in a direction of south-west, we passed several small villages, embosomed in groves of palm-trees, and went over several canals of water, across wooden planks used as bridges. One of these was so loosely held together, that a laden mule and his rider fell through two of the boards as they separated, and were with great difficulty rescued from suffocation.

It was not more than two hours after quitting the town of Hebheb, that we came on the eastern bank of the Tigris, which seemed here to be about the same size as at Mousul, or scarcely at all augmented. We halted on its banks for sun-set prayers, and suffered our animals to drink and graze for the short period of our stay. On remounting, we continued our way in a southern direction, with slight occasional deviations, as we now followed the winding of the river, and kept always close upon its edge.

JULY 16th.—Though thus upon the borders of a large and fertilizing stream, nothing could be more dreamy and monotonous than

the scenery which, during the whole of our long night's ride, presented itself on every side. We quitted the banks of the Tigris soon after midnight, as it bent a little to the south-east; but though now thus near to the great metropolis of the surrounding country, the tract over which we passed appeared to have in it a much greater portion of desert and unproductive space than of fertile or cultivated soil; and we neither saw villages nor people for many hours in succession.

It was with the earliest blush of dawn that we first gained sight of Bagdad, at a distance from us of about four or five miles. As it seemed to stand on a perfectly level plain, it presented no other prominent objects than its domes and minarets, and these were neither so large nor so numerous as I had expected to have seen rising from the centre of this proud capital of the Khalifs, whose empire once extended from the Pillars of Hercules to the Chinese Wall, and from the Indian Ocean to the Frozen Sea.

At sun-rise, we reached the gate of entrance, on the outside of which Turkish horsemen were now assembling to exercise the throwing of the jereed, and foot-soldiers were collecting in still greater numbers, to form an escort for the Pasha, who was every moment expected on his return from his morning ride.

Being arrested at the gate by the public officers stationed there to guard against the entrance or exit of contraband commodities, I was made to dismount, for the purpose of their examining the lading of my mule; but having said that neither the animal nor the goods belonged to me, I was detained until the owner of the beast should come to answer for himself. This was the Hadjee Habeeb, who I had reason to believe had pushed in among the earliest of the crowd, probably himself carrying contraband articles, and thus forcing their entrance. My belief that he had preceded me was not admitted, however, as a sufficient reason for my being suffered to proceed; neither would the officers at the gate examine the lading in my presence, as I had admitted it was not my own, nor would they suffer me to abandon the animal to the care of another, and go my way.

I continued to wait, therefore, very humbly at the gate of this great city, sitting cross-legged on the dusty ground, and holding the halter of my mule, who continued to be too refractory and ungovernable to the last to be left quietly to himself; and had lighted my pipe, to lessen the tedium of this detention; when a Turkish soldier impudently snatched it from me, and extinguished it, asking me, at the same time, how I dared be guilty of such a breach of decorum just as the Pasha was about to pass.

Presently, this distinguished personage entered, preceded by a troop of his Georgian Mamlouk guards, all gaily dressed, and mounted on fine and well-furnished horses. A troop of foot soldiers followed, all of them having English muskets, and many of them English military coats, which they purchase with the other worn-out garments of the British resident's guards; but their head-dress was a huge fur cap, of a semi-globular form and savage appearance, and their whole deportment exhibited the total absence of discipline or uniformity. A few drums and reed-pipes were the only instruments of music, and the sounds of these were far from dignified or agreeable.

Nothing, however, could surpass the awe which the passing-by of the Pasha seemed to inspire in all who witnessed it, though this is no doubt a frequent occurrence. There were two large coffee-houses near the gate, the benches of which were filled with hundreds of spectators; yet not a pipe was lighted, not a cup of coffee served, and not a word spoken, during this awful moment. Every one rose, and either made an inclination of the body, or lifted his hand to his lips, his forehead, and his heart, in token of respect. The Pasha, though he seemed scarcely to turn his head or his eyes from a straight-forward view, nevertheless returned these salutations with great grace, and every thing was conducted with the utmost gravity and decorum.

At the close of this procession, Dr. Hine and Mr. Bellino, the physician and secretary of the British resident at Bagdad, passed close by me, on horseback, as I sat smothered in the very dust of

their horses' hoofs ; but though I knew them at the moment to be the persons they were, from their dresses, and from hearing them converse in English as they passed, and though I felt the humiliation to which I was reduced as extremely galling, yet I forbore to make myself known to them under such circumstances and in such a crowd.

When the cavalcade had entirely passed by, and every one returned again to the care of his own concerns, I pressed hard to be released from the unreasonable and hopeless bondage in which I was thus held ; but entreaty procured me only abuse, and the satisfaction of being thought an idle vagabond who wished to abandon the property of the man on whose beast I rode, with a view, no doubt, to escape from paying him for its hire. Altercations, hard words, and, at last, on my part also, threats and abuse, succeeded, however, in effecting what I believe gentler terms would never have done ; till, at length, being able to bear with it no longer, I drew my pistol from my girdle, and daring any one at the peril of his life to molest me, I led off my mule in triumph, amid the execrations of the guards, for my insolence, but cheered by the shouts and applause of the rabble, for my defiance of a class on whom they look with the hatred of an oppressed race towards their tyrants.

I took the animal to the Konauk Tatar Agasi, or head-quarters of the couriers, where, on representing myself to be an Englishman, (of which the guards at the gate knew nothing,) I was treated with great respect, and suffered to leave the beast, to be delivered to its owner, without any further care of mine. As I waited here until the Tartar Jonas, who had deserted us on the road, was sent for—coffee, pipes, and sherbet were served to me, and I was entertained with the most extravagant praises, which these men bestowed on the character of the English generally, and of their illustrious representative at Bagdad in particular.

When Jonas at length arrived, I took him with me to the house of Mr. Rich, to whom I explained the whole of his beha-

viour to us on the road, and all the consequent inconveniences that I had suffered ; and by this gentleman I was assured that proper notice should be taken of the Tartar's treacherous conduct. The reception I met with at the hands of Mr. Rich, was warm and cordial in the highest degree. I found an apartment ready for me, servants placed at my disposal, and, indeed, all the comforts of a paternal home, with the most hearty and oft-repeated welcome. After passing a short time in conversation with Mr. Rich, I was conducted by one of his servants to the bath ; and after much enjoyment there, returned to pass a day of unusual happiness in the intelligent and amiable society of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, and the other members of their family.



CHAPTER XX.

DESCRIPTION OF BAGDAD.

JULY 20th.—The change from all that could be disagreeable, in the way of living, to so much comfort, and, indeed luxury, as I found in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, added to the still higher charm of the intelligent society with which I had become surrounded there, was sufficient to repay me for all the vexations I had suffered on my way. I continued to enjoy these pleasures uninterrupted for several days, before I felt even a desire to gratify that curiosity which is so generally impatient on entering a large and celebrated city.

I profited however this morning, by the gentlemen of the establishment riding out, to accompany them on horseback, going down through the whole length of the town, passing out through the south-

eastern gate, and making the circuit of the walls, so as to return by the north-western gate of entrance, which leads from the Mousul road. The remainder of the day was devoted to an examination of the interior of the city, in the company of native resident guides; and from this, with the information acquired from other sources, during the few days I had already been in Bagdad, the following account, which if not as full is at least as faithful as I could make it, was carefully compiled.

The city of Bagdad stands on a level plain, on the north-east bank of the Tigris, having one of its sides close to the water's edge. The plan which Niebuhr has given of it, appeared to me generally accurate, both as to the form and extent of the city and its suburbs; to the outline delineation of which, description alone can supply the more minute details.

The wall by which Bagdad is surrounded bears marks of having been constructed and repaired at many different periods; and, as in most other Mohammedan works, the oldest portion is the best, and the latest the worst part of the fabric. The wall is built entirely of brick, of different qualities, according to the age in which the work was done; it has large round towers at the principal angles, with smaller towers, at short distances from each other, in the intervals between the larger ones. On the large towers are batteries planted with brass cannon of different calibre, badly mounted, and not more than fifty in number, including all the fortifications towards the land-side of the city.

There are three gates of entrance and outlet; one on the south-east, a second on the north-east, and a third on the north-west of the city. The last of these is the principal one, leading from the most frequented road, to the most populous and busy part of the town, having the exercise-ground for playing the Turkish game of the Jereed just without it, with the Great Market and the Pasha's Palace not far distant within. The whole wall has a dry ditch of considerable depth around it, but this is merely an excavation, without masonry or lining of any kind.

The best portions of the old work remaining in the walls, are in two of the angular towers, not far from the central gate: these are indeed excellent. The quality of the bricks, which are of a yellowish colour, and the closeness and symmetry of their union, are both equal to any ancient masonry that I had ever seen; and a long inscription, which occupies a broad band of the northernmost of these towers, is executed in the best manner of the old Arabic sculpture. From the form of this inscription, it did not appear to me to be the same that Niebuhr had copied from one of the towers; by which it appears that the Khalif Nasr had constructed it in the year 618 of the Hejira, or 1221 of the Christian era.

The whole of the country to the north and east of Bagdad, as far as can be seen in riding around its walls, is one flat waste, with scarcely a tree or a village to be perceived throughout its whole extent; but, as the roads from the interior traverse this level plain, it is occasionally enlivened by the appearance of troops and parties of horsemen, passing to and fro from the city at all hours of the day.

The interior of the town offers fewer objects of interest than one would expect, from the celebrity which the name of Bagdad has obtained as an Oriental emporium of wealth and magnificence. A large portion of the ground included within the walls is unoccupied by buildings, particularly on the north-eastern side; and even where edifices abound, particularly in the more populous quarter of the city, near the river, a profusion of trees are seen; so that, on viewing the whole from the terrace of any of the houses within the walls, it appears like a city arising from amid a grove of palms, or, like what Babylon is supposed to have been, a walled province rather than a single town.

All the buildings, both public and private, are constructed of furnace-burnt bricks, of a yellowish red colour, a small size, and with such rounded angles as prove most of them to have been used repeatedly before, being taken, perhaps, from the ruins of one edifice to construct a second, and again, from the fallen fragments of that to compose a third. In the few instances where the bricks

are new, they have an appearance of cleanliness and neatness never presented by the old, though even these are still much inferior in those particulars to stone.

The streets of Bagdad, as in all other eastern towns, are narrow and unpaved, and their sides present generally two blank walls, windows being rarely seen opening on the public thoroughfare, while the doors of entrance leading to the dwellings from thence are small and mean. These streets are more intricate and winding than in many of the great towns of Turkey, and, with the exception of some tolerably regular lines of bazārs, and a few open squares, the interior of Bagdad is a labyrinth of alleys and passages.

The Serai, or Palace of the Pasha, is an extensive rather than a grand building. It stands in the north-west quarter of the town, and not far from the banks of the Tigris. It contains, within its walls, most of the public offices, with spacious accommodations for the Pasha's suite, his stud, and attendants; but being a comparatively modern building, with additions made at different periods, it forms a large pile of the most confused plan, offering nothing of architectural beauty, strength, or interest.

The Mosques, which are always the prominent objects in Mohammedan cities, are here built in a different style from those seen in most other parts of Turkey. The most ancient of these is thought to be the "*Jāmah el Sookh el Gazel*," so called from its standing in the market where cotton thread is sold.*

The body of the original building appears to have been destroyed by violence. No more remains of it at present than the minaret and a small portion of the outer walls. The former of these is a short, thick, heavy column, of the most graceless proportions, built of bricks, diagonally crossed, and varied in colours, as in the minaret of

* *Jāmah* is the Arabic for a mosque; *Sookh*, the name of a public market or bazār. *Gazel*, is the name of cotton thread, and is a different word from *Ghazelle*, the name of the Desert antelope. This market-place, at the time of my passing through it, was crowded to excess by country women, the venders of this commodity; and the scene was one of great confusion, so that my view of the mosque was imperfect.

the Great Mosque at Mousul. The spring of the projection for the gallery, from whence the invitation to prayer is repeated, commences even below the centre of the column, and goes up in a series of pointed arched niches, dropping ornaments like stalactites, &c. till it reaches about two-thirds the height of the shaft, gradually swelling outward, and terminating in the gallery before mentioned. The piece of the column above this is short, and terminated by a roundish summit; the whole is much inferior to the Turkish minarets of Syria, and still more so to the light and elegant ones seen in many parts of Egypt. The exterior surface of this minaret bears also marks of violence; but sufficient of it remains to shew that some parts of it were highly ornamented with the fanciful sculptures of Arabesque work; and an inscription, copied for Niebuhr by an Arab Moollah, states it to have been erected by the Khalif Mostanser, in the year of the Hejira 633, or 1235 of the Christian era, about fourteen years after the date of the tower seen in the outer wall of the city, and already described.

The Jāmah el Merjameeah, a mosque not far distant from this, has some remains of equally old and very rich Arabesque work, on its surface. The body of the mosque itself is modern, and its interior presents nothing remarkable, but its door of entrance is very fine. This is formed by a lofty arch of the pointed form, bordered on each side by a succession of rich bands, exquisitely sculptured, going up the sides, and meeting at the top, nearly in the form of the arch itself. The outermost of these is followed by a large moulding, of sufficient diameter to be called a column, did it not arch over at the top to crown the lesser bands there described. This moulding is spirally fluted all the way up, and on the projecting parts of the flutings are minute and laboured sculptures, in the style of the age in which it was executed. There are a profusion of inscriptions, which might be copied by any one having time to devote to such a task; but it would require weeks at least to complete the labour.

The Sookh el Bafta, or Market of Muslins, which is continued

in a street leading from this mosque, is apparently of the same age. I observed in this market, or bazār, a peculiarity which I had never seen elsewhere : namely, a band of old Arabic inscriptions over each shop-bench, sculptured in large characters, and with as much care as any of the inscriptions on the mosques. These were executed with so much regularity and uniformity, as to induce a belief of their being coeval with the bazār itself, which was very old ; but, whether they designated the names of the occupiers at its first opening, promulgated some holy sentence, or marked the date of the foundation, we could not, in the hurry of our excursion, ascertain.

The Jāmah el Khassākey, like the two former mosques, has but a small portion of the original edifice remaining. In this is seen a niche of prayer, peculiarly remarkable. These niches are generally simple and unadorned recesses, directing the worshipper towards the Kaaba at Mecca; and they have been held to denote, at the same time, the invisibility of God, which is supposed to be expressed, by having them perfectly plain and empty, in contradistinction to similar recesses in the temples of the infidels, which were invariably occupied by idols, or figures of human beings. The niche of this mosque, which is of the usual concave form, is crowned by a Roman arch, supported on two small columns. These last have square pedestals, spirally-fluted shafts, and a rich capital of flowers, like a profuse and florid composite. Around the arch, from pillar to pillar, is a sculptured frieze, resembling those seen on the Roman monument called the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem, on the door of the Roman Palace at Konnawaught in the plains of the Haurān, and on other Roman temples and early Christian Churches seen and described in the journey through the eastern parts of Syria. A still more striking feature of this niche is a fine fan or shell-top, more nearly resembling those seen at Palmyra and Baalbeck, than those found at Jerash and Adjeloan in the Decapolis ; but evidently in the Roman, and not in the Arabic taste. I remembered, however, on this occasion, the fan-topped niche, standing on the outside of

the entrance gate to the Great Castle of Bosra in the Haurān, now used by the Mohammedans residing in that ruined city, for prayer, as it points directly to the Kaaba. I had at first conceived that to have been a Roman military guard-house, converted, from its local convenience, to its present purpose ; but, as there are strong reasons to believe that castle to be a Saracenic work, grafted on the ruins of a noble Roman theatre, this supposed guard-house might well have been a chapel, with its fan-topped niche of prayer, just as the same is seen here, in the less doubtful court of the Jāmāh el Khas-sākey, at Bagdad. Down the centre of the back of this niche ran a broad band, richly sculptured with vases, flowers, &c. in the very best style of workmanship, and the whole was executed on a white and fine grained marble.*

The work seen in the interior of this mosque seemed to be of much later date than the original building. It was not merely simple, but mean, though it had several Arabic inscriptions, in a good upright character, and one in the loose and flowing character of the Persians. The minaret is apparently a work of the present century, and offers nothing remarkable in its structure, its form being like the other towers in the town, and its surface one tawdry glare of green, black, and other coloured tiles, mixed with the brick of which it is built.

The Jāmāh el Vizier, which is seated near the Tigris, and only a few yards from the Bab el Jissr, or gate of the bridge, has a fine dome and lofty minaret. The great mosque, seated in the square of El Maidān, in the way from the north-west gate to the palace and the British residence, is also a noble building ; but most of the others, not here particularly named, are of comparatively inferior importance.

The domes of Bagdad are said to be in the Persian taste ; and the difference of their form and style of decoration, from those of

* The mixture of Roman and Saracenic architecture and sculpture in the same edifices has been already frequently adverted to in this and preceding volumes, in which the subject of the different orders has been discussed.

Turkey and Arabia, was one of the first peculiarities which struck me on entering the city. There are two or three insignificant domes, of a flattened form and plain surface ; but the principal ones are all high, and disproportionately narrow, their height exceeding their diameter by about one half. They are richly ornamented with glazed tiles and painting, the colours used being chiefly green and white. Some of the inscriptions are also executed in this fanciful manner, in bands running round the foot of the dome. The glitter of these colours, reflected from a polished surface, gives a gaiety and liveliness, rather than majesty or magnificence, to the buildings ; but, although unexpected novelty is generally agreeable, yet, both at first sight, and after repeated observation, these Persian domes appeared to me much inferior to the rich and stately domes of Egypt, and especially those of the Mamlouk sepulchres at Cairo.

The minarets, ornamented in the same manner, and offering the same bright assemblage of colours, are not to be compared to the plain and grave dignity of some of the Turkish towers at Diarbekr, Aleppo, and Damascus, nor to the lighter elegance of many of those in the larger towns on the banks of the Nile.

Both on the domes and minarets of Bagdad, the high green rod, with a globe surmounted by the crescent, as represented in most of the Eastern scenery exhibited on the English stage, is however frequently seen, though this is not common in other parts of Turkey. The number of the mosques in this city is thought to exceed a hundred ; but, of these, not more than thirty can be distinguished by their particular minarets or steeples ; the rest are probably mere chapels, oratories, tombs, and venerated places, resorted to by the populace for prayer.

The public khans, or caravanserais, amount to about thirty, but they are all inferior in their construction to those of Diarbekr and Orfah. One of these, called Khan el Oorthweh, is remarkable, as having both its larger and smaller arches pointed, with an intermediate range of a flattened form and central indentation, after the manner of those before described at Mousul. This edifice bears the

marks of considerable antiquity; it is well built, of a very dark-coloured brick, with white cement, and has all the usual ornaments of Arabic and Turkish architecture, in stalactite drops, overhanging niches, &c.

The bazārs are numerous, and mostly formed of long, straight, and tolerably wide avenues. The best of these are vaulted over with brick-work; but the greater number are merely covered by flat beams, laid across from side to side, to support a roof of straw, dried leaves, or branches of trees and grass. The shops in these bazārs are well furnished with Indian commodities: but this, which I had expected to have found the best part of Bagdad, is perhaps the most inferior of all. Throughout the city, there is not a bazār that can be compared with the one adjoining the Khan el Goomrook, at Orfah. The one most recently built is the largest and the best; this is long, wide, lofty, and well-filled with dealers and wares, but there is still an air of meanness about it, which I had never before observed in any large Turkish city.

The baths are also inferior to those of all the large towns of Mesopotamia, through which I had yet passed. There are said to be more than fifty of these establishments at Bagdad, and, on the day of my arrival, I was taken to one of the best of them. This was large, and well supplied with water; but its bare brick walls, only here and there patched with tiles of birds and flowers, its poor pavement, and general gloom and nakedness, was of the most forbidding kind. The attendants were inferior in adroitness to the Egyptians and Damascenes: of this difference I had the best opportunity of judging: for, being taken to the bath by one of Mr. Rich's servants, I was, on that account, treated with extraordinary respect and attention by the master and his assistants; and if, under these circumstances, the inferiority was very marked, it was likely to be still more so upon a general comparison between them by casual visitors and strangers.

Of the private houses of Bagdad I saw but little, excepting only

their exterior walls and terraces. It struck me as singular, that, throughout the whole of this large city, I had not seen even one pointed arch in the door of entrance to any private dwelling: they were all either round or flat, having a fancy-work of small bricks above them; and even in those parts of the old bazārs and ruined mosques, in which the pointed arch is seen, its form is nearer to the Gothic than to the common Saracenic shape, which I had also observed to be the case at Mousul; so that Bagdad could not have been the original seat of Saracenic architecture, which probably took its rise much farther in the west.*

The houses consist of ranges of apartments opening into a square interior court; and while subterranean rooms, called *serdaubs*, are occupied during the day for the sake of shelter from the intense heat, the open terraces are used for the evening meal, and for sleeping on at night. From the terrace of Mr. Rich's residence, which was divided into many compartments, each having its separate passage of ascent and descent, and forming, indeed, so many unroofed chambers, we could command, at the first opening of the morning, just such a view of Bagdad as is given in the "*Diable Boiteux*" of Madrid, shewing us all the families of Bagdad, with their sleeping apartments unroofed, and those near our own abode often in sufficiently interesting situations.

The population of Bagdad is variously estimated at from fifty to a hundred thousand. It is less than that of Aleppo, but greater than that of Damascus, so that about eighty thousand may be near the truth. The chief officers of the civil and military government are from the families of Osmanlies, or Constantinople Turks, though they are themselves mostly natives of this city. The merchants and traders are almost all of Arab descent; and the lower orders of the people are a mixture of Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Indian blood, in all their different varieties. There are some Jews, and

* This subject still remains in great obscurity, though it would be well worth the careful investigation of some eminent architect and man of taste.

Christians also, who preserve their distinct classes; while the strangers in the town are composed of Koords, Persians, and Desert Arabs, of each of which there are generally a considerable number.

The dress of the Bagdad Turks differs from that of their more northern countrymen, in being less gay and splendid; and their horses, arms, and accoutrements, are all inferior to those used in the other great cities of the empire. The Mamlouk dress of Egypt, so common among the Turkish cavalry, is never seen here; nor did I observe the large shelwar of Constantinople, but in a very few instances. Turbans are rarely or never worn by the Osmanli Turks of Bagdad, the head being covered among them by the cloth cap or Kaook, of a higher and more narrow form than that used at Constantinople, and bound round in a peculiar way by gold-flowered muslin at the foot. Angora shalloons are worn, for the trowsers, jubbé, and benish, or outer robes, during the summer; and cloths for the two last, in winter only; but the dress of the Bagdad residents is, upon the whole, unusually plain, in comparison with that of other Asiatics.

The costume of the merchants is purely Arab, though generally of a better kind than that of the Desert, being made up almost wholly of Indian cotton manufactures for the caftan, fine shalloons for the upper garments, and worked muslins for the waist and head. No where are plain white turbans so general as at Bagdad; the very lowest order of Mohammedans wear them, as a distinction of their faith; and their way of putting them on is at once characteristic and graceful.

The Jews and Christians dress, as elsewhere throughout Turkey, in dark robes, with Cashmeer shawls, or blue muslin, for turbans. The Persians retain the dress of their own country, by which they may be instantly distinguished from the other classes; and the Desert Arabs are known by their keffeah, or silk and cotton head dress, their abba, or large woollen cloak, and their curved yambeah, or dagger of the Yemen shape.

The dress of the females of Bagdad is as mean as that used in

the poorest villages of Mesopotamia ; women of all classes being enveloped in a blue checked cloth, similar to that worn by the lowest orders in Egypt, and having the face covered by a piece of stiff black gauze. The women of the surrounding country, who are seen here in crowds in the markets, which are chiefly supplied by their industry, wear no such veils ; over their head is often thrown a chequered cotton cloth of red and yellow, and their faces are openly exposed to view, with the exception of the mouth being sometimes covered. As among the Bedouins of the Desert, these women have their lips stained blue, with lines and other marks on different parts of their faces ; heavy bracelets and anklets are also worn by them ; and the nose is either adorned by a large ring, or a solid, flat, circular piece of gold, stuck in one nostril, of the size, shape, and appearance of the fancy gilt buttons worn by the English peasantry on their Sunday coats.

The government of Bagdad is in the hands of a Pasha, assisted by a council. The Pasha himself, though receiving his appointment from the Sultan at Constantinople, is generally dependant, for his admission into the city and his retention of power, on the public voice, not ascertained by votes as in Europe, but popularly expressed in the clamorous manner in which parties in despotic governments give vent to their preferences. His council is composed of several great officers of state, and the chiefs of the several departments of government : these meet on Fridays, at the public divan, for the consideration of important questions, and their opinions are heard and weighed in all affairs of consequence, though the common routine of ordinary business proceeds without their check or interference.

The government of Bagdad has been, for some centuries past, completely a Mamlouk one, the Pasha being chosen from among Georgian Mamlouks here, and approved by them, as well as by the largest and strongest party in the city, before he can be established in his place, even though supported by the firman of the Grand Signor, who is nominally the head of the empire. The present

Governor, whose name is Assad Pasha, was born in Bagdad, and this is said to be the first exception that has happened to the general rule, of their being purely of Georgian birth: the father of the present ruler, Suliman Pasha, was, however, a native of Georgia, and as he was also high in power here, this was deemed sufficient. A regular body of Georgian Mamlouks is still kept up by the present Pasha, by means of fresh importations from Georgia, which are said to increase every year: this is likely to continue, as the most lucrative offices, as well as the whole of the military commands, are exclusively reserved for this race. The most beautiful women of the Harems in Bagdad are also from the same country. It is permitted only to the Faithful, however, to possess white slaves, black ones being deemed a sufficient indulgence for unbelievers; so that the Georgians and Circassians fall exclusively to the enjoyment of the orthodox, while sceptics and heretics must content themselves with the sable beauties of Nigritia, Soudan, and Madagascar.

The dominion of Assad Pasha extends from Bussorah on the south, to Mardin on the north, and from the confines of Persia and Koordistan on the east, to the frontiers of Syria and Palestine on the west. These are the nominal boundaries of his territory, though his actual influence does not extend so far, particularly on the east and west, where independant Koord Chiefs and Arab Sheikhs set his power at defiance.

Bagdad is always considered as the great frontier town of the Turkish empire towards Persia; and, poorly as it is fortified, when compared with European cities holding a similar position, it has, nevertheless, hitherto opposed a successful resistance to the attempts of the Persians against it, and is equally secure against the most powerful of the Arabs, the Wahābees.

The force of the Pasha for defence is raised entirely within the town; and in this, as in every other department of his government, he receives no assistance from the great capital of Constantinople, so that, except in name, he may be considered as quite independant of the Sultan. His force consists of about two thousand

horsemen, variously mounted and equipped; a small park of field artillery, composed of ten pieces; and a body of infantry, who generally accompany him as personal guards, and do not exceed a thousand men.

The service of a foot-soldier is always held to be disreputable in Turkey, and the infantry of Bagdad are in every sense worthy of being so considered. The corps is made up of the refuse of every class of society, and no man is of too bad a character to be admitted into it. The pay is only three piastres (less than a Spanish dollar) per month for each man, out of which he is expected to provide himself with most of the necessary articles of life. The distinguishing feature of their dress is a large fur cap, of a semiglobular shape, the head being thrust into what might be called the flattened pole, and the top of the cap presenting the appearance of a globe cut through at the equator. The diameter of some of these caps is fully three feet; the sides are covered with a brown fur, and the top has a covering of red silk or calico. This seems to be the only part of the uniform furnished by the government. The rest of the dress is according to the fancy, or the means, of the wearer; and among them, I saw every possible variety, from the long brown goat's-hair shirt of the Bedouin Arab, to the cast-off jacket of an Indian sepoy, sold by the privates of Mr. Rich's Indian body-guard, on their receiving the annual supply of new clothing. The arms of this motley troop are a sabre and a musket; among these, no uniformity of size or shape prevails, though, for the most part, the muskets and swords are of English manufacture, and had probably found their way up by the Tigris to Bagdad, from the ships touching at Bussorah, in their voyages from India.

There are some of the great tribes of Arabs in the vicinity of Bagdad, who, by long-established usage, consider themselves bound, for their provisions only, to do military service on any great emergencies that may require their aid; and other Arab troops are generally to be procured for a very small pay. The Pashas of Koordistan are, also, generally on such terms with the Pasha of

Bagdad, as to be ready to supply him with five or six thousand horse, in case of need ; so that, at a short notice, twenty or thirty thousand troops of this mixed and undisciplined kind can be collected together, either to march out on the offensive, or to defend the city.

The trade of Bagdad consists chiefly in Indian manufactures and produce, received by way of Bussorah from Bengal, and distributed into the Nedjed country through Syria, and over Koordistan, Armenia, and Asia Minor.* It is said to have increased, within the last ten years, from two annual vessels to six, under the English flag, besides those under sailing Arab colours. This is considered to be an effect of the great moderation of the present government in its demands. It is thought, indeed, by those best informed on the subject, that there is no part of the Turkish Empire where the people are so little oppressed as here, and where trade is consequently under fewer burthens or restraints.

The communication between Bagdad and Bussorah is now chiefly carried on by boats on the Tigris, though it was formerly carried on by way of Hillah, on the Euphrates. The latter track is now rendered unsafe, from there being a large tribe in possession of both banks of the river, who give refuge to all the desperate characters of the surrounding country, and who live chiefly by plunder.† The boats used for conveying merchandize on the river are from twenty to fifty tons burthen, and are fitted with masts and

* *Bagdad*, which is called by Marco Polo, *Baldachi*, was highly extolled by him for its wealth, manufactures, and trade ; which were, in his day however, far greater than at present.

† The trade between Bussorah and Bagdad was very considerable when Rauwolff wrote, as the following passage will shew :—“ In this town there is a great deposition of merchandizes, by reason of its commodious situation, which are brought thither by sea as well as by land from several parts, chiefly from Natolia, Syria, Armenia, Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, &c. to carry them farther into the Indies, Persia, &c. So it happened that during the time I was there, on the second day of December, in 1574, there arrived twenty-five ships with spice and other precious drugs here, which came over sea from the Indies, by the way of Ormutz to Balsara, a town belonging to the Grand Turk,

sails, for using when the wind serves. In favourable seasons, when the northerly wind prevails, the passage from Bagdad down to Bussorah is made in seven or eight days; but in calms, the boats are from ten to fifteen days in accomplishing the same distance, though they have the current always in their favour. In coming up the stream, however, they are obliged to track or tow along the shore for the greatest part of the way, and then, thirty and even forty days have been consumed in making the voyage from Bussorah to Bagdad.

The smaller vessels, used for bringing supplies of provisions and fruit to the city, are circular boats of basket-work, covered with skins, of the same description as those used on these rivers, in the days of the most remote antiquity.* The city is supplied with its drinking water from the Tigris, being brought to the houses in goats' skins, which are conveyed on the backs of animals to every man's door, in the same manner as Cairo is supplied from the Nile of Egypt; the convenience of water-works, cisterns, reservoirs, and pipes, being here unknown.

The Pasha was, at this period, said to be so poor, that he had

situated on the frontiers, the farthest that he hath south-eastwards, within six days' journey from hence, where they load their goods into small vessels, and so bring them to Bagdat, which journey, as some say, taketh them up forty days. Seeing that the passage, both by water and land, belongeth both to the King of Arabia and the Sophi of Persia, which also have their towns and forts on their confines, which might easily be stopped up by them, yet that notwithstanding all this they may keep good correspondence with one another, they keep pigeons chiefly at Balsara, which, in case of necessity, might be soon sent back again with letters to Bagdat. When laden ships arrive at Bagdat, the merchants, chiefly those that bring spice, to carry through the desarts into Turkey, have their peculiar places in the open fields without the town Ctesiphon, where each of them fixeth his tents, to put his spices underneath in sacks, to keep them there safe, until they have a mind to break up in whole caravans; so that at a distance one would rather believe that soldiers were lodged in them, than merchants; and rather look for arms than merchandizes: and so I thought myself before I came so near that I could smell them."—pp. 145, 146.

* See the description of these circular basket-boats, in the account given by Herodotus of Babylon, its commerce, and supplies.

been obliged to borrow twenty-five thousand piastres from the merchants of Bagdad, in small portions from each, in order to give the Georgians of his army their stated allowances, for the festivities of the month of Ramadān. Avaneeahs, or arbitrary contributions, extorted as gifts, which are common in all other parts of Turkey, are said, however, to take place but rarely here; and when they do, they are invariably levied on the officers of government, and never on the trading part of the community. An instance was related to me of the recent incapacity of the government to answer a demand on it of so small a sum as five thousand piastres, when the money was raised by loans from five separate merchants, who had each an order given to him on the revenue of the Customs, to the amount supplied. This enabled them soon to repay themselves, by the exemption, which such an order afforded them, from the regular duties on their goods, until the amount of it should be paid off. The effect of this moderation and justice, on the part of the government, is every where felt, giving great activity to commerce, and general satisfaction to all those engaged in it, so unusual is even this ordinary honesty in the rulers of Turkish cities generally.

At the same time that the trade in Indian commodities is said to have been lately extended at Bagdad beyond its former bounds, the trade from Persia is considered to have greatly declined. Not many years since, Bagdad was a central *depôt* for the productions and manufactures of Persia, intended for the Syrian, Armenian, and Turkish markets; but the Persians having found the route of Arzeroum and Tocat to be a safe and easy way to Constantinople, the goods formerly deposited here, as in a central mart, are now carried by that route direct to the Turkish capital, to the greater profit of the original Persian dealers, and to the corresponding loss of the dealers in Bagdad, through whose hands they formerly passed.

Among all classes of people in this city, there is an apparent deficiency of wealth; and it is not only the want of the accustomed splendour among the military, that strikes one on coming from

Egypt, and other large provinces of the Turkish Empire ; but the poverty of appearance in all the inferior classes, offers an unfavourable contrast to the gay assemblage of fine colours, which are prevalent among the lowest orders of the people at Damascus, and other similar towns on the way.

At Bagdad, some few fine horses are to be seen, in the stables of the guards that attend the Pasha, but still finer mares are used by some of the wealthier merchants, many of these costing from two to three thousand piastres, or a hundred and fifty pounds sterling each. The Arabs sometimes also bring in good horses from the Desert ; but, upon the whole, the difficulty of getting a fine blood animal is much greater at this place, than would be expected from its vicinity to the Nedjed country, the grand source of supply for the finest horses in the world.

Excellent camels are to be found in great numbers, all of the single humped kind ;* and buffaloes are as numerous along the banks of the Tigris, as they are on the borders of the Ganges or

* The prevailing opinion in Europe is, that of the two kinds of this animal, the single humped is the camel, and the double humped the dromedary. The fact, however, is nearer the reverse. The double humped camel is found only in Bactria, and the countries to the north and east of Persia ; and these, being natives of a colder climate, and living in more fertile countries than the other species, are shorter, thicker, more muscular, covered with a dark brown shaggy hair, and heavier and stronger by far than any other camels. From this race of the double humped animal, I am not aware of dromedaries being ever produced. The only camel seen in Arabia, Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, is the single humped. This, inhabiting a hot climate, and having always a scanty supply of food and water, is taller, more slender, of a paler colour, and altogether lighter in form and flesh, than the Bactrian camel. Its hair is as short, and its skin as sleek, as that of the horses or bullocks of England. It is from this race only that dromedaries are produced ; these are merely single humped camels of good blood and breed, which, instead of being used for burthen, are appropriated only to carrying riders and performing journeys of speed. They bear indeed the same relation to other single humped camels, that race-horses do to other horses : care being taken, by preserving the purity of their descent, and improving their blood, to keep them always fit for and appropriated to this particular purpose. They are trained in Egypt, into dromedary corps, for the supply of lancers and couriers, and perform wonderful journeys, both as to speed and distance. They are called, by the Arabs,

the Nile. It was at this place that I first saw the humped bullock, so common in India, and found also in southern Arabia, along the coasts of Yemen, but not known in Egypt, or the northern parts of Mesopotamia.

One of the peculiarities of Bagdad is its race of white asses, which, as at Cairo, are saddled and bridled for the convenience of passengers from one part of the town to another, wheeled carriages of any description being unknown. These are equally as large and spirited as the Egyptian ass, and have as easy and speedy a pace. They are frequently spotted over with colours, and otherwise fantastically marked with red stains of the Henna plant, in a manner that would fit them for any of those grotesque pantomimes in which the English clown Grimaldi distinguishes himself, but which species of ornament seems ill-adapted to the general gravity of a Moslem city.

JULY 21st.—The whole of the day was passed by me at home, in order to receive the morning visits of all the Christians of consideration residing here, and of such other public characters as paid their daily attendance at Mr. Rich's divan.

The only two European consulships at Bagdad, are those of the English and French. The former is an appointment of the East India Company, with very handsome allowances, and is filled with great ability and dignity by their resident, Mr. Rich.* The house,

Hedjeen ; while the camel is called *Gemel*, or *Jemel*, according to the district in which the hard or soft pronunciation of the *g* prevails.

* This estimable and justly-lamented individual, a short time subsequent to the period here spoken of, fell a victim to that scourge of the East, the cholera morbus, which, during one of his journeys in Persia, put a sudden and premature end to the brilliant career which his profound and varied acquirements promised. As the incidents recorded in this volume were matters of individual experience and observation, none of them have been subsequently obliterated ; but, though nothing will be taken away from what has been mentioned in the original manuscript respecting this excellent individual, I should reproach myself with injustice, if I did not add, after this lapse of time, my sincere though humble testimony to the high character of all his public virtues

occupied by the establishment, is formed of a number of dwellings thrown into one, and, as a residence, is certainly one of the largest, best, and most commodious in the city. It consists of two large courts, one of them used as a riding ground, having numerous rooms and galleries around it, with walled terraces for sleeping at night in the open air; and a set of vaulted subterranean cellars, called *serdaubs*, for avoiding the intense heat of the summer during the day; besides spacious and good stables, kitchens, and offices of every description.

Attached to Mr. Rich's establishment were, an English surgeon, an Italian secretary, several dragomen, or interpreters, and a number of janissaries, grooms, and servants, all filling their proper offices and performing separate duties, as in India, and composed of Turks, Arabs, Georgians, Persians, and Hindoos. A company of sepoys furnished a body-guard, and their drums and horns sounded the regular "*reveillie*" and "*call*" of a camp or garrison. A troop of European Hussars were formerly maintained here also; but their numbers are diminished. A large and commodious yacht was always kept ready for excursions on the river, under the care of an Indian *Serang* and crew. The stud of horses was large and choice; and every thing belonging to the Residency was calculated to impress ideas of great respect on the minds of the inhabitants, who were witnesses of the manner in which it was supported and conducted. The fact is, indeed, that Mr. Rich was universally considered to be the most powerful man in Bagdad, next to the Pasha; and some even questioned whether the Pasha himself would not at any time shape his conduct according to Mr. Rich's suggestions and advice, rather than as his own council might wish.

Our mode of living here, was to rise at the first peep of day, and take a ride and a bath, after which we all met at breakfast about

and conduct; to his unremitting zeal for the interests of science and general knowledge; and to his polished urbanity, his gentle and unassuming manners, his boundless generosity, and the constant, yet unstudied exhibition of those qualities, which never failed to endear him to all who had the happiness to become his friend or his guest.

eight o'clock. Mr. Rich then held a public divan until ten, which was regularly attended by all the officers of his own establishment, and by the heads of the chief departments of government in the city. In these visits of ceremony, every thing was conducted with great *décorum*, and nothing could be more evident than the high degree of respect for the Resident with which these interviews inspired the visitors. On the breaking-up of the divan, the members of the establishment generally retired to pass away the heat of the day in the *serdaubs* below; the only places, indeed, in which existence was tolerable. At sun-set, we again met together, and dined on one of the terraces in the open air; when, after continuing at table generally till ten o'clock, we separated to our beds, on other enclosed terraces, to sleep; the heat of the weather scarcely suffering us to bear the light covering of a sheet, or even the still lighter one of a mosquito muslin, though we lay on the highest part of the house-top, and had nothing above us but the starry canopy of heaven.

The French establishment consisted of Monsieur Vigoroux, the Consul-general, a very intelligent and amiable man, and a young Frank Dragoman from Aleppo, with a mean house, and very few servants. The Christian convent, which was under the French protection, was occupied by Padre Vincenza, a Carmelite friar; his colleague, Camillo di Jesu, having left him lately for Europe. In this church were united the scattered remnants of the Greek, Syrian, Chaldean, and other Christian sects, as they were neither of them sufficiently numerous to afford a separate church of their own; but this attempted union produced only discord and misunderstanding.

In the course of the day, an old woman of Bagdad, the mother of one of the servants in the house, had obtained the permission, which she had long solicited, to pay her personal respects to Mrs. Rich, (a daughter of the distinguished patriot and senator, Sir James Mackintosh.) On being introduced to the presence of this lady, who always retained the English costume, an evident disappointment was observed in the face of the old lady, whose countenance seemed to

say, "What! is this plain and unadorned creature the wife of the Balios, (the title given at Bagdad to ambassadors from foreign powers,) whom I expected to have seen dressed in the most costly robes, with diamonds, pearls, and gold?" With a view to lessen the evident pain of this disappointment, it was answered, by one of the servants, that the lady whom she saw was only the sister of the Balios's spouse, she herself having gone to the bath; when she replied, "Ah! indeed, I was *sure* that I could not have been so grossly deceived. *That* the lady of the Balios Beg, so poorly dressed!—Impossible! I am sorry, however, that I should come at such an unlucky moment; for now I must content myself with *imagining* her splendid appearance, as I am too old ever to enjoy another opportunity of seeing her for myself."

The weather, indeed, was so intensely hot, that it required the greatest exertion of a person blessed with youth and health in full perfection, to move out in the day-time; and we could, therefore, estimate the strength of curiosity or desire which could bring an infirm and aged individual from her own house, walking a considerable distance on foot, on such a day as this.

The state of the atmosphere at this period, as indicated by the scales of two excellent thermometers, carefully examined and compared, may be judged from the following facts. The lowest degree at which the mercury stood, at the first peep of dawn, which is generally the coldest portion of the 24, was 112° of Farenheit; at noon it stood at 119; at a little before two o'clock, at 122°; by sun-set it subsided to 117°; and at midnight 114°. This was the case within the last twenty-four hours; the air being perfectly calm, the sun almost blood red, as seen through a dull mist, and the atmosphere literally on fire. There was, indeed, scarcely any perceptible difference between the heat of the day or that of the night, as long as the individual kept in the shade. If exposed to the sun, its rays were scarcely to be borne; natives of the country even died in great numbers from the excessive heat; and nothing but the shelter and comforts afforded by wealth and ingenuity, in the house of the British

representative, could have made a residence here at all tolerable to a European. In the winter, the climate is cold, (the latitude being about 33° north,) and many snow-clad mountains within a short distance, from which bleak winds descend; but the three months of June, July, and August, are so intensely hot, as to make persons staying here, even after a long residence in India, sigh for the more temperate regions of Bengal or Hindoostan. Intense as the heat of the climate may appear to the English reader, from the degrees of the thermometer given in the preceding page, it may be added, that there were seasons in which the heat was even still greater than there mentioned. In a letter received from Mr. Rich, during my subsequent residence in Calcutta, dated Bagdad, April 7, 1820, nearly four years after my passing through the city on my way to India, he says, "So extraordinarily bad was our last summer, so fearfully exceeding any thing you experienced here, (though *you* had a tolerable specimen of our climate,) that I had, at one time, intended to send you an account of it for publication."



CHAPTER XXI.

EXCURSION TO AKKERKOOF.

JULY 22nd.—Accompanied by Mr. Bellino, the Italian secretary of the Resident, and one of the Indian sepoy's of the body-guard as a guide, we set out at day-light on an excursion to the ruins called Akkerkoof.

On going out at the Bab el Jisser, we crossed the bridge of boats, which was two hundred and seventy-five horse-paces, or little more than six hundred feet in length. It is of the most wretched construction; and, considering the crowds that go over it constantly, the weakness of the boats, and the strength of the wind and current at some particular seasons, it seems surprising that it holds so well together.

We passed from hence, through a long continued line of streets

and bazārs, on the west of the Tigris, of the same kind as those on the east, and came to one of the principal hospitals of the Dervishes. The architecture of the front of this edifice presented nothing remarkable; the masonry was of the best kind, of burnt brick work, and, like every part of the old edifices at Bagdad constructed of that material, was quite equal to the best works of this kind executed in the present day, and of the same materials, in Europe. The great arch of the front was of the Gothic form, and very lofty; and a broad band on each side of it contained a long and finely cut inscription, in Kufic characters, executed in high relief, on an ornamented ground.

From hence, we soon got on the skirts of the Western Desert, and continuing our way across it in a westerly direction, came in sight of the distant ruin, of which we were in search. From the level nature of the ground over which we went, this tall mass of building appeared, when we first observed it, to be within half an hour's ride, though it was two long hours before we reached the spot, and about three from the time of our leaving the city-gate. It may be considered, therefore, as at least twelve miles distant from Bagdad; and it lies from thence, in the bearing, by compass, of west by north half north.

The ruined monument called Akkerkoof, and more generally Kasr Nimrood, or Nimrod's Palace, is a shapeless mass of brick-work, rising from a broad base, now so worn away, as to be a mere heap of rubbish. The height of the whole is estimated, with apparent accuracy, by Mr. Rich, to be one hundred and twenty-six English feet; though, by Niebuhr, it is stated at seventy Danish ones. The diameter of the largest part is given, by the former authority, as one hundred feet; the circumference of the lower part of the brick-work still distinct, which is much above the real base, as three hundred feet; and the remains of the tower still perfect, above what appears as a heap of rubbish, though evidently part of the edifice, as containing one hundred thousand cubic feet of masonry.

The part that remains is composed of unburnt bricks, of a large

size, cemented together by thin layers of mud, and between every five or six rows of brick, or at intervals of about three feet, are layers of reeds. These last were placed across each other in four separate layers, that is, the first and third shewing their ends outwards, and the second and fourth their sides, as in the weaving of a straw mat. The softer substance of the brick having gradually crumbled away by the operation of the elements, these layers now project beyond the surface, and form distinct ridges, which are seen at a considerable distance in regular lines.

The use of these layers of reed at intervals was, perhaps, to absorb whatever moisture might have been imbibed by the earthy material, and give it out more freely along its continued tubes towards the surface; and it perhaps underwent some chemical preparation, either to fit it for that purpose, or to preserve it against decay, for these reeds were still as brittle and as fresh as if they had been placed there within the present year. From their size and texture, they seemed more like the stems of rushes from the river, than the stalks of common straw. In some places, besides the layers of reeds, were thick strata of mud and pebbles mixed, of the depth of more than a foot, while the layers of reeds seldom exceeded an inch or two in thickness; but there did not appear to be any invariable rule observed in the succession of the intervals between either.

The composition of the bricks, their size, and their manner of union—all indeed, except these layers of reed—resembled the work in the walls of the ancient Tanis, the capital of the Pharaohs in Lower Egypt, and those of Eliethas, one of the ancient cities of Upper Egypt. The whole mass, as it stood, resembled the remains of a brick pyramid, more than the fragment of any other kind of building. Its base occupied an extent of nearly three hundred feet square. From thence, a slope went up, as on a heap of rubbish, which, however, was evidently part of the original work; for beneath the surface, now worn into mud by the wind and weather, the layers of bricks and reeds could be plainly traced. This slope was sufficiently gentle, in most places, to be ascended on foot without difficulty, and,

after a perpendicular height of about fifty feet, it led to the more perfect mass, where the brick-work is still firm and distinct. This rises in a tall heap, nearer to a pyramidal than any other form, though it may, with the strictest propriety, be called shapeless, as it is destitute of regularity in every part of its outline. Some portions of it, indeed, rise perpendicularly, and there are appearances of holes and channels on the present outer surface; but these, from being still seen in this worn and decayed state of the monument, must have originally extended considerably beneath the original surface, and, perhaps, to the very centre of the building.

On the north-east side, and about half way up the height of the more perfect portion that remains, is a passage like an arched window, still open, its termination not being visible from any part of the heap on which I stood. By some, this is thought to have belonged originally to the building; by others, to have been made since, for the purpose of examining its interior. It appeared to me rather to resemble a work coeval with the edifice, than one of subsequent execution; and I should have been more decidedly of that opinion, were it not that there was an appearance of a constructed arch at the top of this passage; and that it is still matter of doubt, whether the constructed arch was known to the Assyrians or their contemporaries. Every one who has seen this ruin, and the similar ones at Babylon, scruples not to pronounce them all of the same age and construction. No arch has yet been seen there, nor would it be expected to be found in this place, either as an original part of the structure, or as a portion of the passage subsequently forced into the pile for purposes of examination; but whether the slight appearance which it presented, of being a constructed arch, was deceptive, we had no means of judging, without an ascent to the aperture itself, which was impracticable.

Though the interior of this solid mass of building was composed of unbaked bricks, its exterior surface seems to have been coated with furnace-burnt ones, many of which, both whole and broken, are scattered about the foot of the pile, and are said to resemble in

size and shape those at Babylon, though they are never written on as at that place.

Around this detached ruin, in different directions, but more particularly on the south and west, are long mounds and smaller heaps evidently amassed from the wreck of former buildings, strewed over with burnt and unburnt bricks, and plain and glazed pottery. Stone is nowhere seen, as the country produces none; a local feature which occasioned all the edifices erected around here, from those of the ancient Babylon to those of the modern Bagdad, to be constructed of bricks.

Sufficient vestiges of these remain, to prove that this Tower of Nimrod, as it is called, did not stand alone, but had near it either a city, or a considerable number of smaller buildings of some kind or other. There are still traces of a large canal to be seen, running through the principal part of the remains, which no doubt supplied the settlement with water from the Tigris, and contributed to fertilize the surrounding plain. The neglect of that canal is certainly the only obstacle to the present cultivation of the land here, as the surface is covered with a good light soil, that needs only to be watered to become productive; and the whole of the country is under the same circumstances as those parts of Egypt to which the inundations of the Nile do not reach, but which are irrigated entirely by canals.

The indefinite nature of this mass of brick-work in the Tower, has rendered it difficult even to imagine what was the precise kind of edifice of which it is a part. Some of the early travellers in this country conceived it to be the remains of the Tower of Babel; but as Niebuhr well observes, that was, no doubt, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, whereas this is not far from the banks of the Tigris.* That traveller himself seems disposed to think it was an elevation on which one of the early Khalifs of Bagdad, or even one of the Persian sovereigns who resided at El Madeien, might have had a

* Voyage en Arabie, tome ii. p. 249. 4to.

country-house built, to enjoy from such a height the luxury of cool and fresh air.*

It is difficult to account for so improbable a conjecture as this, from a man of so much accuracy of observation as Niebuhr. In the first place, the materials and style of the building have induced every one else who has seen it, to pronounce it of the Babylonian age, and Niebuhr himself describes it as having a great resemblance to the Babylonian tower seen by him at Hillah. In the next place, the situation of El Madeien is, according to all report, so much more favorable than this for freshness and coolness, from its vicinity to the river, its wood, &c. that nothing would be more improbable than a removal from such a spot to this at Akkerkoof, at all times seemingly destitute of these local advantages. The suggestion that the surrounding ruins may be a part of the ancient Bagdad, does not seem more happy, since, independent of the dissimilarity of the principal ruin to any of the earliest works of the Khalifs, it would give to Bagdad a breadth of ten miles at least on one side of the river only, supposing this to be at its furthest western extreme.†

The canal seen here is, doubtless, the remains of the canal of Isa, which is represented by Major Rennel as connecting the Tigris

* “Plusieurs voyageurs ont pris Agerkuf pour la tour de Babylone. Mais celle-ci étoit sans contredit dans le voisinage de l'Euphrate, et Agerkuf n'est pas loin du Tigre. Cependant on ne peut pas bien décider aujourd'hui à quelle dessein cet edifice a été élevé. Peut-être étoit-ce le terrain sur lequel un des premiers Califes de Bagdad, ou même un des Rois de Perse qui résidoit à El Madeien, avoit une maison de campagne, pour prendre un air frais et froid, sur la hauteur.”—*Voyage en Arabie*, tome ii. p. 248.

† In the enumeration of the generations of Noah, when speaking of Nimrod, it is said, “And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city.”—*Genesis*, chap. x. v. 10—12. Among those enumerated in the land of Shinar, the only name that bears the slightest resemblance to Akkerkoof, is that of Accad, and this is too slight to draw any safe conclusions from it. The remaining part of the quotation serves to prove that the limits of the land of Shinar were somewhere *south* of Nineveh; for, after the cities of Shinar are enumerated, Ashur is said to have gone *out* of that land, to build those whose names follow.

with the Euphrates, at a part where these rivers approach each other, going from the old Bagdad on the east, over to Felugia on the west, where the battle of Cunaxa was fought between Cyrus the Younger and Artaxerxes, in the year 401 before the Christian era. Of the wall of Media, leading off from the same point on the north-east, and terminating at Macepracta and Neapolis, on the south-west, no vestige now remains.*

From the extent and nature of the mounds at Akkerkoof, there is no reason to believe that the city there was very large. Indeed, the principal ruin is so unlike a place of residence of any kind, that the conclusion to which we came on the spot was, that it must be the remains of some isolated monument, either of a sepulchral or religious nature; few motives, excepting those of devotion and respect for the dead, being sufficiently powerful to induce the erection of such masses, when purely of a monumental kind, as this seemed to be.

* There is not in history a more intelligible or animated account of a battle than that given by Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, of the one fought between the royal brothers of Persia, upon this spot. Plutarch most justly observes, that the Attic historian does not so much describe, as exhibit, it; by the force and precision of his language, he makes the reader feel present at every incident, and partake of every danger, as if the action was not past, but actually passing before him. The fierce aversion of Artaxerxes and Cyrus, no less striking than the poetical hatred of Eteocles and Polynices, and which could not be appeased even by blood, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this celebrated battle; unless, indeed, there be something still more extraordinary in the position of the handful of Greeks that followed Cyrus, suddenly deprived of their commander-in-chief, and deserted by their allies in the heart of Asia, surrounded by impassable rivers, deserts, and mountains, and hemmed-in by more than a million of men in arms. At every turn of fortune during the engagement, the reader is on the tip-toe of expectation as to what is to become of these brave men; and when, in a little while, he sees the barbarian host broken, dispersed, and impressed with terror by the valour of these Greeks, his heart expands with exultation, as if a part of the glory he witnesses were reflected upon himself. Such is the power of genius in giving eternity to the transitory virtues of men! The English reader may fully enjoy the whole of this relation in Mr. Spelman's most faithful and beautiful version of the *Anabasis*, book the first. It may be added, that in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, the Greeks found groves of palm-trees, some of which they felled to construct bridges for crossing the canals and deep ditches. Wine and vinegar, from the fruit of the same tree, were likewise found in the villages.—Id. book ii.

Its present shapeless form, having so large a base, and being proportionately so small at the top, seemed nearer to that of a much worn pyramid than any other. We walked up on the slope of the base, and concluded that, if it had been a square tower, the fallen fragments of the top would have been more visible about this base than they really are.

In Egypt we know of a large pyramid of the same material being erected, as Herodotus mentions the pompous inscription which it bore, on contrasting itself with those of stone;* and remains of such a monument—probably, indeed, the identical one described by him—are still found near the western bank of the Nile, at Saccara, of the same material, in a similar state of decay, and presenting as shapeless a mass as the existing ruin at Akkerkoof.

The appearance of a passage about midway up on the north-east side, may be thought by some to be another feature of resemblance to the Egyptian pyramids, worthy of being noticed, as well as its being cased on the outside with burnt bricks, in the manner that the pyramids were done with harder and finer stone. It seems probable, therefore, that, like these, it might have been an ancient royal tomb, and that the scattered wreck of similar materials around it might be those of inferior sepulchres, such as those which surround the pyramids of Egypt; while the fragments of pottery would be either of vessels broken in the funeral sacrifices and honours paid to the dead, or of those simply used for domestic purposes.

The canal served the purpose, no doubt, of uniting the two celebrated rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris; and nothing could be more appropriate than the spot chosen for its passage across from stream to stream, while the country through which it flowed would be improved by its waters.† We found near this canal the fragment

* “Do not disparage my worth by comparing me to those pyramids composed of stones; I am as much superior to them, as Jove is to the rest of the deities: I am formed of bricks, which were made of mud adhering to poles, drawn from the bottom of the lake.”—*Herodotus, Euterpe*, 137.

† “Towards Babylon and Seleucia, where the rivers Tigris and Euphrates swell

of an unburnt brick, the surface of which was covered with a hard substance, of a dull light-green colour, like a vitrification by fire; but none were observed with the arrow-headed or Babylonian inscriptions on them.

It was about ten o'clock when we quitted the ruin at Akkerkoof, and, coming back by the same route, we drank of some brackish water at a well, lately dug about midway between the ruin and the river. This well was not more than twenty feet deep, yet it yielded a water quite drinkable by camels and cattle; and no doubt, the whole of the Desert would yield the same supplies at this depth. Its taste was slightly bitter, as well as brackish, partaking of this flavour from the quality of the soil.

As the sun was now high, we saw, to the north-west of us, the strong appearance of the Mirage, which, from the nature of the ground here, is conformable to the opinion that salt soils are favourable to this optical deception. A little beyond this, we turned up on our left, to visit the mosque of the Imâm Moosa el Kadem, whose gilded domes and gay minarets attracted our notice at a great distance off. We found this seated in the centre of a large village, bordered all round with date groves, and called El Kadem, from the affix to Moosa, or Moses, signifying "the patient."

The mosque itself is a large building, occupying the centre of a spacious court, surrounded by a high and well-built wall. Its most striking features, are the two domes which crown it, and which are covered over with one complete surface of gold,* uninterrupted, as far as we could perceive from without, either by fancy devices or inscriptions. Around these rose four lofty minarets, only one of which had its tower and cupola above the gallery, the other three

over their banks and water the country, the same kind of husbandry is practised as in Egypt, but to better effect and greater profit. The people here let in the water by sluices and flood-gates as they require it."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* book xviii. c. 18.

* Resembling, in this particular, the splendid domes of Meshed, a celebrated city, and place of pilgrimage for Persians in Khorassan, which, from their glittering and gilded surfaces, are visible to the traveller at a considerable distance.

terminating at the gallery itself, but all highly ornamented by coloured tiles inlaid on their surfaces, and forming altogether a group of imposing splendour.

As Mr. Bellino was of our party, and wore the Frank dress, we made no attempt to go on the inside, as it might have been dangerous. This being the tomb of one of the early martyrs of the Schiahs, (the Persian sect of Mohammedans,) who was executed in the year 185 of the Hejira, by the reigning Khalif of Bagdad, for entertaining in his house the persecuted partisans of Ali, it is a place of pilgrimage among the Persians, and inferior in note only to the tombs of their great leaders themselves at Mesjed Hossein,* and Mesjed Ali, in the Desert south-west of Hillah and the ancient Babylon.

We found here a number of Persian devotees, going in and out of the courts of the temple; and before the outer gate was a sort of fair, exactly like that held in the square before the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and furnished with nearly the same kind of commodities, among which chaplets, beads, and trinkets, formed a prominent part. As we continued our way down through the bazār of this village, at least three-fourths of the people we saw were Persians, the remaining fourth being fixed residents and strangers of other races.

On quitting the village, which was at least half a mile long, we went in a south-easterly direction along the river's bank, and passed over what has been considered the site of the ancient Bagdad, the city built by the Khalif Mansoor. It is true that there are slight vestiges of former buildings to be seen here in scattered heaps near the road, but these are too inconsiderable to be taken for the wreck of so comparatively modern a city.

In our way, we halted at one of the little coffee-houses, of which there are many here, formed in vaults or grottos under ground, where a nargeel, cold water, a cup of coffee, shade, and repose, are cheap and welcome refreshments offered to the passenger during the heat of the day.

* Mesjed, as well as Jāmah, is the common Arabic name for a mosque.

The Tigris, on the very edge of which we now were, was much narrower than the narrowest part of the Nile that I remembered, excepting, perhaps, that narrow arm of it, (for it can be hardly called the main stream,) which flows between Fostat, or Old Cairo, and the Isle of Rhoda on the east. The rate of the current appeared to be about two miles per hour: the banks were steep, and the water dark and turbid.

It was about noon when we reached the Tomb of Zobeida, to which we had directed our course, out of respect to the memory of her spouse and her; the names of the Khalif Haroun el Raschid and his consort Zobeida, recalling many delightful associations when they reminded us of the pleasure with which we had each devoured the Tales of the Thousand and One Nights, in our earlier years.

This tomb, which lies in the midst of an extensive cemetery, consists of an octagonal base, with a porch before it, the whole being about thirty feet in diameter; on this base is elevated a high and pointed dome, of very singular construction, rising to a height of sixty or seventy feet. The entrance from the outer porch into the tomb itself, or the octagonal space, is through a flattened arched doorway, and over this is seen a modern inscription, dated 1131 of the Hejira. It was copied by Niebuhr, and is given by him as recording that, in the year named, Hussan Pasha had buried there, by the side of the celebrated Zobeida, his deceased wife Ayesha, the daughter of one Mustapha Pasha; and that he had, on this occasion, repaired the edifice, and built near it some accommodations for dervishes or poor travellers of the true faith. This was, therefore, many years subsequent to the deposit of the original corpse, for which this sepulchre is said to have been constructed; as Zobeida is considered to have died in the year of the Hejira 216, or the year 831 of our era.

On entering within this building, there are seen three distinct tombs erected by the side of each other, and constructed simply of brick-work, in an oblong enclosure above the ground; but whose

remains are encased in the third of these is not generally known. These sepulchres occupy nearly the whole of the interior space, and are now in a state of decay. The walls of the octagonal base, which extend to about half the height of the whole building, are plain, and were once coated with stucco. Opposite to the door of entrance is the fragment of an old Arabic inscription, executed in a coarse enamel on tile-work, though now very imperfect, many of the tiles having disappeared.

On looking upward from within, the spectator sees a sharp-pointed dome, of the sugar-loaf shape, the inner surface of which is covered by the pointed-arched and slightly-concave niches, which form the Arabic frieze, and are so common in the corners of their doors and buildings. A considerable number of holes are also seen at apparently regular intervals, with two small windows facing each other near the commencement of the dome. These windows, as well as a false door-way under the enamelled inscription in the tomb, are constructed with pointed arches; though the entrance from the porch itself, which may, it is true, be a modern repair, has a flattened arch above it.

We ascended from the porch by a narrow and winding staircase of about twenty-five steps, of very steep acclivity, till we came on the top of the octagonal base, which we judged to be at least thirty feet high. There was here a broad walk all around the pointed dome, which rose from the centre of this lofty pedestal to a height of thirty or forty feet more. The exterior of this presented a number of slightly convex divisions, corresponding to the concave niches within, and had a very singular though characteristic appearance. We enjoyed from hence a fresh air and extensive view, and it was from this elevation that we noted the bearings of the principal objects which we had come out to visit.*

On recrossing the bridge of boats, and returning to the gate of

* Kasr Nimrood, or the Ruin at Akkerkoof	...	W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 10 miles.
Gilded Domes of Imâm Moosa	... ..	N. N. W. 4 miles.
Jâmah el Vizier, the Great Mosque near the bridge of Bagdad	...	E. N. E. 1 mile.

Bagdad, we now observed the whole front of the celebrated academic building, called Medrassee el Mostanseree, frequently mentioned by the Arabian authors as a sort of college, and place of retreat for the learned. It is at present in a state of great decay, though part of it is still used as a khan or caravanserai. On its front, towards the river, is seen a broad band, going the whole length of the building, perhaps two hundred feet, and containing a long inscription in Cufic characters, well wrought in high relief, on an ornamented ground, and all in brick-work. Some parts of the wall, along which this inscription ran, having been injured, the subsequent repairs have been made without regard to the restoration of the defaced letters, so that patches of dead masonry interrupt the line in several places. This is still the greatest thoroughfare in Bagdad, being close to the bridge, on the right hand in crossing it from the west, and immediately on the river's brink. Niebuhr, during his stay here, caused the inscription to be copied by a Moollah, by which it appeared that the edifice was built by the Khalif Mostanser, in the year of the Hejira 630, or of the Christian era 1232.

It was about an hour past noon, when we returned from our excursion, just as the heat of the day began to be most oppressive. In our inquiries during the afternoon, we learnt, from a Moollah who visited the house, that the word Akkerkoof might be traced to Arabic etymology, and would signify "The place of him who rebelled against God." This, as applied to the popular tradition of Nimrod's being a rebellious being, and of the ruin at Akkerkoof being his "*place*" after death, would sufficiently accord with the notion of its being a royal sepulchre; but the subject, from its mere antiquity alone, is necessarily involved in great obscurity.



CHAPTER XXII.

JOURNEY FROM BAGDAD TO THE RUINS OF BABYLON.

JULY 24th.—We had fixed on to-day for an excursion to the ruins of Babylon, and were occupied during the whole of the morning in the necessary preparations for our journey. Mr. Bellino, the secretary to the Residency, had expressed a desire to accompany me, although the season, from its excessive heat, was unfavourable for such a journey; but opportunities of going in the company of individuals prepared for researches are rare, and this was thought by him to be a favourable one. We were to be attended by Mr. Rich's chief groom, a Koord horseman, who had been before at the spot, with the addition of a negro servant, and a mule for our provisions and baggage. We were furnished with a letter from Mr. Rich, for the governor of Hillah, and one from the Pasha of Bagdad,

for the military commander in the neighbourhood of that place, of whose assistance and protection we were assured. My companion retained his European dress, but I adopted the Bedouin habit, and being now well acquainted with the people as well as the language of Arabia, it was thought likely to make our journey more agreeable if we went without any further escort, or suite; being myself quite competent to pass as the guide of Mr. Bellino, who was considered as an European traveller, and therefore the principal person of the party.

We quitted Bagdad about six o'clock in the evening, and crossing the bridge of boats over the Tigris, went through the crowded streets of the western town. The number of people collected here on the benches of the coffee-houses facing the river, to enjoy the moving scenery of the stream, and breathe the cool air of the evening, was surprisingly great; while the variety of persons and dresses in such a mixed multitude, formed an interesting picture of costume and manners.

On leaving the gate of the western wall, we had before us the prospect of a bare desert. The tomb of Zobeida was far on our right, or to the north of us, and was the only prominent object in view. The first half-hour of our course from the gate of Bagdad was nearly south-west, which brought us, at sun-set, to the elbow of the Tigris, flowing rapidly along, through arid banks, with several dry patches of sand in the centre of its stream.

From hence, our road went southerly; and riding over a bare and hard soil, we passed about eight o'clock a large building, called Kiahya Khan, into which we did not enter. The same course of about south-south-west, and over a similarly barren track, brought us at ten to Assad Khan, with a small village of Arabs attached to it. As we found a number of people in motion here, we alighted to make a short halt, and on entering the khan, found it so crowded with animals and their riders, that we could scarcely press our way through, notwithstanding that it seemed a large and well-built edifice, capable of accommodating at least five hundred persons within

its walls. We reposed, therefore, on the outside, and were served with some of the best coffee that I ever remember to have drank any where on the road. We had heard that this khan was famous for the excellent coffee prepared in it, and, as far as our experience went, it fully deserved its reputation. We were struck also with the extreme civility of the attendants, and were pleased with every thing belonging to the establishment.

It was about eleven o'clock at night when we remounted, and going southerly, with now and then a point of westing, we crossed over a canal, by a ruined bridge of a single arch, which was so narrow as just to afford a passage to one individual at a time. This canal is said to have been but very recently in use, and the country on its banks was then fertilized by its waters; but it is at present neglected, the industry of those whose labours alone kept it in use being too severely taxed by the government. It was here too that a large lion from the Euphrates was seen to come regularly every evening, most probably in search of prey, until he was shot by one of the Arabs of Zobeide, the tribe that occupies all the district between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

JULY 25th.—Soon after midnight we passed over the dry bed of a deep and wide canal, corresponding in situation with the Nahr Malka,* the supposed work of the Babylonian monarchs, which continued the course of the Euphrates from Macepracta, at the southwestern extremity of the Median wall, to the spot on which the cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia were built on the Tigris. This too was used as late as the age of the Caliphs, not only for the purpose of irrigating the land in its neighbourhood, but as a navigable passage for boats from one river to another.†

* The Euphrates is called *Nahar*, or *Nahr*, from the Hebrew, (see the original in Genesis, chap. xv. v. 18; and Joshua, chap. i. v. 4.) In Syria, the term *Nahr* still means a river, but in Babylonia it is applied chiefly to signify a creek or canal.

† There can be no doubt but that this is the place through which Rauwolff passed on his way from Babylon to Bagdad, and which he then erroneously thought to be the

About two o'clock we passed a third khan, called by the Turks Orta Khan, and by the Arabs, Khan Bir Yunus. Its first name is given it from the computation of its being half-way between Hillah and Bagdad; its last, from a well, at which the Prophet Jonah is said to have drank, during his journeys to and from Nineveh.

We passed this place without entering it; and about an hour beyond it, we saw a path branching off more to the westward, while the straight road still continued. Our negro attendant, who acted as pilot, took us by the first, so that at day-break we found ourselves at the Khan of Mizrakjee Oghlou, on the road to Mesjed Hussein, and within sight of Musseib, where there is a bridge across the Euphrates. We turned off from this khan, therefore, without entering it, though it seemed a spacious and well-built edifice; and looking to the eastward, we saw, in that direction, the Khan of Scanderia, distant about three miles.

We alighted here soon after sun-rise, and finding excellent accommodation for ourselves and horses, we proposed to remain here for the day, to avoid the heat, which had now become intense. This khan was erected within the last century, at the expense of Mohammed Hussein Khan, Emir el Dowla to the King of Persia, with a view, no doubt, to the accommodation of the Persian pilgrims to Mesjid Ali and Mesjid Hussein. These are two of their

old Babylonian wall. "After we had travelled for twelve hours through desolate places, very hard, so that our camels and asses began to be tired under their heavy burdens, we rested and lodged ourselves near to an ascent, we and our beasts, to refresh ourselves, and so to stay there till night, and to break up again in the middle thereof, that we might come to Bagdat before sun-rising. The mean while, when we lodged there, I considered and viewed this ascent, and found that there were two behind one another, distinguished by a ditch, and extending themselves like unto two parallel walls a great way about, and that they were open in some places, where one might go through like gates; wherefore I believe that they were the walls of the old town, whereof Pliny says that they were two hundred feet high, and fifty broad, that went about there, and that the places where they were open, have been anciently the gates of that town, whereof there were a hundred iron ones; and this the rather, because I saw in some places under the sand, wherewith the two ascents were almost covered, the old wall plainly appear."

most celebrated places of pilgrimage, and at these there were two of the richest temples perhaps in the world, till they were recently stripped of their treasures by the reforming Wahābees.*

The plan of this khan differs essentially from those found on the road from Mousul to Bagdad, and corresponds more accurately than these with the idea which we have in Europe of an eastern caravanserai. These last consisted of many vaulted rooms, of different sizes, and apart from each other, fitted with recesses in the Turkish style. This, on the contrary, as well as all the others between it and Bagdad, was composed of a large square pile enclosing an open court. On the inside of this square was a covered way, running round each of the four sides, and containing excellent stalls for cattle, with raised benches in deep arched recesses, like so many separate chambers for the accommodation of travellers in the winter or rainy season. On the outside of this covered passage, and fronting the interior court, were similar recesses or chambers, open to the air, yet sufficiently sheltered from the sun, in all his points of bearing at different hours of the day. The centre of the court itself was occupied by two oblong raised platforms, of such length and breadth as to leave convenient passages around and between them. At the foot of these, extending all along the outside, were niches and bars for fastening horses, when required to be kept in the open air; and the platforms were for travellers to sleep on, during the warm and dewless nights of summer. Attached to these were other conveniences: and a niche for prayer rose in its proper place from the side of the southern elevation. Besides these, there were excellent places for cooking; and an abundant supply of water, though not of the best quality, could always be had from a well attached to the khan. It appeared capable, on the whole, of containing a thousand persons at once, and accommodating them all conveniently.

* See the description of this spoliation, in the account given of the incursions of the Wahābees, at p. 136 of the present volume.

The striking difference in the style of the khans here, and those seen on the road from Mousul to Bagdad, confirmed me in the opinion which I had originally entertained of these last being Turkish works, erected by the government as stations for Tartars and military couriers, between the capital of the empire and its great frontier town towards Arabia, Persia, and India;* while the same reasons led me to consider those between Bagdad and Hillah, as either of Arabic origin, or still more recently constructed by Persian monarchs, for the accommodation of the pilgrims of their country passing this way to the places of their peculiar devotion. The people in the small villages collected about these khans, being all of Arab descent, speak Arabic only, except some one or two among the servants, who speak sufficient of Turkish and Persian to make themselves understood.

The Khan of Scandereeah is almost wholly constructed of ancient bricks dug up from ruins on the spot. All around this edifice, indeed, are scattered vestiges, sufficient to induce a belief of there having been once some ancient settlement here. These remains consist of large fragments of furnace-baked bricks, fine red pottery, both ribbed and plain, and some glazed in colours, with heaps of rubbish like those which are invariably found collected on the sites of ancient places. I could not learn, however, any name that tradition gave to such remains, nor could we find that any opinion prevailed why its present one was affixed to it. The name of Scandereeah, frequently as it is given by the Turks to places within their dominion, is never applied without a reference to some event of Alexander's life; and it is more than probable, that this also has a similar relation to something connected with the history of that hero, the memory of which may now be lost: more particularly, as the evident remains of antiquity here would lead one to expect some ancient name.

It may be remarked, that, in our way from Bagdad thus far, we had passed several indefinite mounds and heaps, to which our companions knew of no name; and that neither on the road, nor here,

* See the reasons already assigned for this opinion, at p. 348 of the present volume.

where we inquired most particularly, was the modern town of Nahr Malka, marked in Major Rennel's map, known to the resident people of the country.

After a day of intolerable heat, the thermometer at noon standing at 117° in the inner division of the khan, and in the deepest shade, we prepared at sun-set to depart. On remounting, we continued our course about south-south-west, passing over a flat and barren country, intersected by many small canals, in which water from the Euphrates still remained, when, in about two hours, we came to the Khan of Hadjee Sulimān. This building, said to have been erected by an Arab whose name it bears, is much inferior in size and exterior appearance to those we had passed. We intended to alight here, and take a cup of coffee; but we were told that the khan had lately been deserted. We procured some good river water, however, from the villagers there, and proceeded on our way.

It was about ten o'clock when we reached the Khan of Mohāwil, when we alighted to repose for the night, having been led to understand that the ruins of Babylon begin to be visible soon after passing this spot, and wishing, therefore, to pass over it by daylight. We found this khan to resemble that of Scandereeah, in its general design, and to be nearly as large. Like it, too, this was chiefly constructed of ancient bricks procured from the neighbourhood; and repairs of the platforms were now going on, with large square furnace-baked bricks of a reddish colour, brought up from the Kassr, at Babel, as the Sheikh told us, and bought with money.

I had thus far been constantly regarded as the Arab guide of Mr. Bellino, and had been always received as such; but here, as we sat together in the caravanserai, the joke went still further. I was asked, who was the stranger I had taken under my protection? and on replying that he was an Englishman, it was asked how much I was to be paid for my journey, when I had carried him out and brought him again to his home in safety? I named a certain sum; and it was then told me that there was a fine young colt, of a high

bred Zobeide race, to be sold in the village, and that if I was disposed to buy it, I might make a profitable bargain; the parties adding, that if I had not immediately the requisite sum in my own purse, my protégé would no doubt advance me sufficient money on account. A long conversation followed, relating to this proposal, at which, when it was translated to him, Mr. Bellino was as much amused as myself; but it was not without considerable difficulty that I was able to escape their pressing importunities to purchase the young colt, for which they thought my European charge could so readily pay. These people behaved, however, with the greatest possible respect to us both, after it was made known to them that the stranger was one of the household of the Balios Bek, (this being the title by which the English Resident is known at Bagdad,) and to this they added the gratuitous supposition that I was of some noble family of Shereefs in Nedjed, and had been chosen for his guide on account of my high descent.

JULY 26th.—We departed from Mohāwil with the rising of the sun, having, though thus early, been furnished before we mounted, with a good breakfast of bread and lebben. Soon after quitting this khan, we passed over a canal, filled with water from the Euphrates, and having a small bridge thrown across its stream. We now began to perceive some small mounds, particularly one on the right, and another on the left of the road, of a size and form resembling the smallest of those seen at Nineveh, and like these preserving but few definite marks, by which to characterize the ruins of which they were the wreck.

That these were heaps formed by the decay of buildings, was evident from the presence of brick and broken pottery scattered near them; but we saw neither writing, reeds, nor bitumen, the great characteristics of the Babylonian buildings. Our examination was, however, too cursorily made for us to decide that such characteristics did not exist, or that the heaps we now saw were not of equal antiquity with those which are decidedly known to have formed

part of Babylon itself. The distance of them from Hillah, about eight miles, would not exclude them from the site of that celebrated city, even according to the reduced computation of its area; and we therefore conceived, that they might be the remains of some portion of the famous walls, towards the northern extremity of their limit.*

* “ Babylon was a very great and a very ancient city, as well as Nineveh. It is indeed generally reckoned less than Nineveh; for, according to Strabo, it was only three hundred and eighty-five furlongs in compass, or three hundred and sixty according to† Diodorus Siculus, or three hundred and sixty-eight according to Quintus Curtius; but ‡ Herodotus, who was an older author than any of them, represents it of the same dimensions as Nineveh, that is four hundred and eighty furlongs, or above sixty miles in compass; but the difference was, that Nineveh was constructed in the form of a parallelogram, and Babylon was an exact square, each side being one hundred and twenty furlongs in length. So that, according to this account, Babylon contained more ground in it than Nineveh did; for, multiplying the sides the one by the other, it will be found that Nineveh contained within its walls only thirteen thousand five hundred furlongs, and that Babylon contained fourteen thousand four hundred. It was, too, as ancient, or more ancient, than Nineveh, for in the words of Moses, speaking of Nimrod, (Gen. x. 10.) it was ‘the beginning of his kingdom,’ that is the first city, or the capital city in his dominions. Several heathen authors say, that Semiramis, but most (as § Quintus Curtius asserts,) that Belus built it: and Belus was very probably the same as Nimrod. But whoever was the first founder of this city, we may reasonably suppose that it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar particularly repaired and enlarged and beautified it to such a degree, that he may in a manner be said to have built it: as he boasted himself, (Dan. iv. 30.) ‘Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?’ Nor is this asserted only in Scripture, but is likewise attested by heathen authors, Megasthenes, Berosus, and Abydenus, whose words are quoted by || Josephus and Eusebius. By one means or other, Babylon became so great and famous a city as

† περιβαλετο τειχος τη πολει σταδιων τριακοσων ἐξηκοντα. CCCLX stadiorum muro urbem circumdedit. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 95. Edit. Rhod. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXVIII stadia complectitur. Quint. Curt. lib. v. cap. 1.

‡ κεετα εν πεδιω μεγαλω, μεγαθος εουσα, μείωνον ἑκαστον, εικοσι και εκατον σταδιων, εουσης τετραγωνου. στοι σταδιοι της περιου της πολιος γινονται συναπαυτες ογδωκοντα και τετρακοσιοι. oppidum situm est in planitie ingenti, forma quadrata, magnitudine quoquo versus centenūm vicensūm stadiorum, in summa quadringentorum et octoginta, in circuitu quatuor laterum urbis. Herod. lib. i. cap. 178. p. 74. Edit. Gale.

§ Semiramis eam condiderat: vel, ut plerique credidere. Belus. Quint. Curt. ibid.

|| Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 11, sect. 1, p. 459. Edit. Hudson. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 41. p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

Our way from thence presented us with nothing worthy of peculiar notice, excepting here and there scattered fragments of pottery and bricks, with many canals, some apparently ancient, and others modern, which crossed our way at intervals, all of them leading from the Euphrates in an easterly direction towards the Tigris, and no doubt originally connecting the waters of both these great rivers.

It was about seven o'clock when we came abreast of the high mound, called by the natives, "El Mujëllibe," from the Arabic, Mukällibe, or Makloube, as Europeans have more frequently written it, signifying "overturned."* This is nearly visible all the way

to give name to a very large empire; and it is called in Scripture (Dan. iv. 30.) 'great Babylon:' (Isa. xlii. 19.) 'the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency;' (Isa. xiv. 4.) 'the golden city;' (Isa. xlvii. 5.) 'the lady of kingdoms;' (Jer. li. 13.) 'abundant in treasures;' (Jer. li. 41.) 'the praise of the whole earth;' and its beauty, strength, and grandeur; its walls, temples, palaces, and hanging gardens, the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lake made for the draining of that river, in the seasons of its overflowings, are described with such pomp and magnificence by heathen authors, that it might deservedly be reputed one of the wonders of the world. The fullest and best account of these things in English is to be found in the second book of that very valuable and very useful work, Dr. Prideaux's *Connection*. Though Babylon was seated in a low watery plain, yet in Scripture (Jer. li. 25.) it is called 'a mountain,' on account of the great height of its walls and towers, its palaces and temples: and † Berosus, speaking of some of its buildings, saith that they appeared most like mountains. Its 'gates of brass,' and its 'broad walls,' are particularly mentioned in Scripture: (Isa. xlv. 2. Jer. li. 58.) and the city ‡ had an hundred gates, twenty-five on each side, all made of solid brass; and its walls, according to § Herodotus, were three hundred and fifty feet in height, and eighty-seven in thickness, and six chariots could go abreast upon them, as || Diodorus affirms after Ctesias."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 158—160.

* "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: it shall never be inhabited, neither shall

† την σφιν αποδους ομοιοτατην τοις ορεσι—quibus speciem dedit montibus persimilem. Joseph. Antiq. ibid.

‡ Herod. lib. i. cap. 179, p. 74. Edit. Gale.

§ Herod. ibid. cap. 178. Prideaux, ibid.

|| ώστε το μεν πλατος ειναι των τειχων εξ αρμασιν ιπποσιμων. ut mænium latitudo sex juxta : urribus vehendis sufficeret. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 96. Edit. Rhod.

from Mohāwil, and lies to the right or west of the direct road from Bagdad, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile. We turned out of our path to examine this, as the first object of interest presenting itself on coming from the north. On approaching it, we passed first over a deep outer ditch, which we should have taken for a canal, but that it was evidently of a circular form, and encompassed the whole pile; and next, some yards further on, we passed down into the bed of an inner ditch, which was broader, lower, and more distinctly marked than the outer one. The mound then rises in a steep ascent, over which the passenger can only go up by the winding paths worn by frequent visits to the ruined edifice.

The general form of this ruin is between an oblong and a square, all its sides being rendered irregular by decay. The four cardinal views given of it, by Mr. Rich, in his "Memoir of Babylon," appear to be admirably correct, and his measurements were all confirmed by us on the spot. These give to the whole circuit, at the foot of the mound, two thousand one hundred and ten feet; and to the elevation of the highest angles at the south-east, a height of one hundred and forty-one feet.

On gaining the summit of this large mass, we had the first sight of the Euphrates, flowing majestically along through verdant banks, and its serpentine course apparently losing itself in the palm-groves of Hillah, whose mosques and minarets we could just perceive, about five miles to the southward of us. We had from hence, too, a very commanding view of the ruins around us, which seemed to correspond so perfectly with the Plan accompanying Mr. Rich's Memoir as to leave nothing to be added to that interesting document.*

it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged."—*Isaiah*, chap. xiii. v. 19.

* Mr. Rich, who had devoted his attention to this subject very soon after his taking up his abode at Bagdad, and had made several visits to the ruins of Babylon, under cir-

After examining this mound in all its details, we were confirmed in the opinion that it had been enclosed with walls and ditches encompassing it all around. The marks of these were visible on the eastern and southern sides, where we entered on and departed from the pile; and Mr. Rich supplies its continuation, when he says, (p. 145,) "At the foot of the Mujellibé, about seventy yards from it, on the northern and western sides, are traces of a very low mound of earth, which may have formed an enclosure round the whole." It was also evident that it was a pile, composed of many different edifices, of various forms, appropriated to various uses, and constructed of different materials: not in any respect corresponding, therefore, with the ancient descriptions of the Tower of Belus, for the remains of which it has been generally taken. On this subject, Mr. Rich has well observed, (p. 153,)—"All travellers, since the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who first revived the remembrance of these ruins, whenever they fancied themselves near the site of Babylon, universally fixed upon the most conspicuous eminence to represent the Tower of Belus." This was natural enough, even when he and his early followers thought they had recognised it among the ruins of Felu-

cumstances which gave him every facility of accurate observation, embodied his researches in a Memoir, which he addressed to the Baron von Hammer, the learned editor of a folio periodical, published at Vienna, in which the Memoir in question was originally inserted. It was this copy that I had the pleasure to read, with the opportunity of consulting its accomplished author, at Bagdad: and to this alone, the references here made refer. The Memoir was afterwards printed in a separate form, by some of Mr. Rich's friends in England: but this soon became so scarce, as not to be attainable by purchase; and after considerable pains to procure a copy in England, I have not yet been successful. This is, perhaps, the less to be wondered at, as the author himself, in a "Second Memoir on Babylon," written about a year after my leaving Bagdad, in answer to some remarks of Major Rennel on the "First Memoir," originally communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, and afterwards published in the *Archæologia*, states, that he himself, up to the date of his writing the "Second Memoir," which was in July, 1817, had not yet seen an English copy of the "First," though it must then have been printed a considerable time.—The extreme scarcity of the Memoir, in either form, added to the accuracy of the Plan and Views which accompany it, induce me to believe that I shall perform an acceptable service to the reader, and do service to the reputation of its lamented author, by the addition of both to the Illustrations of the present volume.

giah, higher up the Euphrates; and was still more excusable, when Pietro della Valle selected this mound, certainly the most probable one of all those on the *east* side of the river, as the remains of that tower "whose top was to reach unto heaven."*

On the exterior surface of this mound of the Mujellibé, are sufficient remains of walls and buildings to prove that its base is still a solid building, and scarcely at all enlarged by rubbish. This is also the case on its summit, where walls and portions of buildings are still open in many places; and even where loose rubbish is found to cover the surface, it is in very small quantities, formed by the gradual decomposition of the outer parts exposed to the action of the elements, and strewed over with fragments of brick and pottery.†

* Genesis, chap. xi. v. 4.

† The most minute and laboured description of the ancient Babylon is, perhaps, that of Diodorus Siculus, who, however, writing not more than half a century before the birth of Christ, speaks of a city which had been laid in ruins long before his day, and was even then an object of antiquarian research and uncertainty. As his description contains a reference to each of the several quarters and edifices, which will be mentioned in the succeeding pages of the text, it may be agreeable to such readers as may be desirous of minutely investigating the subject, to have this description before them; under this impression it is here inserted:—

"Semiramis was naturally of an high and aspiring spirit, ambitious to excel all her predecessors in glorious actions, and therefore employed all her thoughts about the building of a city in the province of Babylon; and to this end, having provided architects, artists, and all other necessities for the work, she got together two millions of men out of all parts of the empire, to be employed in building of the city. It was so built, as that the river Euphrates ran through the middle of it, and she compassed it round with a wall of three hundred and sixty furlongs in circuit, and adorned with many stately turrets, and such was the state and grandeur of the work, that the walls were of that breadth, as that six chariots abreast might be driven together upon them. The height was such, as exceeded all men's belief that heard of it, (as Ctesias the Cnidian relates.) But Clitarchus, and those who afterwards went over with Alexander into Asia, have written that the walls were three hundred and sixty-five furlongs, the queen making them of that compass, to the end that the furlongs should be as many in number as the days of the year. They were of brick, cemented with brimstone—in height, as Ctesias says, fifty orgyas, (each six feet,) but as some of the later writers report, but fifty cubits only, and that the breadth was but a little more than what would allow

There is every reason to believe, from the appearance of its summit, and the absence of any great quantity of rubbish there and around its base, that it was never built on to a much greater height than that at which its highest part now stands, or one hundred and

two chariots to be driven in front. There were two hundred and fifty turrets, in height and thickness, proportionable to the largeness of the wall. It is not to be wondered at, that there were so few towers upon a wall of so great a circuit, being that, in many places round the city, there were deep morasses, so that it was judged to no purpose to raise turrets there, where they were so naturally fortified. Between the wall and the houses, there was a space left round the city of two hundred feet.

“That the work might be the more speedily dispatched, to each of her friends was allotted a furlong, with an allowance of all expences necessary for their several parts, and commanded all should be finished in a year's time, which being diligently perfected with the queen's approbation, she then made a bridge over the narrowest part of the river, five furlongs in length. On either side of the river, she raised a bank as broad as the wall, and with great cost drew it out in length an hundred furlongs. She built likewise two palaces at each end of the bridge on the banks of the river, where she might have a prospect over the whole city, and make her passage, as by keys, to the most convenient places in it, as she had occasion. And whereas Euphrates runs through the midst of Babylon, making its course to the south, the palaces lie the one on the east and the other on the west side of the river, both built at exceeding costs and expense. For that on the west had a high and stately wall, made of well-burnt bricks, sixty furlongs in compass, (seven miles and a half;) within this was drawn another of a round circumference, upon which were portrayed on the bricks, before they were burnt, all sorts of living creatures, as if it were to the life, laid with great art in curious colours. This wall was in circuit forty furlongs, three hundred bricks thick, and in height, (as Ctesias says,) fifty orgyas, or one hundred yards, upon which were turrets one hundred and forty yards high. The third and most inward wall immediately surrounded the palace, thirty furlongs in compass, and far surmounted the middle wall both in height and thickness, and on this wall and towers were represented the shapes of all sorts of living creatures, artificially represented in most lively colours. Especially was represented a general hunt of all sorts of wild beasts, each four cubits high, and upwards; amongst these was to be seen Semiramis on horseback, striking a leopard through with a dart; and next to her, her husband Ninus in close fight with a lion, piercing him with his lance. To this palace, likewise, she built three gates, under which were apartments of brass for entertainments, into which passages were opened by a certain engine. This palace far excelled that on the other side of the river, both in greatness and adornments. For the outmost wall of that, (namely on the west,) made of well-burnt brick, was but thirty furlongs in compass. When the river was turned aside into a reservoir, and a vault built across its old bed, the stream was suffered

forty feet from the level of the soil ; whereas the Tower of Belus, according to the lowest computation, is stated at five hundred feet in perpendicular height, and was formed of eight stages, retiring one within another in a pyramidal form. The pile now remaining

to flow over the work in its old channel, so that Semiramis could go from one palace to the other by this vault, without passing over the river. She made likewise two brazen gates, at either end of the vaults, which continued to the time of the Persian Empire.

“ In the middle of the city, she built a Temple to Jupiter, whom the Babylonians call Belus, of which, since writers differ among themselves, and the work is now wholly decayed through length of time, there is nothing that can with certainty be related concerning it, yet it is apparent, that it was of exceeding great height, and that by the advantage of it, the Chaldean astrologers exactly observed the setting and rising of the stars. The whole was built of brick, cemented with brimstone, with great art and cost. Upon the top were placed three statues of beaten gold, of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea, with other splendid vessels, tables, and ornaments of gold and precious stones, weighing altogether about six thousand Babylonish talents ; but all these the Persian kings sacrilegiously carried away, and length of time has either altogether consumed or much defaced the palaces, and the other structures, so that at this day, but a small part of this Babylon is inhabited, and the greatest part which lay within the walls is turned into pasture and tillage.

“ There was also a hanging garden, (as it is called,) near the citadel, not built by Semiramis, but by a later prince, called Cyrus, for the sake of a courtesan, who, being a Persian (as they say) by birth, and coveting meadows on mountain tops, desired the king, by an artificial plantation, to imitate the land in Persia. This garden was four hundred foot square, and the ascent up to it was as to the top of a mountain, and had buildings and apartments out of one into another, like a theatre. Under the steps to the ascent, were built arches one above another, rising gently by degrees, which supported the whole plantation. The highest arch upon which the platform of the garden was laid, was fifty cubits high, and the garden itself was surrounded with battlements and bulwarks. The walls were made very strong, built at no small charge and expense, being two and twenty feet thick, and every sally port ten feet wide. Over the several stories of this fabric were laid beams, and summers of huge massy stones, each sixteen feet long, and four broad. The roof over all these was first covered with reeds, daubed with abundance of brimstone, (or bitumen;) then, upon them, was laid double tiles, pargeted together with a hard and durable mortar, and over them all, was a covering, with sheets of lead, that the wet which drenched through the earth might not rot the foundation. Upon all these, was laid earth of a convenient depth, sufficient for the growth of the greatest trees. When the soil was laid even and smooth, it was planted with all sorts of trees, which both for beauty and greatness might delight the spectators. The arches (which stood one above another, and by that means darted

is nearly equal in height to two of such stages, yet no appearance of any division is any where to be seen in the outer surface of the sides ; though, as before remarked, walls and masonry of brick-work are visible there in many parts, and these prove, beyond a doubt, that there has been no great accumulation of rubbish in those directions.

The six uppermost stages wanting to complete the whole height, (supposing this to have been the Tower of Belus, as has been inaccurately assumed,) could not have disappeared without leaving an immense mass of rubbish, occasioned by their fall or removal ; and, indeed, it is said, both by Strabo and Arrian, that when Alexander was desirous of repairing the sepulchre of Belus, it was found to be too great a labour, for it was thought that ten thousand men would not be able to remove the rubbish in two months. This is a feature which does not at all apply to the present state of the Mujellibé, where but little loose rubbish is found beyond the limits of the building itself.

The area of this pile already exceeds, by about two hundred feet, a square stadium, which is the extent given to the base of the Tower of Belus ; so that if any works remain perfect on the outer surface of the present heap, they must, to preserve the measure within its present limits, be considered as the original outworks of the pile. Strabo says, that the sides of the tower were built of *burnt* bricks ; and Diodorus states, that it was of an exceeding great height, built of brick, and cemented with bitumen.* The exterior parts of the building here present only *unburnt* bricks, cemented

light sufficient one into another,) had in them many stately rooms of all kinds, and for all purposes. But there was one that had in it certain engines, whereby it drew plenty of water out of the river, through certain conduits and conveyances from the platform of the garden, and nobody without was the wiser, or knew what was done. The garden (as we said before) was built in later ages."—*Diodorus Siculus*, book ii. c. 1.

* See also Genesis, chap. i. v. 4. " And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar." Rauwolff mentions the bitumen or pitch, for which Babylonia has always been celebrated, as existing in abundance in his day. " Near the bridge are several heaps of Babylonian pitch, to pitch ships withal, which is in some places grown so hard,

by a thick mortar of *clay*; and between every course is a layer of reeds, or large rushes, laid cross-ways, like the weavings of a mat, as at Akkerkoof.

The interior opens to view the remains of small buildings, some of burnt brick cemented with lime, others of unburnt brick cemented by clay, and these evidently of various forms and sizes, and apparently constructed at different periods, though all doubtless of the Babylonian age.

If this had been the Tower of Belus, and its six upper stages had fallen to ruin, the summit would necessarily have been covered with its vestiges; for it cannot be supposed, that the Arabs would have taken away, in any length of time, what the labourers of Alexander thought it too great a work to undertake. Yet no such extensive vestiges are found, and the buildings which compose this pile are still so open, as to admit of being dug into with very little trouble by the people of the country, who search there for burnt bricks, or by travellers and visitors who excavate for discovery. Major Rennel, whose authority is deservedly so high with regard to ancient geography and local positions, has followed Della Valle in considering this as the remains of the Tower of Belus; but, as Mr. Rich very accurately observes, "that great geographer does not establish its position from that of the other ruins, but assumes *it* as a datum to ascertain the situation and extent of the rest of Babylon,"* so that Major Rennel's authority is in this instance no other than that of Della Valle's, which he has followed as the best then known to him.†

The arguments which Major Rennel has drawn together, in favour of the supposition of the Tower of Belus being on the *east* side of the river, are so fully answered by Mr. Rich, as to leave it still a matter of as great uncertainty as before, whether it was on

that you may walk over it, but in others, that which hath been lately brought thither is so soft, that you may see every step you make in it."—p. 138.

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient," p. 154.

† Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, by Major Rennel, in 4to.

the east or on the west. All that seems to be perfectly clear with regard to their relative positions, is, that the Temple of Jupiter Belus was on one side of the river, or occupied nearly the centre of one of the divisions of the city, while the royal palace occupied the other.* It is this palace which I conceive the Mujellibé to have been, as corresponding equally in situation, and much more in the appearance of its remains, with the building alluded to, than with the Tower of Belus, as far as that has been described. There appear to have been two palaces in Babylon, one of which is said, by Diodorus, to be seated on the *east*, the other on the *west* of the Euphrates; and these, with the Temple of Belus, were always regarded as the most wonderful of the public structures. Herodotus, as we have seen, places the temple and the palace each in its respective division of the city, as occupying a circular space there, surrounded by a wall; and he adds, that the latter was strongly defended. "The enclosure of one of the palaces," says Rennel, "which appears to be what is called by others the *citadel*, was a square of fifteen stadia, or near a mile and a half." Again, "Diodorus is pointed with respect to the palace being near to the bridge, and consequently to the river's bank; and he is borne out by the descriptions of Strabo and Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to be very near the river, and all agree that they were within or adjacent to the square of the fortified palace."

The pile of the Mujellibé presents four sides, each of steep ascent, and in this respect, it resembles in general form the artificial mounds on which the ancient castles of Hhoms, El Hhearim, and Aleppo, in Syria, and that of Arbela, or Arweel, on the east of the Tigris, are erected. "The western face of this mound," says Mr. Rich, "which is the least elevated, is the most interesting, on account of the appearance of building which it presents. Near the summit of it appears a low wall, with interruptions, built of *unburnt*

* "In the centre of each division of the city there 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 Belus occupies the other."—*Herodotus. Clio.* 181.

bricks, mixed up with chopped straw or reeds, and cemented with *clay* mortar of great thickness, having between every course a layer of reeds; and on the north side are also some vestiges of a similar construction. The south-west angle is crowned by something like a turret or lanthorn; the other angles are in a less perfect state, but may originally have been ornamented in a similar manner.*

These features, added to the circumstance of its being evidently surrounded by ditches, and perhaps walls, with its situation within a quarter of a mile of the river, are strong arguments in favour of its being considered the castellated palace described. The only argument yet suggested against this, is the interior appearance and solidity of the ruin. Nothing is more evident, however, than that the interior was composed of many different buildings, of various forms, magnitudes, and materials; which may be best seen, it is true, from an inspection of the pile itself, but which may also be gathered from the written reports of those who have recorded their observations on the spot.

Della Valle calls it a vast heap of ruins, of so heterogeneous a kind, that he could find nothing whereon to fix his judgment, as to what it might have been in its original condition. On the top he saw what might be taken for caverns or cells, but they were in so ruinous a state, that he could not judge whether they made a part of the original design, or were excavated; since, in fact, it only appeared a mass of confusion, none of its members being distinguishable. He observed, also, the different materials of which the whole was composed, there being, in some places, furnace-baked bricks, with lime and bitumen as cement; in others, unburnt bricks, with a mortar of clay and broken reeds. The foundations going around the great mass were also noted by him, at a distance of fifty or sixty paces from its foot. Mr. Rich's description, which is still more full and detailed, proves also the existence of chambers, passages, and cellars, of different sizes and forms, and built of different materials.

The apparent solidity of this ruin, as urged against its being a

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."

castle, is caused, therefore, by the spaces between these separate edifices being now filled up by the rubbish of such part of the buildings as are fallen into ruins. Besides, it is known that temples are in general very open buildings, in all parts of the world ; while palaces and castles, and particularly those of the East, are mere fortified enclosures, crowded with the habitations of all those who occupy them in the service of their chiefs. Even in this particular, also, the pile in question would therefore seem to be rather the elevated mound, on which a fortified palace, with all its offices, stood, than a tower or temple, rising to a height of five hundred feet.

The circumstance of some natives having found in this pile a coffin of mulberry wood, containing a human body enclosed in a light wrapper, and partially covered with bitumen, as well as of Mr. Rich having made a similar discovery of a coffin containing a skeleton in high preservation, with its appropriate amulets of Babylonian days, and, indeed, all the interesting results of his excavations there, are such as might, with the strictest propriety, belong to a castle or a palace, but could not well have been found in a temple, within the sacred precincts of which the dead were never interred.

After examining the ruined heap of the Mujellibé, and bringing away with us some fragments of hard, though apparently not furnace-burnt, bricks, with inscriptions on them, in the arrow-headed or Babylonian character, we left the pile, to extend our observations, and soon came to the river's bank. We thought the stream of the Euphrates to be much wider here than any part of the Tigris that we had seen ; and its general resemblance to the Nile, above Cairo, struck me very forcibly. Its banks were lined with date-groves, on both sides of the stream. Its current flowed tranquilly along, at a rate of less than two miles per hour ; and in the centre were seen some of those rounded sand-banks, covered with rushes, so common in the river of Egypt.

The gardens on this, the eastern side, are watered artificially from the river, after the following manner. A canal, of narrow

dimensions, is let in from the main stream, to a distance of twenty or thirty feet; a frame-work is then erected over it, made of the trunks of date-trees, two sections of a trunk being used as posts, one as a transverse bar, and two others sloping inwards, resting upon this bar. In the ends of these last are pulleys, over which traverses a cord. To the one end of the cord is affixed a large leather bucket, which descends to the river by its own weight, and fills. The other end is fastened to a bullock, which is made to descend over a steep artificial slope, at an angle of forty-five degrees, and thus, uniting its weight with its strength, it easily raises the water. This is then discharged from the leather bucket by a long pipe of the same material, into a channel somewhat above the level of the garden itself, so that it readily finds its way into the general reservoir there. Each of these bullocks has a driver to attend it; but, notwithstanding this, the method is as cheap and effective as any that could be contrived to be executed by mere animal labour.

The distance between the Mujellibé and the next great mound to the southward of it, sometimes called by the same name, at others exclusively "Babel," and still more generally "El Kassr," or the Palace, certainly exceeds a mile. The low intermediate space is covered with grass and verdure, and has a small enclosed garden with date-trees near its centre.

We crossed this valley, and ascended the mound of the Kassr, or Palace, which is more irregular in its form, and seemingly more extensive in size, than the one we had just quitted. We traversed this in every direction, as we had done the other, before any conclusions were ventured on; and then the first which presented itself, was that this was also the site of an extensive palace, with perhaps the hanging gardens attached to it. Were it not that the palaces are said to have been seated on opposite sides of the river, I should have said, when looking towards the Mujellibé, "There was certainly the old palace, and here is the site of the new;" but this would be at variance with the accounts of their relative position, and more particularly with the tunnel under the Euphrates, by

which Semiramis is said to have gone from one palace to the other, without crossing over the river above. It is true, that the river, which here bends easterly, might have once made a sharper turn in that direction, so as to fill the low and fertile ground, now seen like the bed of a stream between these palaces, and thus these buildings might then have stood on opposite sides of the *stream*, with regard to each other, but on the same side or quarter of the city, with regard to the general direction of the stream itself, which was nearly north and south. This, however, is certain, that if either of the three great masses here be taken for the palace, the garden, or the tower of Belus, the principal structures of ancient Babylon, there is nothing on the other side remaining to correspond with the edifices, which were always supposed to be immediately opposite to these on the other bank of the river. The ground there, as marked in Mr. Rich's plan, is low and marshy,* and presents no such appearance of mounds, or the slightest vestige of former buildings, of any description whatever.

It is possible, indeed, that from its being subject to inundation, the same operations of the water, which have swept away every appearance of the embankment along its edge,† may, in a succession of so many ages, have carried away the remains of a palace, standing on the western side, and completely filled up the tunnel of communication to it from the east.‡ I should even then, however, consider

* "I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction."—*Isaiah*, chap. xiv. v. 22, 23.

† Pliny says, that the Euphrates passed through the centre of Babylon, between two moles or embankments, which were faced with brick, cemented by bitumen. To connect the two divisions of the city, there was a fine stone bridge, in the construction of which arches are spoken of, and it was reckoned one of the wonders of the East.—*Nat. Hist.* b. v. c. 1.

‡ Rauwolff, who came down the Euphrates all the way from Beer, and approached the ruins of Babylon by water, describes the remains of arches in his day, near the stream, which might either have been the vestiges of an ancient bridge, as he supposes,

the mound of the Mujellibé, as that of the new palace, supposing the old one to have been immediately opposite on the other side; while the temple of Belus would be still to discover on the same side, or west of the Euphrates, in some part not yet defined.

The citadel or palace, (for it served both these purposes, and was the only one within the walls,) was surrounded by an exterior wall of sixty stadia in circumference; inside this was another of forty stadia, the interior face of which was ornamented with painting, as is the custom of the Persians of the present day; and again within this last was a third, with designs of hunting. On the opposite side of the river, and on the same side with the temple of Belus, was situated the old palace, the outer wall of which was no larger than the inner wall of the new. Above the new palace or citadel, were the hanging gardens, which, according to Strabo, formed a square of four plethora for each face, and were fifty cubits in height.*

Diodorus, as we have seen, expressly says, that the palace was near to the river; and Strabo and Curtius represent the hanging gardens to be on its banks, all agreeing that they were within, or adjacent to, the square of the fortified palace. Strabo says, "the

or the remains of the place of entrance into the tunnel here adverted to. This traveller says:—"This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent and powerful city (which once was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Sinar,) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation, and several ancient and delicate antiquities that still are standing hereabouts in great desolation. First, by the old bridge, which was laid over the Euphrates, (which also is called Sud by the prophet Baruch in his first chapter,) whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, and to be seen at this very day a little above where we landed. These arches are built of burnt brick, and so strong, that it is admirable; and that so much the more, because all along the river as we came from Bir, where the river is a great deal smaller, we saw never a bridge, wherefore I say it is admirable which way they could build a bridge here, where the river is at least half a league broad, and very deep besides."—pp. 137, 138.

* Mr. Rich's Memoir, p. 157.

Euphrates flows through the middle of the city, and the hanging gardens are adjacent to the river, from whence they are watered," and it appears natural enough, says Rennel, that the princess should avail herself of the prospect of a noble river, a stadium in breadth, flowing near the palace. There is little doubt, says the same writer, but that the hanging gardens contained at least three and half acres. Diodorus says, they formed a square of four hundred feet. Curtius, that they were supported by twenty walls, eleven feet distant from each other, which spaces, together with the thickness of the walls, will make up at least four hundred feet. They had a view over the city walls, and were said to be upwards of a hundred feet in height.*

The gardens then had evidently buildings in them, besides the masonry of the lofty mounds on which they stood, and as they were in themselves the most wonderful of the public structures of Babylon, whether for enormity of labour or expense bestowed on them, nothing is more probable, than that they should have been embellished with appropriate edifices, such as summer-houses, bowers, alcoves, &c. in all the luxury of the East. Diodorus expressly says, that there were drawn, in colours, on the bricks used in building the wall of the great palace, various animals, as well as a representation of a general hunting of wild beasts. The gardens, as forming a part of the palace, from their comparative proximity to it, and certainly within the same grand enclosure of sixty stadia

* Pliny says, that the castle had twenty stadia circuit, and the towers of it thirty feet in the earth, and eighty in height. The hanging gardens were here constructed on columns, arches, and walls, and contained terraces of earth, watered by machines from the river, producing forests of large trees. Its height was equal to that of the castle walls, and from the fine air enjoyed there, fruits of all kinds were produced, and the shade and refreshing coolness of the place were delicious in such a climate. It was said that a king of Syria, who reigned in Babylon, constructed these gardens to gratify a wife whom he violently loved, and who, having a passion for woods and forests, thus enjoyed, in the midst of a great metropolis, the sylvan pleasures of a country life.—*Nat. Hist.* b. v. c. 1.

and forty stadia which surrounded the whole, would admit of as high embellishments in its more interior retreats, as those which were used in the inner court or palace wall.

It may be interesting to examine how far the features of this second mound correspond with those ascribed to the palace and gardens by the authorities already quoted. Its local situation near the river's brink, so as to have been watered by machines from the stream, and its distance of about a mile from the supposed palace, with no other similar mound nearer to it, gives it a strong claim to similarity of position. The size of this mound, as given by Mr. Rich, is seven hundred yards in length and breadth, its form being nearly a square; but then its south-west angle is connected with the north-west angle of a larger mass of the same description, called Amran, by a ridge of considerable height, and nearly one hundred yards in breadth. The larger mass or mound of Amran presents the figure of a quadrant, and is eleven hundred yards in length, and eight hundred in breadth. The height of both these mounds is irregular, but that of the first may be from sixty to seventy, and that of the last from fifty to sixty feet above the level of the plain. There are here, then, two large elevated masses, connected by a causeway of proportionate height, and one hundred yards in breadth, going across a valley of five hundred and fifty yards in length; and these masses, each nearly of the same breadth, the space occupied by the whole being two thousand three hundred and fifty yards in length, eight hundred in breadth, and about twenty in height.

Between these mounds and the river is another running along its very edge, and called, by Mr. Rich, its "embankment," of which he gives this description. "The river's bank is skirted by a ruin, (B) which I shall, for perspicuity's sake, call its embankment. It commences on a line with the lower extremity of the southernmost grand mound, (or Amran,) and is there nearly three hundred yards broad at its base, from the east angle of which a mound proceeds, taking a sweep to the south-east, so as to be nearly parallel with, and forty yards more to the south than, that boundary; and losing

itself in the plain, being, in fact, the most southerly of all the ruins. The embankment is continued in a right line to the north, and diminishes in breadth, but increases in elevation, till at the distance of seven hundred and fifty yards from its commencement, where it is forty feet in perpendicular height, and is interrupted by a break (C) of nearly the same breadth with the river. To this succeeds a piece of flat ground, apparently gained from the river by a slight change in its course, it being one hundred and ten yards in length, and two hundred and fifty in greatest breadth; and along its base are traces of a continuation of the embankment, which is there a narrow line that soon loses itself."

In another place, when speaking of the Mujellibé, or Pietro della Valle's ruin, which is here assumed as the castellated palace, this same writer says, "The northern termination of the plan is Pietro della Valle's ruin, from the south-east angle of which, (to which it evidently once joined, being only obliterated there by two canals,) proceeds a narrow ridge or mound of earth, wearing the appearance of having been a boundary wall. (A) This ridge forms a kind of circular enclosure, and joins the south-east point of the most southerly of the two grand masses." Again: "The whole of the area enclosed by the boundary on the east and south, and the river on the west, is two miles and six hundred yards in breadth from east to west; and from Pietro della Valle's ruin to the most southerly mound of all, which has been already mentioned as branching off from the embankment, two miles and one thousand yards in length from north to south."

I have collected together these authorities, rather than set down any original descriptions of my own; first, because more weight is generally attached to reasonings on facts resting on the testimony of others; and next, because having gone over all the ground with Mr. Rich's plan and observations in my hand, and confirmed the accuracy of these by ocular inspection, the leading facts became my own by adoption, and formed the best foundation for subsequent reasonings and inferences. From all these enumerated details, we

collect then, that near the supposed palace, and close upon the river's brink, are two grand masses, of the elevation of sixty feet, connected together by a broad and lofty causeway, and faced by an embankment on the edge of the stream: the whole occupying, in its present state, a space of two thousand three hundred and fifty yards in length, by eleven hundred yards in breadth.

The hanging gardens are described to be precisely in this situation, near the palace, close to the river, and watered by engines from its stream. They are said, by one authority, to have been fifty cubits, and by another to have exceeded a hundred feet, in height, and to have occupied three and half acres in extent. The height is as near the truth as could be expected at this distant period; and it remains to be seen how nearly the extent of the ground it now occupies agrees with that assigned to it when perfect.

The palace and the gardens were said to be surrounded by an outer wall of sixty stadia, an inner one of forty, and a third, the dimensions of which are not given. The southern extreme of this outer wall is to be found in the ridge which goes off south-east from the eastern angle of the embankment (B) near the river, which is the southernmost ruin of all, and four hundred yards to the south of the more perfect boundary wall (A.) The northern extreme of this same outer enclosure may be traced in the appearances of a boundary which were observed by Mr. Rich, to the north westward of the Mujellibé, at the distance of seventy yards, and were noticed also by myself. The inner boundary of forty stadia is still more distinctly to be traced in the circular mound marked (A) in Mr. Rich's plan; which, as he says, evidently once joined to the Mujellibé, or palace, from which it is now only separated by two canals, and which still preserves its connection with the south-east angle of the great southern mound of Amran, supposed to be that of the hanging garden. The third wall may be found in the long straight mounds (E.F.) the fine materials of which it was formed having, no doubt, facilitated its destruction.

We may now compare more minutely the detailed description

of these ruined heaps, in their present condition, with the ancient testimonies regarding them. We have seen that Diodorus describes the inner wall of the palace, which must have passed close by this, as being highly ornamented with painted tiles, bearing devices of animals, hunting scenes, &c.; and it has been suggested that the buildings in these gardens would be likely to be of the most ornamented and highly-finished kind of those known in that age. The traveller, Beauchamp, when speaking of this *second* heap from the northward, after having seen the Mujellibé, which he calls the "Mount of Babel," says, "Above this mount, on the side of the river, are those immense ruins which have served and still serve for the building of Hillah, an Arabian city, containing ten or twelve thousand souls. Here are found those large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, specimens of which I have presented to the Abbé Barthelemy. This place, and the Mount of Babel, are commonly called, by the Arabs, 'Makloube,' that is to say, turned topsyturvy. I was informed by the master mason employed to dig for bricks, that the places from which he procured them were large thick walls, and sometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen vessels, engraved marbles, and, about eight years ago, a statue as large as life, which he threw among the rubbish. On one wall of a chamber, he found the figures of a cow, and of the sun and moon, formed of varnished bricks. Sometimes, idols of clay are found, representing human figures. I found one brick, on which was a lion, and on others a half moon in relief." After describing the finding a large sculptured block of black stone, and a piece of beautiful white and red granite, on these eastern ruins, he says, "On the same side of the city, as I was told by the master mason, there were walls of varnished bricks, which he supposed to have been a temple."*

Mr. Rich, in speaking of this same mound, which he calls the second grand heap of ruins, (in coming from the southward,) says,

* See Beauchamp's authority, as quoted by Major Rennel, in his Chapter on Babylon, in the Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus.



C. J. Rich del.

From Les Mines de l'Orient.

E. B. Loh.

Views of the Principal Ruins still existing on the Site of the
ANCIENT BABYLON.

“ This is the place where Beauchamp made his observations, and it is certainly the most interesting part of the ruins of Babylon; every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest of which any traces are left on the eastern quarter; the bricks are of the finest description, and, notwithstanding this is the grand storehouse of them, and that the greatest supplies have been and are now constantly drawn from it, they appear still to be abundant. In addition to the substances generally strewed on the surfaces of all these mounds, we here find fragments of alabaster, vessels of fine earthenware, marble, and great quantities of varnished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which are surprisingly fresh.”* After a detail of walls and subterranean passages, follows the discovery of a lion of colossal dimensions, standing on a pedestal, rudely sculptured in coarse grey granite, and having a circular aperture in its mouth, supposed to be the same block which Beauchamp but imperfectly saw and described.

On this mound, is the building called by the natives, “ El Kasr,” or the palace, the remains of which are so perfectly like the best brick-work of Europe, in colour, form, and construction, that if found in any other situation than its present one, it would be thought to be a work of the century in which we live. Mr. Rich has given a drawing of this, to accompany his Memoir, which has the same claim to fidelity that all his other sketches possess. His description of it is so accurate, that a transcription of it will be better than any thing I could say, since the substance must be the same, however varied the form of words in which it may be expressed.

“ The Kasr is a very remarkable ruin, which, being uncovered, and in part detached from the rubbish, is visible from a considerable distance, but so surprisingly fresh in its appearance, that it was only after a minute inspection of it, that I was satisfied of its being a Babylonian remain. It consists of several walls and piers, (which

* Memoir, in “ Les Mines de l’Orient,” p. 141.

face the cardinal points) eight feet in thickness, in some places ornamented with niches, and in others strengthened by pilasters and buttresses, built of fine burnt brick, (still perfectly clean and sharp,) laid in lime-cement of such extraordinary tenacity, that those whose business it is to extract these bricks for building have given up working here, on account of the difficulty of extracting them whole. The tops of these walls are broken, and may have been much higher. On the outside, they have in some places been cleared nearly to the foundations, but the internal spaces formed by them are filled with rubbish in some parts almost to their summit.*

The hanging gardens, (as they are called,) which had an area of about three and half acres, had trees of a considerable size growing in them; "and it is not improbable," says Major Rennel, "that they were of a species different from those of the natural growth of the alluvial soil of Babylonia. Curtius says, that some of them were eight cubits in the girth, and Strabo, that there was a contrivance to prevent the large roots from destroying the superstructure, by building vast hollow piers, which were filled with earth to receive them. These trees, continues the same writer, may have been perpetuated in the same spot where they grew, notwithstanding that the terraces may have subsided, by the crumbling of the piers and walls that supported them."

Such appears to be the fact, for, at the distance of a few paces only to the north-north-east of this mass of walls and piers, the internal spaces of which are still filled with earth and rubbish, is the famous single tree, which the natives call "Athelo," and maintain to have been flourishing in ancient Babylon, from the destruction of which God preserved it, that it might afford Ali a convenient place to tie up his horse, after the battle of Hillah.

This tree is of a kind perfectly unknown to these parts, though Mr. Rich was told, that there was one of the same kind at Bussorah: it is admitted, however, on all hands, to be a very rare species. It is certainly of a very great age, as its trunk, which appears to have

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient," p. 143.

been of considerable girth, now presents only a bare and decayed half or longitudinal section, which, if found on the ground, would be thought to be rotten and unfit for any use ; yet the few branches which still sprout out from its venerable top are perfectly green ; and, as had been already remarked by others, as well as confirmed by our own observation, give to the passage of the wind a shrill and melancholy sound, like the whistling of a tempest through a ship's rigging at sea. Though thus thick in the trunk, it is not more than fifteen feet high, and its branches are very few. It is an ever-green, and is thought to resemble the *lignum vitæ*, its leaves being formed of long stems, with smaller branching leaves, like those of the pine and cedar, but of a lighter green, and its boughs almost as flexible as the willow.

The fact of these trees perpetuating themselves on the spot, as described by the ancients, seems to be thought possible ; and it is certain, that this single tree, standing as it does on the very summit of the mound taken for the hanging garden, and certainly not likely to have been planted, by any subsequent hand, on a mere heap of ruins, very strongly favours such a supposition, as there is no other rational way of accounting for the presence of so unusual a tree as this, in so unusual a situation. It may not be irrelevant to remark, that it was in the heap assumed to be the site of the hanging gardens, that Mr. Rich found the brick with a device on it, resembling the garden spade used by the Arabs of the present day, and that he thought it singular and curious enough to deserve a drawing of it, which accompanied his "Memoir," as no similar brick has been found in any other part of the extensive ruins of this city.



CHAPTER XXIII.

SEARCH AFTER THE WALLS OF BABYLON.

IT was a quarter before nine o'clock, when we departed from hence, to extend our excursion more easterly, to which we had been tempted by the sight of the high mounds in that direction, as well as by the report of there being one of particular interest there, called Al Hheimar, and by the persuasion that vestiges of ruins must exist beyond the boundary line, (A) which we conceived to mark only the enclosure of sixty stadia, that encompassed the castellated palace and its gardens.

We pursued our way to the eastward, over a ground of excellent soil, sometimes covered with pools of water in its hollows, and at others with the drifting sand of the Desert. As we proceeded, we observed patches of soil strewed over with fragments of bricks and

broken pottery, as if originally covered with detached masses of buildings, leaving only these vestiges to mark their site; while in the space around them, for some distance, no such fragments were seen, the ground in these intervals having been apparently used for no other purpose than cultivation.*

We passed, occasionally, long mounds, running from north to south, and saw others crossing them at right angles from east to west. Our first impression was, that these were the beds of canals, by which the ground had been irrigated subsequent to the destruction of Babylon, but which had since fallen into neglect. This opinion was, however, soon shaken by our observing the number and cross direction of these mounds to be such as could never have been the case, had they been canals. Some of them, it is true, might have been remains of channels, by which the parts of the city most remote from the Euphrates were watered during its splendour, and these might have been since used as canals; but the greater part of the mounds were certainly the remains of buildings originally disposed in streets, and crossing each other at right angles, with immense spaces of open and level ground on each side of them. The more distinct and prominent of these presented many proofs of their having been such; because the heaps, which were always double, or in parallel lines, were much higher and wider on each side than they could have been if formed only by the earth thrown up from the excavated hollow, each being wider than the intervening space between them, which varied from fifteen to thirty feet, and each exceeding twenty feet in height, while the level of the central space (which would have been the bed of the canal, had this been a channel for water,) was itself higher than that of the surrounding soil, and the mounds were intersected by cross

* The houses of the city did not touch the walls, but were at some distance from it. All the space within the city was not built, nor more than ninety stadia of it: and even the houses did not join each other. The remainder of the ground served as fields and gardens, sufficient to furnish provisions to the city in the event of a siege.—*Quint. Curt.* b. v. c. 1.

passages, in such a manner, as to place beyond a doubt the fact of their being rows of houses or streets fallen to decay.

There were also, in some places, two hollow channels, and three mounds, running parallel to each other for a considerable distance, the central mound being, in such cases, a broader and flatter mass than the other two, as if there had been two streets going parallel to each other, the central range of houses which divided them being twice the size of the others, from their being double residences, with a front and door of entrance to face each avenue. The same peculiarities of level, size, and direction, were observed here as in other parts of the ruins nearer the river; and all these could be easily reconciled to the supposition of being remains of streets and houses, but could not have belonged to canals; independently of their number and direction rendering it highly improbable that they were ever used as such.

The fact of these mounds being so much lower than the enormous heaps left by the remains of the palace and the hanging gardens, might occasion them to be regarded as comparatively insignificant, in relation to other Babylonian ruins; but though, for very evident reasons, the castle stood on an elevated site, and the gardens of Semiramis were exhibited aloft, "a monument," as Rennel expresses it, "of the husband's folly, to all the surrounding country," there would be no reason to expect that any of the other edifices, and more especially the private dwellings of the people, should have their foundations at all above the common level of the soil.

This is, indeed, precisely the case: the mounds left by their crumbled ruins being, in many places, as high as those of Nineveh, and in others equal to those of Memphis, Bubastis, Tanis, and Sais in Egypt, all of them cities of nearly equal antiquity, and nearly contemporary in the dates of their destruction. If an excavation could be made, so as to cut through and obtain a fresh section of some of the principal of these mounds, it would at once decide the question satisfactorily; but we had not the means of doing this, or even of penetrating sufficiently deep beneath the indistinct mass,

to ascertain the nature of its interior, the surface being, by the action of wind and rain through a long series of ages, such as to afford no clue to the judgment in this particular.*

As long as we continued to find such remains of extensive mounds, detached squares, and circular patches covered with burnt brick and pottery, we continued to proceed onward, and about half-past ten reached a walled enclosure, within which were a number of date-trees. We turned in here, under the expectation of finding the place inhabited; but, from the state of ruin in which we found it, it must have been long since deserted, and its brick-lined well, from which the garden had no doubt originally been watered, was now perfectly dry.

The heat of the day had already become intense; only one of our water-bottles had any water remaining in it, and of this there was but a very small portion; for, on setting out, we had not calculated on coming half this distance to the eastward from the river. My companion, too, began to complain of suffering extremely from heat and thirst; but, although I felt for his condition, and would willingly have relieved it, yet I could not give up the idea of following the traces of the ruins in this untraversed quarter, as long as any vestiges of former buildings appeared, particularly as the extent of Babylon, in this direction, had been so long a matter of dispute; and we now possessed an opportunity of acquiring information on this point, which might never occur again.

I accordingly proceeded, going still eastward, passing many detached spots covered with burnt bricks and pottery, and seeing some

* "Because of the wrath of the Lord, it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate; every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues. How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken? How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Therefore the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands, shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord; so no man shall abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein."—*Jeremiah*, chap. 50.—v. 13. 23. 39, 40.

few mounds on either side of our way, till, about eleven o'clock, we reached a small sheikh's tomb, with a few date-trees near it, standing in the middle of a dry and burning waste.

There were large mounds and a high pyramidal hill in sight beyond this, which still tempted me to go on. My companion, however, being now quite exhausted with the heat, determined to alight here and go no further; more particularly as we had originally come out on this excursion in search of a mound, called Al Hheimar, which is said to be only five miles to the east of Hillah, and which, though we were now more than ten miles from that town, in the direction named, we had not yet discovered. I accordingly left Mr. Bellino and the Koord horseman at the tomb, to repose in the shade, and pushed on alone, being soon after followed, however, by the horseman whom Mr. Rich had sent with us, and who was unwilling, probably, to have it thought that he could not brave the heat and thirst of the way as well as a stranger.

We still went eastward, passing in the way, as before, several detached heaps covered with burnt brick and fine pottery, and crossing two or three large and wide ranges of double mounds, going north and south, which, from their appearance, might either have been canals or streets; but, from the line of their direction, most probably, the latter: or, if the former, the remains of such ancient channels as were used to water this remote part of Babylon.

Beyond the last of these double mounds, scattered fragments of burnt brick began to be more abundant than we had before seen them, and marked the former existence of some great work all along this eastern extremity of the city: these continued to be seen, not in large heaps or connected masses, as is usually the case, but lying loosely on the ground, as if they were merely the refuse of better materials taken away from hence, until, in half-an-hour after quitting the tomb of the saint, we reached the foot of the hill Al Hheimar, which I had come thus far to examine.

We found this to be a high mound of loose rubbish, so steep at the base as not to be ascended on horseback; and extremely

difficult to get up over even on foot. We went up on the western side, where the ascent was easiest; though there it was still steep, and on the eastern it was apparently much more so. The hill presented, at a short distance, the appearance of a pyramidal cone, the outline of which formed nearly an equilateral triangle, and its summit seemed to be crowned by a long and low piece of thick wall, rather like the battlements of a small fortress, than a tower. The rubbish below consisted of burnt brick, with scarcely a fragment of pottery; and this circumstance, added to its steep ascent on every side, where all that it varied from a perpendicular seemed to have been caused by some originally slight slope in the building itself, and the fall of fragments from above, with the comparatively perfect and solid appearance of its summit, induced me, at first sight, to conclude that it was the remains of a solid and extensive wall, and formed no part of any open building.

The heat of the atmosphere was now intense; we were exposed to the most powerful influence of the sun in a parched and burning plain; the small quantity of water which remained in the leathern bottle, brought from the river, had been left with our companions at the sheikh's tomb; and we had a strong westerly wind, which, though the thermometer stood at 135° in the sun, instead of tempering that heat, augmented it by a suffocating and almost insufferable air, at once hot, dry, and noxious to the smell; and bringing with it, at every blast, clouds of dust and sand, which rendered it difficult to look around us without having the eyes, mouth, ears, and nostrils, filled with it. These obstacles, added to the fretful impatience of my companion, with an assurance that similar feelings were entertained by those who awaited our return to the tomb, and who had yet a journey of four hours in the heat of the day before they could reach Hillah, all contributed to hasten our departure from hence, after a stay only of a few minutes, just to catch a hasty glance of what we had come so far to see. But though I did not make the same copious notes upon the spot, as I had done on every other part of the ruins of Babylon, I was

enabled on the following day, at Hillah, in a quiet apartment of the khan at which we lodged, to reduce to writing what was then fresh in my recollection.

The base of the mound or hill of Al Hheimar, at this eastern extremity of our excursion through the ruins of Babylon, appeared to me to be from three to four hundred feet in circumference ; its form was rather oval than circular, its greatest length being apparently from north to south, and its lesser from east to west, so that its breadth or thickness through, at the bottom, might have been from eighty to a hundred feet. Its height appeared to be equal to that of the lowest part of the Mujellibé, or from seventy to eighty feet, and nearly equal to the breadth of its own base. On ascending to its summit, we found there a mass of solid wall, about thirty feet in length, by twelve or fifteen in thickness, yet evidently once of much greater dimensions each way, the work being, in its present state, broken and incomplete on every side. The height of the mass was also probably diminished from its original standard, but of this it was not so easy to judge ; as, whatever number of layers of bricks might have been removed, a smooth surface remained where the cement was worn away by time, which is not the case with any dilapidation of the sides or facings of walls, though it necessarily would be with their summits.

Nothing was more evident, however, than that this was a solid mass of wall, and no part of it a chambered or inhabited edifice ; its appearance indicated that it had been built on an inclined slope from the westward or interior face, at least, that being the side on which our ascent was made : its dimensions being from eighty to a hundred feet thick at the base, twelve to fifteen feet thick at the top, and seventy to eighty feet in perpendicular height. The bricks were of the usual square form and size, of a reddish-yellow colour, with slight appearances of chopped straw having been used in their composition, but not very decidedly marked : they had not, in any instance that I could perceive, inscriptions, figures, or writing on their surface. The cement used to connect the layers was

extremely thin, and of the same colour with the bricks themselves ; but not of the extraordinary tenacity of that at the Kassr, nor was the masonry so neat and highly finished, being perhaps of an earlier date.

The greatest peculiarity observed at this pile, and one which, hitherto at least, is unique in the known ruins of Babylon, was, that at intervening spaces rather wider than those of the reeds at Akkerkoof, and recurring at every fifteenth or twentieth course of bricks, appeared a layer of an extremely white substance, which was seen in small filaments on the bricks, like the crossing of fine pieces of straw ; or, as it struck me forcibly on the spot, like the texture of the Egyptian papyrus. Between two of the bricks that I separated, with much ease, from the pile, the layer of this substance seemed about a quarter of an inch thick ; the filaments were clearly discernible, and when fresh, the whole substance was of a snowy whiteness, and had a shining appearance, like the finest mineral salts, or like the fibres of the glass feathers made in England. On merely touching it lightly with the finger, it came off in a white powder on the flesh, like the substance left on the fingers after touching a butterfly's wing ; and on attempting, with a knife, to take off the layer itself, as a whole, it fell to pieces like the white ashes of a thoroughly-burnt piece of wood, and, from the extreme lightness of the particles, was instantly dispersed in the air. I never remember to have seen any powder so fine as this, nor ever to have observed a substance apparently so solid, as it lay between the bricks, which dissipated so suddenly at the slightest touch.*

In the extensive view afforded us from hence, we could still perceive detached mounds, nearly in a line with the mass on which we stood, both to the north and south of this. To the west, the whole extent of Babylon, as far as the eye could reach, was spread out before us, intersected by streets and canals, and studded with

* A small quantity of this powder, which was taken from the spot, has been preserved ever since, and is now in the possession of a lady in England, to whose Museum of Curiosities it was but recently presented.

isolated masses, the remains no doubt of detached piles of dwellings ; while the level spaces, unmarked by any such vestiges, and evidently used only for cultivation, seemed to exceed the occupied part by an immense proportion of difference, perhaps of ten to one.*

* “Diodorus Siculus† describes the buildings as ruined or decayed in his time, and asserts, that now only a small part of the city is inhabited, the greatest part within the walls is tilled. Strabo,‡ who wrote not long after Diodorus, saith, that part of the city the Persians demolished, and part time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and especially after Seleucus Nicator had built Seleucia on the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his successors removed their court thither: and now (saith he) Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deserted, so that one may apply to this what the comic poet said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, ‘The great city is now become a great desert.’ Pliny, in like manner,§ affirms, that it was reduced to solitude, being exhausted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for the purpose by Seleucus Nicator. As Strabo compared Babylon to Megalopolis, so ||Pausanias (who flourished about the middle of the second century after Christ) compares Megalopolis to Babylon, and says, in his Arcadics, that of Babylon, the greatest city that the sun ever saw, there is nothing now remaining but the walls. Maximus Tyrius¶ mentions it as lying neglected and forsaken; and **Lucian intimates, that in a little time it would be sought

† των δε βασιλειων και των αλλων κατασκευασματων ο χρονος τα μεν ολοσχερως ηφανισε, τα δ' ελημνητο. και γαρ αυτες της Βαβυλωνος νυν βραχυ τι μέρος οικειται, το δε πλειστον εντος τειχος γεωργειται. Regiasque et alias structuras partim tempus omnino abolevit, partim corrumpit. Nam et ipsius Babylonis exigua quædam portio nunc habitatur, maximaque intra muros pars agrorum cultui est exposita. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 70. Edit. Steph. p. 98. Edit. Rhod.

‡ —και κατηριψαν της πολεως, τα μεν οι Περσαι, τα δ' ο χρονος και η των Μακεδωνων ολιγωρια περι τα τει- αυτα. και μαλιστα επειδη την Σελευκειαν επι τω Τιγρητι πλησιον της Βαβυλωνος εν τριακοσις του σταδιοις ετειχισε Σελευκος ο Νικατωρ. Και γαρ εκεινος και οι μετ' αυτον απαντες περι ταυτην εσπουδασαν την πολιν και το βασιλειον ενταυθα μετηνεγκαν' και δη και νυν η μεν γεγονε Βαβυλωνος μειζων. η δ' ερημος η πολλη' ωστ' επ' αυτης μη αν οκησαι τινα ειπειν οπηρ εφη τις των κομικων επι των Μεγαλοπολιτων των εν Αρκαδια.

Ερημα μεγαλη εστιν η Μεγαλοπολις,—et urbis partem Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia: præsertim postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit stadiis tantum CCC a Babylone dissitam. Nam et ille et posterī omnes huic urbi maximoperè studuerunt, et regiam eo transtulerunt, et nunc Babylone hæc major est, illa magna ex parte deserta, ut intrepide de ea usurpari possit, quod de Megalopoli Arcadiæ magna urbe quidam dixit Comicus: Est magna solitudo nunc Megalopolis. Strabo. lib. xvi. p. 738. Edit. Paris, p. 1073. Amstel. 1707.

§ Cetero ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 30. Edit. Harduin.

|| Βαβυλωνος δε ταυτης ην τινα ειδε πολων των τοτε μεγιστην ηλιος, ουδεν επι ην ει με τειχος. Babylon omnium, quas unquam sol aspexit, urbium maxima, jam nihil præter muros reliqui habet. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 33.

¶ Βαβυλωνος κειμενης. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 6. prope finem.

** Ου μετα πολυ και αυτη ζητηθησομενη, ωσπερ η Νινος. haud ita multo post desideranda et ipsa, quem- admodum nunc Ninus. Lucian. Επισκ. sive Contemplantes prope finem.

The mound of the Mujellibé, or royal palace, was high in sight from hence, and we found its bearing by compass to be west by north half north, its apparent distance from ten to twelve miles, and its computed distance by time two hours and three quarters' ride, at a common walking-pace of our horses, who were fresh and light. The ruined khan, or the mud enclosure which we had passed on the way, bore from us, at the same time, west by north, distant about three miles, and the Sheikh's tomb, in which I had left my companion, Mr. Bellino, and the servant, bore due west, distant about a mile and a half.

To the eastward of us, all was one bare Desert of yellow sand, occasionally blown into waves by the wind, and every where apparently of a loose and moving kind, though differing in its degrees of depth on the soil. We saw, beyond us, no vestiges of ruins in any shape, while, in a line with the eminence on which we stood, and every where within it, the remains of buildings and works were continually apparent. To the east-south-east, at a distance of four or five miles, we noticed, on the yellow sands, two black masses, but whether they were the bodies of dead camels, the temporary hair-

for and not be found, like Nineveh. Constantine the Great, in an oration preserved by Eusebius, saith, that he himself was upon the spot, and an eye-witness of the desolate and miserable condition of the city. In Jerome's time (who lived in the fourth century after Christ) it was converted into a chase to keep wild beasts within the compass of its walls, for the hunting of the later kings of Persia. We have learned,* saith he, from a certain Elamite brother, who, coming out of those parts, now liveth as a monk at Jerusalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beasts of every kind are confined within the circuit of its walls. And a little afterwards he saith,† that excepting the brick walls, which after many years are repaired for the enclosing of wild beasts, all the space within is desolation. These walls might probably be demolished by the Saracens, who subverted this empire of the Persians, or they might be ruined or destroyed by time."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 172—174.

* Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone; et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus tamen ambitu coerceri. Hieron. Comment. in Isai. cap. xiii. p. 111. vol. iii. Edict. Benedict.

† —exceptis enim muris coctilibus qui propter bestias concludendas post annos plurimos instaurantur, omne in medio spatium solitudo est. Id. in cap. xiv. p. 115.

tents of wandering Bedouins, or any other objects magnified by the refraction, which is so strongly produced on the horizon of the Desert, we had no means of ascertaining. With the exception of these masses, all the eastern range of vision presented only one unbroken waste of sand, till its visible horizon ended in the illusive appearance of a lake and trees, formed by the heat of a mid-day sun on a nitrous soil, giving to the parched Desert the semblance of water, and reflecting its scanty shrubs upon the view, like a line of extensive forests; but in no direction was either a natural hill, a mountain, or other interruption to the level line of the plain, to be seen.*

The ruins of Babylon may be said, therefore, to terminate at this spot, which marks the extreme eastern boundary of the city; and there is every reason to believe, that the elevated pile from which we obtained our extensive view, and which forms this line of demarcation, was itself a portion of its celebrated wall.

The extent of this city, while it excited the wonder and admiration of all the ancients who either described or visited it, has become a subject of such dispute with the moderns, that even the best informed and the most unprejudiced among them have thought it necessary to disregard the statements of the earliest historians, and reduce the area of the ancient city to a standard compatible with their own notions of the extent of its population, and the means of supplying them with food.

The great geographer, D'Anville, one of the first investigators

* "O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures; thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness: and they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord. And the land shall tremble and sorrow, for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant; and Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing, without an inhabitant: the sea is come up upon Babylon; she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof: her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby."—*Jeremiah*, chap. li. v. 13. 26. 29. 37. 42, 43.

of this interesting question, proceeds to his conclusion in a still shorter way, indeed, than even this; for, by reducing the stadium of antiquity to a standard of his own, he was enabled to admit the full number of stadia given by the ancients to the circumference of its walls, without suffering the area of Babylon to exceed that of Paris in a greater proportion than five to two: allowing its circuit to have been, by this mode of computation, thirty-six British miles, while that of London and its environs was, at the time of his writing, supposed to be about fifteen and a half, and that of Paris not more than five and three quarters.

Major Rennel, however, who has followed this geographer with equal learning, judgment, and ability, says, that notwithstanding the acknowledged superiority of his great predecessor's judgment on the subject of itinerary measures, he cannot subscribe to his opinion in this matter regarding Babylon; because, it does not appear, upon a reference to the ancients, that any stadium of the standard formed by him, in his computation of its area, was ever in use among them, or even known. The English antiquarian and geographer has pursued the same train of inquiry, with better arguments and greater success; but still, from the imperfection of the materials with which he was furnished to guide him in his reasonings, his conclusions can only be considered as a greater approximation to truth; for it will be found, after a recapitulation of the facts to be adduced in favour of giving to Babylon the full extent assigned to it by its earliest historian, that Major Rennel's assumed area of seventy-two square miles will fall as short of the truth as D'Anville's circuit of thirty-six square miles was within that of the lowest standard which could be fairly assumed, on a comparison of the different authorities, for the real extent of this enormous city.

The arguments of Major Rennel, regarding the proportion of space that might have been occupied within the walls, and the amount of population which the resources of the surrounding country might support, are so complete, as to leave nothing to be added to them; but, if it could have been satisfactorily proved to that

writer, that vestiges of ruins exist, which prove the size of Babylon to have been as extensive as Herodotus had described it, he would most probably have then admitted such evidence, and endeavoured to reconcile all difficulties, by still confining the number of its inhabitants to a moderate amount, and supposing the proportion of ground built on to be so much the less in comparison with the whole extent.

Before entering more deeply into this disputed question, it may be well, however, to examine how far the features of the ruined pile, called Al Hheimar, correspond with those of the city-wall, a portion of which it is assumed to be.

Herodotus, in speaking of Babylon, says, "The Assyrians are masters of many capital towns, but their place of greatest strength and fame is Babylon, which, after the destruction of Nineveh, was the royal residence. It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square—each side, by every approach, is in length one hundred and twenty stadia; the space, therefore, occupied by the whole, is four hundred and eighty stadia, so extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies. Its internal beauty and magnificence exceed whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water; the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits high, and fifty wide; the royal exceeds the common cubit by three digits. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used, as a cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed between every thirtieth course of bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner, on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch-towers, of one story, leaving a space betwixt them, through which a chariot and a pair of horses might pass and turn."*

The leading facts to be collected from this, independent of the

* Herodotus, *Thalia*.

extent of the city-walls, are, their height, their thickness, and the mode of their construction. The height of three hundred feet for a solid wall is certainly prodigious, but still credible when compared with the temples and pyramids of Egypt as we now see them, and with the other public structures of Babylon as they are described to us, or as we find their decayed remains. The original height of the walls of Babylon was considerably reduced, however, at a subsequent period; for, according to the same historian, "Darius Hystaspes, on the taking of Babylon by the stratagem of Zopyrus, levelled the walls and took away the gates, neither of which Cyrus had done before."*

The height given to the walls of Babylon, by Quintus Curtius, is one hundred cubits, or a hundred and fifty feet; and by Strabo, fifty cubits, or seventy-five feet only: though the difference between their statements, without any admitted reduction of them between the periods of which they write, is not easily reconciled, unless it may be supposed that one of these writers estimated the height from the very *outer* base, including the ditch and all, and the other measured merely the wall, from its base to its summit *within*; the difference between these two modes of measurement being sufficient to account for the variation of their statements.

The breadth of the walls is given by Herodotus as fifty cubits, or seventy-five feet, taken, probably, at the lowest base also; and, by Curtius and Strabo, at thirty-two; which, as the wall was built on an inclined slope, on one side of it at least, might have been given as the medium or average thickness throughout. But, taking it at its greatest, we have here a height of seventy-five feet as the standard of Strabo after its reduction, and a thickness of seventy-five feet for its base, and thirty-two for its mean breadth, or for its summit, after the reduction of its height, whichever might have been meant.

The pile of Al Hheimar, as we have already seen, presents an appearance of being from seventy to eighty feet high, from eighty

* Thalia. 159.

to a hundred feet thick at the base, the spread of which is considerably extended by the fallen rubbish, and from twelve to fifteen feet at the summit, where the thickness is considerably reduced by the bricks having fallen, and being broken away on each side. These dimensions (allowing for some error in an estimate taken in haste by the eye, as this of Al Hheimar necessarily was) correspond, therefore, with as much accuracy as can be expected at this remote period.

With regard to the manner in which these walls were constructed, we learn, from the historian, that the bricks were square and furnace-baked: nothing is said of the common cement employed between every layer, but it is stated that, at every thirtieth course, a composition of heated bitumen mixed with the tops of reeds was used. Although this is first said expressly of the ditch, it is added, that, when this was finished, they proceeded to construct the wall in the same manner.

It is easy to admit the possibility of an error in stating the number of the layers between each course of the bituminous cement; but the fact of there being *several* courses of bricks, at least from fifteen to twenty, between the layers of the singular white substance used as a cement in this ruined pile, is a strong feature of resemblance. It is this substance which is undoubtedly "*the composition of heated bitumen mixed with the tops of reeds*," so particularly mentioned by the historian; and nothing but a "heated" medium could reduce the tops of reeds or straw to the state of apparent filaments, but actual powder, in which I found this cement when separating two of the bricks between which it had been placed, as already described in the account of the mound of Al Hheimar.

Among all the authorities cited, and the quotations made, to illustrate the mode of building in ancient Babylon, this of Herodotus is the only one present to my memory, in which such a composition as "heated bitumen" is mentioned. Whenever the substance is elsewhere spoken of, it is called simply "bitumen;" wherever reeds are described, they are said to be used in layers, in

their pure form ; and the coarser cements of lime or clay are also alluded to as used separately and alone.

The general state of the remains described in the mounds of the Mujellibé, the Kassr, and the mound of Amran, are found to correspond strictly with these distinctions. In the first of these ruins, unburnt bricks have, between every course, a layer of whole reeds, or rather rushes, for some are very large, and all are perfectly fresh ; having, apparently, undergone no change since the day of their being first placed there. Very little bitumen is seen, excepting in the fragments found scattered on the surface of the ruined heaps ; and I concur entirely in the opinion of Mr. Rich, that its use as a cement could never have been so general as has been imagined : first, from the comparatively few portions of the ruins in which it is now found ; and next, from the Babylonians having, in the lime and clay of their own soil, a more abundant, a cheaper, and more effectual cement than bitumen in any state could afford. It was, perhaps, the singularity of its use here, and its rarity in other countries as a material for building, that caused it to be noted at all ; which would be the case now, in describing a new city, if any new cement, not common elsewhere, was used in its construction. In the Kassr, where the masonry is of the best kind, the cement is of lime, in very thin layers ; and in the Birs Nimrood, on the western side of the Euphrates, the same substance appears to be used, and is described by all who have seen it to be of an extraordinary degree of tenacity.

While it is insisted that the instance here quoted is the only one remembered, among all the ancient writers who are cited as authorities on Babylon, in which "heated bitumen" is mentioned, it must not be forgotten, that it is in the *ditch* and *walls* only that this is said to have been used at all. In such of the general masses of the ruined city as are already described, nothing like this mixture appears ; nor should we expect, from any passage of the ancients, to find it in the ordinary buildings : while here, at Al Hheimar, in a portion of wall, the dimensions of which correspond

with those given of the wall that encompassed the city, and found at the very eastern extremity of the ruins, in the precise situation in which such wall would be sought for, where it now forms the line of demarcation between the scattered heaps of ruins within the town and the bare Desert beyond them, a similar composition is found, in layers of wide intervals apart from each other; a fact which must be regarded as almost conclusive as to their identity.

Dr. Hine, the physician to the Residency at Bagdad, and Capt. Lockett, of the Royal Army, who first visited this ruin, were particularly struck with the singularity of this cement, and both of them, as I had already learnt from the former gentleman, thought it to have contained originally small pieces of fine straw; though this does not appear to have suggested to them an idea of its being the composition described by Herodotus, nor consequently of the ruin being a portion of the city-wall. Mr. Rich, in his Memoir, speaking of Al Hheimar, says, "The base is a heap of rubbish, on the top of which is a mass of red brick-work, between each layer of which is a curious white substance which pulverizes with the least touch." He adds, "I have not yet visited Al Hheimar: but those who have examined it, have conjectured, from the grain of the white substance or powder seemingly lying in filaments, that it must have originally been layers of reeds."

It is remarked, by the same writer, that throughout the rest of the ruins, reeds are never found in buildings composed, as this is, of burnt brick; and the city-wall is, indeed, the only part of the ancient works in which such materials are said to be used together, where the brick is distinctly stated to have been "baked in a furnace," and the composition of "heated bitumen, mixed with the tops of reeds," used as a cement. The appearance of these reeds are fresh and perfect, when examined on the spot, and have been unequivocal to all who have first seen them there; but the cement cannot, without great difficulty, be brought away undisturbed, as the least touch reduces the whole mass to powder. While the reeds at Akkerkoof and the Mujellibé are long, thick, and of a large size, being

the produce of the neighbouring marshes, these at Al Hheimar appear to be short, thin, and of the smallest size, just indeed as "the *tops* of reeds" would be, and from the distinct way in which they are characterized, these *tops* were no doubt cut off, and their smallest and finest parts only mixed with the composition mentioned.

Of what precise nature this composition was, it would be useless to hazard a conjecture, before analysing the substance itself. We have this prominent fact, however, that it was "a composition of *heated* bitumen," which was "mixed with the tops of reeds." The order, in which these separate materials are mentioned, would seem to imply that the tops of reeds was the principal, and the heated composition the subordinate, part, as this last is said merely to have been *mixed* with the former. This might account for the substance bearing no closer resemblance to common bitumen than it now does, and would also make it more easy to comprehend, how a *heated* composition of it, mixed with the reeds, perhaps chiefly to form them into a sort of paste for use, without destroying the form of the filaments, might, united with pressure and the effects of time through a long series of ages, become reduced to its present state of a white substance, appearing in filaments, like fine pieces of straw, yet pulverizing at the least touch, as the white ashes of any highly-burnt grass would do, if pressed ever so firmly between solid substances.

In anticipating the objections which might be made to the conclusion, that this mass of Al Hheimar was a part of the ancient city-wall, notwithstanding the striking coincidences in form, dimensions, situation, and mode of construction already enumerated, the absence of the ditch, as far as our examination goes, may be first considered. As the earth, which was taken out from it, when it was first excavated, is positively stated to have been consumed, for making the bricks of which its lining and the wall were built, no mound of rubbish could have been accumulated by it, and therefore no traces of such mound could be now expected to be found.

The ditch itself would however become liable, from the first moment of the walls being neglected, to be gradually filled up. At the period of the walls being reduced, by Darius Hystaspes, from their original height, the ditch would offer itself as the nearest, the most capacious, and in every sense the most effectual receptacle for the portion of them that had been levelled; and nothing is more probable, than that it became so. Every subsequent dilapidation of the remaining portion would add to the mass below; and, as it stood immediately on the edge of a sandy Desert, every storm from that quarter would help to complete its filling-up, as such winds have continually done to the half-buried monuments of Egypt, when near the outer line of the cultivated land.

The disappearance of every trace of the ancient ditch can scarcely be regarded therefore as a powerful objection; when almost every trace of the wall itself is gone. After a lapse of so many ages, as have passed away even since Babylon has been deserted and in ruins, it is rather to be wondered at, that so many vestiges of its former greatness can be traced, than that any fragment of its walls should have hitherto eluded the most diligent search. In all the operations against the city by hostile forces, this would be the part most likely to suffer the destroying vengeance of the enemy; and when, from the general decline of wealth, population, and importance of the city, it ceased to become an object of public care to keep these walls in repair, their gradual dilapidation, by the mere effects of time, would be likely to be hastened by the depredations of the very inhabitants who still remained within their enclosure.

From the great scarcity of fuel, and its consequent dearth, as well as from the appearance of many of the mounds of ruins which exist, there is reason to believe, that the great mass of the common dwellings were built of unburnt bricks, which, except in such enormous piles as the palace and the hanging gardens, would be always more liable to decay than the burnt kind, independently of their being of inferior cost in the formation.

On such dwellings falling into ruins, or on the occasion of any

of the people wishing, from other motives, to erect new ones, the ruined walls would be, as Major Rennel says of a deserted city, "a quarry above ground, in which the materials are shaped to every one's hands;" and as long as any buildings continued to be erected within the area of Babylon, after its original walls were found to be too extensive to be kept in repair, there can be little doubt but that such a quarry would be resorted to. The ease with which the burnt bricks could here be separated, would be one powerful reason for preferring such a storehouse to any other; as, whether this mound of Al Hheimar, where the bricks are more easily taken away whole than at any other place, be admitted to be part of the wall or not, bitumen and reeds are the only component parts of its cement that are named by the historian, and wherever these are found, the bricks are separated almost without an effort.

The prodigious extent of these walls would be another reason for their affording more convenient supplies than any separate edifice; since, by their circuit round the city, a portion of them was near to every quarter of it; and for the same reason that the great wall of China was more speedily built, because every district through which it passed constructed its own portion, so the walls of Babylon would be the more rapidly destroyed, and their materials consumed, because a part of them was open to the depredations of builders and repairers in every quarter of the city.

The same causes would continue to operate, after its being finally abandoned, when applied to other cities constructed out of its ruins; and when it is considered that the present city of Bagdad, the large town of Hillah, and probably those of Mesjid Ali and Mesjid Hussein, with innumerable khans and villages scattered around in every direction, have been almost wholly built out of these walls alone, the wonder at their total disappearance at this distant period will be perhaps lessened.

I have said "*these walls alone*," because the burnt bricks, (the only ones sought after,) which are found in the Mujellibé, the Kassr, and the Birs Nimrood, the only three great monuments in which

there are any traces of their having been used, are so difficult, in the two last indeed so impossible, to be extracted whole, from the tenacity of the cement in which they are laid, that they could never have been resorted to, while any considerable portion of the walls existed to furnish an easier supply : even now, though some portions of the great mounds on the eastern bank of the river are occasionally dug into for bricks, they are not extracted without a comparatively great expense, and very few of them whole, in proportion to the great number of fragments that come up with them. The total absence of stone for building, and the scarcity of fuel to burn the new bricks that might still be made in the country, are perhaps the only reasons why the heaps of Babylon are any longer resorted to for materials, not easy to be had from any other quarter.

It is not improbable, but that the walls, which are stated by Saint Jerome to have served, in his time, as an enclosure for a park, and which, as being only on one side of the river, might then have been thought, without due consideration, to be the ancient walls of Babylon, were merely the boundary of enclosure to the hanging gardens and the palace, whose remaining semicircular *debris* is given in the mound (A) of Mr. Rich's plan. This, which comprises an area of two miles or more in length and breadth, would be at all times more fitted for a park than a square of fifteen miles on each face, the extent of the ancient city, according to the testimony of Herodotus ; besides which, it could hardly have happened, that after the final ruin of the town, in which the walls could not but have suffered, they should have remained, to the time of that writer, in so perfect a state as to serve the purpose he describes.

This wall of enclosure to the palace and the hanging gardens was originally of the same height with the reduced standard of the city-walls themselves ; so that, from the summit of the gardens, the queen could overlook them. The distance of these gardens from the *city*-walls would render any view over them useless, and even if nearer, a bare Desert would be an uninteresting prospect ; and if the gardens themselves were but fifty cubits high, and the walls the

same, there would be an equality of level. It is probably meant, that the elevated parts of these hanging gardens commanded a view over their own walls; and that either these, or the level of the gardens themselves, were fifty cubits high; the command of such a prospect over the interior of the whole city on both sides, and across the river in the centre, was an object worth attaining.

Another reason why the enclosing wall of the palace and hanging gardens continued longer than those of the city itself, might be, that the latter, being intended merely as a security from intrusion, and not as a wall of military defence, was probably constructed of unburnt brick, more particularly as that is the kind found in the very exterior facing of the supposed castellated palace. This therefore being a material unsought after for building, and more easily made on the spot than transported from afar, a wall composed of it would be left undisturbed, until some sufficient motive urged its demolition, while the great outer wall of the city would be as constantly diminishing, for the reasons before enumerated.

The difference in the materials of which these boundaries were constructed, would account satisfactorily for the disappearance of every vestige of the one, while the other, though of later destruction, would leave a very considerable mound behind it. The burnt bricks, as soon as discovered, would be fit for use; and there is no authority for believing that any thing but such bricks, and their cement, was used in the city-wall; so that, as their separation was easy, the fragments occasioned by their disjoining, and the dust of the cement left behind, might easily be dispersed with the winds, and mingled with the Desert sands.* The unburnt bricks, on the contrary,

* “Berosus in Josephus† saith, that when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, because the city appeared to him very factious and difficult to be taken. And Xenophon‡ informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to

† *Κυρος δε Βαβυλωνια καταλαβομενος, και συνταξας τα εξω της πολεως τειχη κατασκαψαι, δια το λιαν αυτω πραγματικην και δυσαλωτον φανηναι την πολιν.*—Cyrus autem Babylone capta, constitutoque exteriora ejus munimenta diruere, quod civitatem videret ad res novas mobilem, urbem vero expugnatu difficilem. *Contra Apion. lib. i. Sect. 22. p. 1344. Edit. Hudson.*

‡ Xenoph. *Cyropæd. lib. vii. p. 114 et 117. Edit. Steph.*

would constantly crumble in their fall ; so that a wall of them, beginning to loosen at the top, would, by the falling down of the rubbish on each side, soon become a mound of apparently pure earth, strewed with fragments of such materials as might have been near, and be afterwards sprinkled over with scanty weeds growing out of the surface, which is the case with many of the mounds at Nineveh, at Memphis, and other Egyptian cities, and even at Babylon itself.

To return from this digression to a consideration of the arguments used against the enormous circuit of the walls. Their prodigious extent appears to have been doubted only from the disproportionate size which they bore to the enclosures of more modern cities : since London and Paris are cited in the comparison, and an estimate is made of Babylon being, by the highest standard, eight times as large as the former in the area of its walls ; and, by the lowest standard, in the proportion of five to two larger than the latter.

When it is said, however, that Nineveh was “an exceeding great city of three days’ journey in length,” and that Jonah did not begin to preach its destruction “until he had entered into it one day’s journey,” its extent is not objected to, because it is on the authority of a Prophet.* This city is, indeed, said by Strabo to have been larger than Babylon;† and Diodorus describes it to be an oblong figure of ninety stadia in breadth, and one hundred and fifty stadia in length,‡ extending a front of nearly nineteen miles along the eastern bank of the Tigris, and a breadth of about eleven miles from the river to the mountains on one side only, which was, indeed, nearly as large as the largest dimensions assumed for Babylon.

“Taking the extent of Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, at the most reasonable calculation,” says Major Rennel, “it was not

deliver up all their arms upon pain of death, distributed their best houses among his officers, imposed a tribute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the charge, being desirous to keep them poor, as the best means of keeping them obedient.”—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 168, 169.

* Jonah, chap. iii. v. 3, 4.

† p. 737.

‡ Lib. ii. c. 11.

less than fifteen miles in length, extending along the old bank of the Ganges, and from two to three in breadth." The Ayeen Akbaree states, according to the same author, that the wall of Mahmoodabad, in Guzerat, was a square of seven cosses, which are equal to about thirteen miles; and the distance between the most remote of the ruined edifices of the Egyptian Thebes, both of which are temples, and therefore not likely to have been situated in the very opposite extremities of the town, is upwards of nine miles, as a diameter only.

While the extent of such cities is admitted in some, and known by actual measurement in other, instances; there seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting the testimony of Herodotus, when he gives to Babylon an extent of a square of fifteen miles on each side, taking his four hundred and eighty stadia at their highest standard of eight to a mile.

In reasoning on this point, by which, as Major Rennel says, the public belief has been led, the principal objection is resolved at last into the improbability of so vast a contiguous space having ever been built on. But, says the same writer, "that the wall might have been continued to the extent given, does not appear so improbable; for we cannot suppose that so many of the eminent writers could have been misled concerning this point. The Macedonians and others had viewed it, and both Strabo and Diodorus appear to have written from documents furnished by them, and might also have conversed with persons who had seen Babylon, and they all speak of it as of a city whose circuit was of wonderful extent; therefore, we ought to be prepared for something very much out of the common way."

The writers who, after Herodotus and Pliny, give about the number of three hundred and sixty-five stadia for the extent, seem, from the reason assigned by Clitarchus and others, to have shaped this as a favourite number, from its corresponding to the days of the year, as is still done in estimating the number of windows in large cathedrals, the number of doors in the Palace of Alhambra in Spain, the minarets in some of the large Oriental cities, and the

ruined towns in the deserted districts of the Haurān. It is true, that in some cases, as Rennel has observed, the very act of connecting the number with that of the days contained in the year, seems to prove that it approached nearly to it. But in these countries, sufficient instances could be cited, to shew that this number is used indiscriminately to express an amount as frequently above as beneath the truth, and often, indeed, very far from it in either case. It would be underrating the general veracity of the authorities cited, however, to suppose that some slight regard was not had to an approximation at least of the reported and the real number.

When Pliny and Solinus give their statement at sixty Roman miles, which, at eight stadia to a mile, agrees with Herodotus, it is said that they merely *follow* him. But though Strabo (whose number of three hundred and eighty-five is thought, by Rennel, to have been corrupted from three hundred and sixty-five), Diodorus from Ctesias, Clitarchus who accompanied Alexander, and, lastly, Quintus Curtius, all hang round the number of the days in the year, with a tale affixed as a reason for that choice which itself would awake suspicion, it is no where suggested that this tale becoming current after the standard was first fixed by it, the others merely followed its authority, without correcting it by actual measurement. The remark of Mr. Rich on this subject includes all that need be said on the comparative value of these testimonies at such different periods of time. "Of all the ancient writers who have described Babylon," says that gentleman, "Herodotus and Diodorus are the most detailed, and much weight ought certainly to be placed on the accounts of the former of these historians, who was an eye-witness of what he himself relates, notwithstanding the exaggeration and credulity which may, in many instances, be laid to his charge, when he reports from the information of others. The accounts of late writers (he continues) are of comparatively small value; for though Strabo's general accuracy and personal experience render his description of great interest, as far as it goes, yet he could have seen Babylon only at a period when its public buildings had already

become heaps of rubbish; and, consequently, must have depended upon more ancient authorities for particular accounts of most of them."

In short, the city, of which so extensive a traveller as Herodotus, who had seen all the great monuments of the age in which he lived, had said, "Its extent, its beauty, and its magnificence, surpass all that has come within my knowledge;" the city, which is characterized in a hundred places throughout the Scriptures, from the denunciations of judgment by the Prophets, to the dreamer of dreams in the Revelations, as emphatically and peculiarly "the *Great*;" the city, which is expressly called "The Glory of Kingdoms, and the Beauty of the Chaldees' excellency," must be thought to have been at least *as* great as most of the large cities coeval with it in the East, whose enormous dominions are undisputed, admitting even that a considerable portion of its celebrity arose out of the conspicuous part which it bore in the wars and revolutions of the Eastern world.*

"It is a question," says Rennel, "which no one can positively answer, what proportion of the space within the walls of Babylon

* In a Memoir on some points of Ancient Geography, and a Dissertation on the Ancient Stadium, by M. de la Nauze, the author says, "On objecte qu'Herodote donne à Babylone quatre cents quatre vingts stades de circuit (Herodote, chap. i. p. 178,) ce qui seroit, ajoute-t-on, prodigieux et incroyable, si l'on ne reduisoit le stade à une courte mesure:—comme si Babylone avoit été une ville ordinaire; comme si Aristote n'assuroit pas que le titre de ville ne lui convenoit pas plus qu'il conviendrait au Peloponèse, en cas qu'on l'entourat de murailles; comme si Diodore n'avertissoit pas que Babylone renfermait de terres labourables, et d'autres lieux inhabités; comme si l'enceinte de Nankin à la Chine n'égalait pas, à peu près, aujourd'hui, non compris même l'immensité des fauxbourgs, ce que les stades d'Herodote, pris pour des stades de dix au mille, donnent à l'enceinte de Babylone.—Quant à la hauteur et à la largeur de mur de la ville, qui faisoit alors toute la sureté d'un empire, en mettant l'ennemi dans l'impossibilité de le franchir; ces murs de Babylone auroient-ils été une des sept merveilles, s'ils n'eussent pas offert le spectacle le plus extraordinaire et le plus frappant? Ainsi les dimensions d'une telle ville, étant données comme étonnantes par ceux-là même qui en étoient les témoins oculaires, s'accordent beaucoup mieux avec un stade de soixante seize toises qu'avec un stade beaucoup plus court."—*Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tome xxvi. p. 369.

were occupied by buildings?" Nor would the appearance of the ruins, at this now distant period, justify any hasty conclusion thereon; first, because many of the heaps appearing as mounds formed by ruined buildings may have been caused in some other way; and next, because places not now having a vestige for building material apparent on them, may once have borne edifices which have totally disappeared; either of which data would give false results. If one were to judge from such present appearances of the ground, the conclusion, I think, would be, that not more than one third of the space at the most had been built on, and that two thirds thus remained open for cultivated land.

Quintus Curtius positively says, that the buildings were not contiguous to the walls, but that some considerable space was left all around, nor was the enclosed space entirely occupied by buildings, nor more than eighty stadia of it; neither do the houses join, (continues he,) perhaps from motives of safety. The remainder of the space is cultivated, so that, in the event of a siege, the inhabitants might not be compelled to depend on supplies from without.*

Major Rennel was in doubt whether a square of eighty stadia, or eighty square stadia, was meant by the expression of Curtius, though he adopts the former as more conformable to the idea of the space requisite for the supposed population. This is between a third and a half of a square of four hundred and twenty stadia, assigned by Herodotus to the whole, and gives us some positive data of proportion; and when it is considered, that the inhabitants really did subsist, through a long siege, on the produce of their own lands within the walls, as affirmed by Herodotus; and that, when the city was taken by Cyrus at night, the inhabitants of the opposite quarter of it did not know the fact, until three hours after sun-rise on the following morning, as reported by Xenophon;† the proportion of

* Book v. p. 4.

† "The Scity was taken in the night of a great annual festival, while the inha-

§ Herod. lib. i. cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vii. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

open space may be thought by no means exaggerated, and consequently the extent of the circuit of the walls, however enormous it may appear when given at its highest standard, ought not to be considered as at all beyond the truth.

The conclusion then would be, as Mr. Rich suggests, that, great as the actual size of Babylon was, the number of its inhabitants bore no proportion to this, compared with the relative size and population of the capitals of our own times; and that its streets, which are said to have led from gate to gate across the area, through cultivated land, over which buildings were distributed in groups and patches, would convey, to a modern, the idea of roads through an enclosed district, rather than the division and avenues of a regular city.

If the reasonings on these numerous facts and authorities be thought to have any weight in removing the few objections which might have been urged against the extent of the walls of Babylon, and the original standard of Herodotus be admitted, then this ruined wall at Al Hheimar, which is assumed to be a portion of the enclosure of the city, will be found to be in the exact place where such fragment, if any existed, might be expected to be found.

Had the city been a perfect square, facing the cardinal points, at right angles with the river, and had that river divided it exactly in the centre, the distance of Al Hheimar, from the mound of the Mujellibé or Makloobe, would then, indeed, be greater than half

bitants were dancing, drinking, and reveling; and as †Aristotle reports, it had been taken three days, before some part of the city perceived it; but ‡Herodotus's account is more modest and probable, that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy, before they who dwelt in the middle of it knew any thing of their danger."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 166.

† Arist. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 3. ἡς γε φασιν εαλωκνίας τριτην ἡμεραν οὐκ αἰσθεσθαι τι μέρος της πολεως. qua tertium jam diem capta, partem quandam urbis non sensisse dicunt. p. 341. vol. ii. Edit. Du Val.

‡ Herod. ibid. ὑπο δε μεγαθεος της πολιος, ὡς λεγεται ὑπο των ταυτη οικημενων, των περι τα εσχατα της πολιος εαλωκοτων, τους το μεσον οικεοντας των Βαβυλωνιωο, ου μανθανειν εαλωκοτας. Tantaque urbis erat magnitudo, ut (quemadmodum narrant accolæ) quum capti essent qui extremas urbis partes incolebant, ii qui mediam urbem incolerent id nescirent.

the extent assumed for its area ; as it is at least ten miles, and this on one side of the river only. But, as Rennel observes, we are not told, in positive terms, whether the four sides of Babylon fronted the four cardinal points of the heavens, or not. The only notice concerning it is, where Diodorus says, " The Euphrates runs to the *south*, through the *midst* of Babylon," which may be meant only in a general sense. Some of the early fanciful plans of that city, where it is not only made to face the cardinal points, but the river is led through it in so straight a line as to divide it into two *equal* parts, may therefore be justly disregarded. Herodotus merely says, " The great river Euphrates divides Babylon in two parts, and the walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town ;" without specifying either *equal* parts or *right* angles in either case.

Judging from the general course of the stream, which is now about north-east and south-west, and supposing the judicious arrangement of giving the principal streets an oblique direction to the sun, for the sake of greater shade, it is probable, that the form and direction of the city-walls were nearly those which Rennel has assumed for them, in the excellent map of the positions and environs of ancient Babylon, which accompanies his Memoir. If the stream then entered the city nearer to its north-west than its north-east angle, as there delineated, the distance of ten miles on a course of west by north half north, between the wall at Al Hheimar, would not be greater than could be admitted within the square of fifteen miles, though both these objects are on the same side of the river ; supposing the former of these to have been near the Cissian or Susian gate, in the south-east extremity of the town, and the latter to have been near the centre of the eastern division, with regard to its length, and close upon the river's bank, as it is both described and found to be.

Before we descended from the ruined wall, which had given rise to all this train of argument and speculation, we dug away some of the accumulated rubbish, to extract some fresh bricks with their

white cement, in the hope that we might be able to carry with us a more perfect specimen as far as Bagdad, for the satisfaction of Mr. Rich, whose previous valuable labours, and constant interest in all that regarded the ruins of Babylon, gave him a claim to the gratitude of every one who might visit this interesting site, the ruins of which lay so many ages in darkness, and which he was the first to render at all intelligible.

It was about one o'clock when we remounted our horses at the foot of Al Hheimar, to return to our companions, whom we had left in the Sheikh's tomb. The heat was now intense, at least five degrees above that shewn by the thermometer on our coming out, when it stood at 135° in the sun; but I was too impatient, to lose even a moment in the examination of it.

We had the sun now beating on our foreheads, and the wind blowing directly in our teeth, with a glare reflected from the yellow soil, that made the eyes ache to look upon it. My Koord guide, who was one of the bravest of men on all other occasions, was dismayed and terrified at this, for he talked of nothing but the Simoom wind, and its sudden and fatal effects. We muffled up our faces with the ends of the keffeeah and turban which we each wore, poised our lances across the saddle, to admit of our stooping forward sufficiently to avoid the sun beating on our brows, and rode slowly on, without uttering a syllable; and even when a hotter and a stronger blast than usual of the north-west wind came upon us, we turned together to receive it on our backs, without exchanging a word, while our horses sidled together for safety, as if partaking of our own sensations.

We reached the Sheikh's tomb in about half an hour, our clothes filled with sand; our nostrils, ears, and mouth with finer dust; our skin dried up to cracking; and both of us parched and fainting with thirst. Our companions, whom we had left behind, had neither of them slept, on account of the extreme heat, as they expressed it, though they were reposing under the shelter of a thick walled building. As there remained only about a pint of water in the

dregs of the leathern bottle, and our companions declared that none had been drank by them in our absence, this small portion was in justice divided among us all. It served, indeed, but barely to wash out the dust from our mouths, without swallowing a drop, which having done, we mounted again, and set out together on our way to Hillah.

The nature of our situation having made us all equal, our guide and servant gave their opinions on the steps best to be taken, with as much freedom as ourselves. It was thus that both of them insisted on our having taken a track too much to the southward, and pointed out a course, of about north-north-west, as leading direct to Hillah. The fact is, that as neither of them had ever been at this spot before, they recollected none of the few leading objects which were to be seen; and, therefore, had the most confused idea of the relative points of bearing. They seemed like ships adrift in a boundless ocean, without a compass to steer by; and, had they been alone, would probably neither have reached Hillah, nor even the banks of the Euphrates, for the night. Mr. Bellino was half inclined to follow their suggestions, and give the casting vote in the case; urging, that their local experience, and knowledge of the country generally, gave them a decided claim to be heard.

On this, as on a thousand similar occasions, perseverance was the only virtue to oppose to wavering opinions. I had taken bearings of the great heaps near the river, previous to our quitting Al Hheimar; and having again looked at my compass, when those heaps were less distinctly visible from the plain, silently pursued a steady course. The two advisers of a more northern route actually drew off, so that we gradually receded from each other; while Mr. Bellino, being at first undecided which to follow, kept a middle course: so that, in an hour after setting out, we were all as widely separated, as if we had belonged to different parties or tribes.

At length a point of union offered itself: after going over long mounds, lying in parallel ranges of two and three beside each other,

and passing heaps of brick and pottery, such as was described on coming out, we discovered an enclosed spot of verdure, with date and other trees, to which we all, as if by common consent, hastened in search of water and shade. On reaching this garden, we found an old Dervish, who called himself the Imaum of a sanctuary here, sacred to Suliman ibn Daoud el Nebbé, or Solomon the son of David the Prophet. We alighted and threw ourselves along the ground, beneath the shade of some overspreading trees; and having satisfied our first want, by drinking immoderately of some brackish water, with which we filled our leathern bottle from an earthen jar, we all fell insensibly asleep, without even fastening our horses; these, being seemingly as much oppressed by the heat as ourselves, crept under the branches of the trees to seek a cooler air, and, lying down on the grass, remained perfectly still, while we lay on and near them, as if we were all members of the same weary family.

It was nearly five o'clock when we awoke, by which time the old Imaum, or Sheikh of the garden, had procured for us a melon, which we devoured greedily, with some dried and hard bread that still remained in our sack. This done, we set out again on our way, and, about an hour before sun-set, came into the great public road from Bagdad to Hillah, a mile or two to the south of the ruined heaps of Babylon, by which we had latterly directed our course.

Our approach to the bank of the Euphrates was through a broad road, lined on each side by a high wall of mud, built, like those of the gardens of Damascus, of large masses of earth, of an oblong form, placed on their edges instead of their flat parts, and enclosing thick and extensive forests of tall and full-leaved date-trees, now laden with clusters of fruit.

At sun-set we entered the eastern division of Hillah, or that part of it which lies on the eastern side of the Euphrates. It appeared to consist chiefly of one good street, leading directly to the river, and used as a bazār, with a number of smaller ones branching off from it on each side. It is closed at its western end by a large door, through which we now passed, and came immediately on the

bridge of boats, which here forms the passage of communication across the river. The boats composing this bridge, as well as the road formed over them, are both inferior to those of the bridge across the Tigris at Bagdad, and render it dangerous to pass on horseback among a crowd.

We happened to be here at an hour when this bridge was particularly thronged, and as every person's attention was arrested by the sight of Mr. Bellino in an European dress, the crowd pressed closer and closer together, by the successive halting of the curious to stare with open mouths of inquiry on the stranger. Our Koord guide, who forced his way before us, rode a very fiery horse, which every now and then reared back on his heels, and made the boat over which he happened to be, roll from side to side, which, giving a corresponding motion to the planks of the bridge, never failed to be followed by a shriek from that part of the crowd who were near. My companion, who rode next in order, necessarily partook of the general alarm; and being naturally impatient, gave vent to the feelings of the moment, in language, which, though no one understood, every one interpreted to be expressive of anger; while I, who rode behind, in quality of his attendant or escort, had enough to do to keep off with my lance the train of insolent boys, who had gathered round to cry out "Frinjee! Gaiour! Kafr!" (Frank! Unbeliever! Infidel!) and purposely to jump on the elastic planks of the bridge, in order to increase the general confusion and alarm.

It was in the midst of this scene of mirth to some, of fear to others, and of vexation and annoyance to myself, that two Bedouins passing by, halted to address me, calling out very gravely, "Ya Arab, ibn Arab," (You Arab, the son of an Arab,) as a man of pure descent among the Israelites was usually called "a Hebrew of the Hebrews." I thought their inquiry frivolous, when they asked me if the horseman before the stranger whom I escorted was a Koord. I replied in the affirmative, as the shortest answer I could give, and which I thought would prevent any farther questions. But I was mistaken. They first asked what business I could have to be tra-

velling with a Koord; and, before I could answer, abused me for associating with a people whom the Arabs of these parts seem to hate most cordially. This was neither a moment nor a place for explanation, so that I left them undisturbed in their impression of my being an Arab, who had not a proper regard to the honour of his race; for though the being an escort to a Frank and a Christian seemed by no means objectionable to them, yet partaking that office with a Koord was talked of as if it were an indelible stain upon the Arab character.

"El humd ul Illah!"—"Praise be to God!"—was heard from twenty tongues at once, as we made our last step from the bridge, upon a firmer footing, and "Mash Allah!" and "Sult Salāmee!" (cries of wonder and self-congratulation on arriving at the other side of the stream in safety,) followed, as if we had escaped from the horrors of a storm at sea, rather than from the dangers of a floating bridge in a calm and not a rapid river.

As well as the confusion of our passage across it would admit, I observed the length of the bridge to measure a hundred and ninety-five horse-paces, which would not be far short of the stadium assigned by Strabo to the breadth of the Euphrates at Babylon, particularly as the bridge is in the narrowest part. Mr. Niebuhr makes the stream here four hundred Danish feet; Mr. Rich, by a graduated line, seventy-five fathoms, or four hundred and fifty English feet; and its average breadth, through the site of the whole ruins, may be taken as from four hundred and fifty to five hundred and fifty, the greatest breadth being thus one-fifth less than the stadium assigned. This is narrower than the Tigris at the bridge of Bagdad, by ninety-two horse-paces, or nearly one-third, according to my measurement of it in going across. Its depth here was found by Mr. Rich, in the month of May, to be two and a half fathoms, erroneously printed "twenty-one fathoms" in the Memoir in "*Les Mines de l'Orient*." Notwithstanding, however, that the stream is thus narrow, its current appeared to run at a rate of less than two miles per hour; while the Tigris at Bagdad, at the moment of our crossing

it, ran certainly at the full rate of three, and sometimes rushes at the rate of six or seven miles an hour.

We forced our way with considerable difficulty through the crowds collected at the door by which the western quarter of Hillah is guarded, like its eastern one, towards the bridge; and getting soon afterwards to the khan, the discharge of artillery from the governor's residence in the town announced the appearance of the moon of Ramazān. As all without seemed noise and bustle and riotous exultation, we confined ourselves within the caravanserai, sufficiently happy, after our fatiguing and burning excursion, to find a place of shelter, refreshment, and repose.



CHAPTER XXIV.

VISIT TO THE TOWER OF BABEL AND TEMPLE OF BELUS, OR THE
BIRS NIMROOD.

JULY 27th.—Our first duty was to send the letters, with which Mr. Rich had kindly furnished us, to the governor of Hillah, and to a powerful Arab of the same town, named Esau Bek. The former was inaccessible, being with his Harem; but the latter had no sooner received our letter, than he sent to announce his intention of visiting us.

It was about noon when he arrived at the caravanserai, accompanied by a younger brother, and a large train of servants. During the interview, after he had assured us that he was the slave of our wishes, and that the execution of our orders and the safety of our persons were on his head, both for the high respect he bore towards

our nation, and his personal esteem for its able representative at Bagdad, we repeated to him what had been already stated in the letter, that the object of our coming thus far was to visit the ruin called the *Birs Nimrood*, in the western Desert, and we fixed on an early hour on the following morning for commencing our journey: he then quitted us, with a promise that all should be ready for our setting out at the hour and in the manner we desired.

In the course of the day, we had received information of a riot having taken place before the house of the governor on the preceding evening, in which one man was killed and two wounded. This circumstance, added to the notoriously bad character of the people of *Hillah*, who murder their governors and assassinate each other with impunity, with the insolence and contempt which they manifested towards my European companion as we entered the town, induced us to remain quietly within the *khan* for the remainder of the day.

JULY 28th—We were on horseback before daylight, and repaired to the house of *Esau Bek*, to receive our escort for the visit to the temple of *Belus*, or *Birs Nimrood*. We were here joined by the younger brother of this chief, and six horsemen, all well mounted and armed, under whose protection we left the town.

The dawn had just begun to break as we went out of the miserable mud-walls which encompass *Hillah* on the west. These are built on an inclined slope, turreted along the top, and barely serve the purpose of a check against the intrusion of the Desert Arabs. Within these walls is a large and high mound of rubbish, the surface of which is covered with fragments of broken pottery, burnt bricks, and other remains of antiquity, which I at first conceived to be the ruin of some large mass of Babylonian building; but on a closer inspection, it appeared to have been gradually accumulated from the rejected materials of which the town itself is built, and which were apparently all brought from the ruins of *Babylon*.

We went out from the town in nearly a westerly direction,

keeping close to the southern edge of long and high mounds, which appear to have formed the banks of the canal leading from the Euphrates into this western plain. In less than an hour we left this, and going off more southerly, directed our course straight towards the ruined monument of which we had come in search, and whose towering height began to shew itself from the moment of the daylight being broadly opened. Its appearance, as we approached it, was that of a fallen and decayed pyramid, with the portion of a tower remaining on its summit; and every step that we drew nearer to it, impressed us more and more with a conviction, that this was by far the most conspicuous of all the monuments of Babylon, of which any remains are now to be traced, and gradually strengthened the opinion that it was the celebrated Tower or Temple of Jupiter Belus, which had been sought for, and as the explorers considered even recognised, among the ruined heaps on the other side of the Euphrates.

We had no sooner reached the spot, than we ascended hastily on its western side, over a very steep hill, formed of the broken fragments accumulated round its base, and all evidently fallen from the top. When we had gained its summit, and recovered breath by resting for a few minutes among the rock-like masses of the ruin there, our first duty was to note the bearings of surrounding objects, for the purpose of fixing more accurately the relative position of this monument;* since, from the loose description of Père Emanuel, it had been admitted, by Rennel, to be within the site of Babylon, and from the hasty account of Niebuhr, it had been

* Bearings, taken by compass from the summit of the Birs Nimrod:—

Mound of Mujellibé, or Makloube	...	...	...	...	N. E. by N. 10 miles.
Mesjid el Shems, at Hellah	...	...	...	...	N. E. by E. 5 miles.
Kiff el Yahooda, the Tomb of Ezekiel	...	...	...	...	S. 7 miles.
Khan Dubbey	...	...	...	...	S. W. by S. 8 miles.
Khan Ghaneiza	...	...	...	...	W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. 3 miles.
First Lake, or Marsh	...	...	...	...	S. W. to W. S. W. 2 miles.
Second Lake, or Marsh	...	...	from	W. $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, to N. N. W. 8 miles.	
Third Lake, or Marsh	...	...	....	N. W. to N. E. by N. 2 to 3 miles.	

thrown without that site, for at least two or three miles beyond the walls, though both of these travellers described the same identical ruin.

The direction of Kerbela, or Mesjid Hussein, was pointed out to us in a north-west direction, and of Mesjid Ali in a southern one; but though the morning was beautifully clear, and the hour favourable for seeing to a great distance, neither the one nor the other were at this moment visible. It was called a day's journey from hence to each, without any one being able to specify the number of hours; and the khans mentioned in the bearings were said to be on the direct road from Mesjid Ali to Mesjid Hussein, a road so notoriously infested by the Desert Arabs to the westward of it, that not a year passed without a number of Persian pilgrims being stripped and plundered, whether in strong parties or alone.

I inquired particularly after the ruined site called Brousa, or Bursa, by the natives, and supposed to mark the place of the ancient Borasippa of Strabo, the Barsita of Ptolemy, and the Byrsia of Justin,* the place to which Alexander retired when he was warned by the Chaldeans not to enter Babylon by the east. Near as this place was to us, however, and commonly as it was thought to be known among the people of the country, there was but one of all our party who did not absolutely deny its existence, contending that Bursa, or Birs, were but different ways of pronouncing the same word, which was no other than the name of the place on which we stood. The Arab, who admitted the existence of this disputed spot, under the name given, pointed it out in a south-east direction, but said it was not visible from hence. He knew not the accurate distance from this spot, but supposed it to be four hours' brisk journey. This also he said was about its distance from Hillah, adding, that it was fully an hour's ride from the west of the bank of

* Alexander, being influenced by the advice of the soothsayers not to enter this city, turned aside to Byrsia, a city heretofore unpeopled, on the other side of the Euphrates; but, being importuned by Anaxarchus, the philosopher, to despise the presages of magicians as false and uncertain, he afterwards returned to the city.—*Justin*, chap. xii.

the Euphrates, and therefore could not be visited without a large escort, on account of the character of the Arabs who encamp near the spot.

The view from hence, in every direction, was most dreary: a few distant lines of date-groves was all that relieved the eastern waste, marking the course of the river through the plain; and to the westward all was one yellow Desert, seemingly as destitute of animal as of vegetable life. Between us and the edge of these sandy wilds, was a line of marshes, lakes, and morasses—for at different periods of the year they deserved the name of either—so that the state of the country here at least had seemingly undergone very little alteration since the time of Babylon's foundation or decay.*

We could trace no vestige of a wall in this direction, either in the shape of mounds, or otherwise, throughout all the range of our view. It is true, that the situation of a wall near marshes and loose sands would be unfavourable to its remaining visible for any length of time after it had been once broken down; and it is not, perhaps, improbable, but that it might have been more neglected in this quarter than elsewhere from the first decline of Babylon, as the local features of the situation in its marshes, morasses, and loose sand, offered a permanent obstacle to invasion on that side.†

In reasoning on the positions of the great gates of the city,

* “It is somewhat remarkable, that one of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Babylon is entitled (xxi. 1.) ‘The burden of the desert of the sea,’ or rather, ‘of the plain of the sea,’ for Babylon was seated in a plain, and surrounded by water. The propriety of the expression consists in this, not only that any large collection of waters in the oriental style is called ‘a sea,’ but also that the places about Babylon, as §Abydenus informs us out of Megasthenes, are said from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called ‘the sea.’”—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 161.

† The Chaldean soothsayers entreated Alexander not to enter this city at all at that particular time of his being about to do so, which was on his return from Ecbatana, and upon his expedition against the Cosseans: and he ridiculed this advice by repeating a

§ λέγεται δε πάντα μεν εξ αρχης ὕδωρ εἶναι, θαλασσαν καλεομένην. Ferunt, inquit, loca hæc omnia jam inde ab initio aquis obruta fuisse, marisque nomine appellata. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 41, p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

Major Rennel says, "It may indeed be concluded, that there were fewer gates and communications with the country on the west than elsewhere, for it is said, that Alexander wished to enter the city by the west after his return from India, in order to avoid the evil foretold by the soothsayers, but he was compelled to give up the attempt by reason of the marshes and morasses on that side."* We are told also by Diodorus Siculus,† that the number and depth of the morasses round about Babylon made a smaller number of towers in the nature of bastions necessary for the defence of the walls. Such is exactly the state of the country at the present moment, and the eastern limit of these marshes seem to occupy nearly the same place as anciently, or to press close upon what might be supposed to have been the western boundary of the Babylonian wall.

In turning from the surrounding objects to examine, for a moment, the more striking one on which we stood, we found it to be a steep pyramidal heap, rising to the height of two hundred feet above the level of the surrounding soil, and having the western side of a brick building on its summit, rising to the height of fifty feet more. The western face of the heap is the most destroyed, being worn down into a deep furrow in the loose rubbish, probably by the operation of the strong Desert winds from that quarter. The eastern and southern faces are in different degrees of greater perfection, and the southern is the most perfect of all. At the foot of the mound may be traced a step, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent, by several feet, the true base of the building. Within

satirical line against divines, from the Greek poet Euripides. They then desired him at last not to enter it with his face westward, but to go round *on the other side* of the city, and enter it with his face towards the east. This he was resolved to comply with, but the difficulty of the road, *which was both watery and marshy*, forced him to change that resolution. He even made the attempt to bring his whole army round here, and enter the city at their head, from the west : for which purpose he crossed the Euphrates, and marched along its western bank to the northward, having that river on his right, but from the ground thereabout being *all an impassable morass*, he was obliged to abandon his design as impracticable.—*Arrian*, b. vii. c. 16, 17.

* See *Arrian*, b. vii.

† Book ii. chap. 1.

this, the edifice commences rising in high and distinct stages, receding one within another, in a proportion of width about equal to their respective elevations.

The first, or lowermost of these, shews only some of its interior work, where a pit has been formed near the outer edge of the base, by the apparent clearing away of the rubbish there, perhaps in search after bricks. It is remarkable, that the bricks, though large and firmly made, are merely sun-dried, and cemented either by bitumen or mortar, but without reeds. The lower part of the structure was composed of sun-dried bricks within, and a facing of furnace-baked bricks without, corresponding with the upper parts of the building as they now exist, and with the appearance of all the vestiges around the base. This is exactly consistent with the first feature of the tower of Belus, as noted by Major Rennel, where he says—"It may be concluded that the uppermost stories consisted more of masonry than of earth; but the lower chiefly of earth, which was retained in its place by a vast wall of sun-dried bricks, the outer part or facing of which was composed of such as had undergone the operation of fire." Strabo says, "that the *sides* of the tower were of *burnt* bricks."

The second stage of this heap, which recedes within the first in about the proportion of the height of this from the base, shows the north-east angle of its exterior front most distinctly. This is faithfully delineated in the view of the eastern face of this monument, as drawn by Mr. Rich, and engraved to accompany his Memoir on Babylon; but from the drawings having been reduced by the editors of the "*Mines de l'Orient*," in which they were originally inserted, to so small a scale, the effect of this appearance is less striking.* It is nevertheless sufficiently visible, even on that scale, to be referred to as a corroboration of the assertion here made.

* See the relative positions and present aspect of the principal Babylonian edifices spoken of in this Work, in the lithographic copies of the Plan and Views of Mr. Rich, taken, by permission, from the plate accompanying his original Memoir in "*Les Mines de l'Orient*," and inserted among the Illustrations of the present Volume.

The whole of this angle, as far as it can be traced, is of burnt brick, though sun-dried bricks and loose earth may occupy the interior of the mass, as not more than a few feet in thickness are seen jutting out beyond the general surface of the rubbish.

Still above this, is a third stage, a fragment of which may be perceived in Mr. Rich's view of the western front of the heap; this recedes within the second, in the same proportion as the second within the first; and, like it, is apparently formed of furnace-baked bricks, for the exterior surface which now projects beyond the loose fragments of the general ruin.

Above them all, rises the fourth and last existing stage, which is delineated in the apparent tower that crowns the summit of the whole. The standing part of this upper stage is a solid wall of brick, about fifty feet in height, from the lowest part of its base visible on the east, thirty feet in breadth, and fifteen in thickness, though both these last dimensions seem to lessen gradually on approaching the summit. The upper edge of this wall is so broken and irregular, as to prove, beyond a doubt, that it did not terminate the pile; but that above this there were other stages, now destroyed. The wall of this ruin is now rent by a large fissure, which extends through nearly half its height, and is, no doubt, the effect of some violent agent, rather than the gradual operation of time.

The summit of the pile, as it now stands, at an elevation of two hundred and fifty feet from its own base, covers apparently an area of nearly a hundred feet. The whole of this appears to have been occupied by a square building, forming the fourth stage of this great pyramidal tower; only one side of which now remains erect. This presents a wall of brick work, about fifty feet in extreme height, by thirty in breadth, and fifteen in thickness, pierced both longitudinally and transversely with small channels, running all through the building, as if to give a free passage to the air. It is the western side of the tower that remains standing, though occupying only a portion of its original breadth on that front, as both its side edges have been evidently broken away. On the north and

south, the walls are broken down, and their materials dispersed, though the place of both can still be traced. But on the east, the fallen masses which composed the wall of that quarter still remain on the spot.

The bricks used in the masonry of this pile are furnace-baked, and of the ordinary kind, resembling those at Al Hheimar, more than the finer ones at the Kassr, and the whole is thus faithfully characterized by Mr. Rich. "The fine burnt bricks, of which the ruin at the summit of the Birs was built, have inscriptions on them, and so admirable is the cement, which appears to be lime-mortar, that though the layers are so close together, that it is difficult to discern what substance is between them, it is nearly impossible to extract one of the bricks whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together, and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the action of the present fire, or been blown up with gunpowder, yet the layers of the bricks are perfectly discernible."*

The appearance of these masses, and the fissure in the portion of the wall which still remains erect, furnish reasons to believe that fire was used as an agent of destruction in this edifice,† to effect

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."

† "We learn farther, from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valerius, and quoted from him by §Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his peers, surpassing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no sort of punishment, but sent many of the Babylonians, and for trifling causes, into slavery, and burnt the forum and some of the temples of Babylon, and demolished the best parts of the city. This happened about a hundred and thirty years before Christ."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 172.

§ Vitring. Com. in Iesaiam. cap. xiii. p. 421. vol. 1. Εὐήμερος ὁ τῶν Παρθῶν βασιλεὺς κ. τ. λ. Evemerus, Parthorum rex (docuit Valesius clarissime quod eruditi viri lubenter admiserunt, legendum esse Himerum, Parthorum regis satrapam, ex circumstantiis temporis historię, et collatis locis Justini ac Athenęi) patria Hyrcanus, cunctos tyrannos acerbitate vincens, nullum sævitę genus prætermisit. Plurimos enim Babylonios levibus de caussis servituti addictos, cum omni familia in Mediam distrahendos misit. Forum quoque et nonnulla delubra Babylonis igni tradidit, ac pulcherrima quęque urbis loca evertit. Accidit casus stante regno Seleucidarum, annis admodum CXXX ante Æ. V. nati Domini.

which almost every other means would have been ineffectual, from the astonishing firmness of its masonry, which rendered the whole fabric in strength like one solid block. Had this been the original summit of the building, and the fire used here been that of sacrifice or adoration, as might be suggested by those who would infer, from the visible effects of this element, that the Birs Nimrood was an ancient fire-temple, the vitrified appearance would have been seen as well in the standing part of the wall, as in that which is fallen, and in both only on the interior surface of the enclosure, which the fire might be supposed to have occupied. Here, however, the fallen masses bear evident proof of the operation of fire having been continued on them, as well after they were broken down as before, since every part of their surface has been so equally exposed to it, that many of them have acquired a rounded form, and in none can the place of separation from its adjoining one be traced by any appearance of superior freshness, or any exemption from the influence of the destroying flame.*

It seems probable, therefore, that all other means of destruction having been found ineffectual, from the solidity of the brick-work of which the upper part was composed, the aid of fire was called in for that purpose; and this element, when well fed in a closed building, would produce nearly the effects which we see, namely, the splitting of one portion of the wall in a deep fissure; the breaking down of the other into large masses, still preserving its layers of brick distinct and inseparable from the tenacity of their cement; the vitrification of such masses after they had thus fallen into the body of the fire, by its enveloping them all around as long as any heat continued; and lastly, the entire fall of some of the disjointed portions of the wall, thus violently separated from the rest. This would be the natural effect of the application of fire within any of the stages, even the uppermost, and if applied to any of the lower ones, would,

* "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be *burnt with fire*."—*Jeremiah*, chap. li. v. 58.

in addition to the same effects, produce the undermining and overthrowing every part of the structure above.*

From the summit of this ruin, we could discover plainly the vestiges of a quadrangular enclosure round the whole pile, as noted also by Mr. Rich. It is most visible on the west and north, its angle of meeting bearing from us about west-north-west, and its general distance from the base of the great heap appearing to be about a hundred yards, or its whole square something more than three hundred yards on each side. In an eastern direction from this ruined pile, and separated from its foot by a clear space, from which it might be inferred that it never joined the pile itself, is a mound of ruins, equal in elevation to those assumed for the palace and the hanging gardens on the other side of the river; this is of an oblong form, extending about a quarter of a mile in length, and a furlong in breadth, of unequal surface, and strewn over with pottery, bricks, and coloured tiles, but having no actual remains of ancient buildings, the two sepulchres now erected on it being recent Mohammedan works.

As this pile of the Birš Nimrood is here assumed to be the remains of the celebrated Tower of Belus, the place of which has been long disputed; and as mature consideration, added to a close personal inspection of the monument, has only strengthened and confirmed the original impression of its identity, it may be well to enumerate such features of resemblance between the present ruin and the ancient temple, as are considered to justify the decision of their being one and the same edifice.

* It would appear that Alexander himself had sacrificed to the god Belus, and most probably in this very temple; but what was the nature of the sacrifice is not mentioned. "On Alexander's marching from Arbela, after the defeat of Darius, straight to Babylon, the gates of that vast city were thrown open to him, and processions of the priests and chiefs of the people went out to meet him, offering him great gifts, and delivering the city, the tower, and the royal treasure, into his hands. Alexander, entering the city, commanded the Babylonians to rebuild the temples which Xerxes had destroyed, *and especially the temple of Belus*, whom the Babylonians worshipped as their chief god, and to whom he himself, by the advice of the Chaldean priests, offered sacrifice."—*Justin*, book iii. chap. 16.

In recurring to the ancient descriptions of this celebrated monument, Major Rennel justly observes, that "all these are very brief, and Strabo is the only one who pretends to give the positive elevation of the tower, though all agree in stating it to be very great. The *square* of the temple, says Herodotus, was *two* stadia, (one thousand feet,) and the tower itself *one* stadium, in which Strabo agrees. The former adds, 'In the midst, a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one stadium, upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower, and, in the middle of the whole structure, there is a convenient resting-place.'* Strabo says, that the sepulchre of Belus was a *pyramid*, of one *stadium* in height, whose base was a square of like dimensions, and that it was ruined by Xerxes. Arrian agrees in this particular, and Diodorus adds, that on the top was a statue of Belus, forty feet in height, in an upright posture; from which Major Rennel has inferred, by an unobjectionable rule, that the tower must have been about five hundred feet in height, corresponding to the dimensions assigned by the others. Its destruction by Xerxes must have taken place before any of the writers, whose descriptions are cited, could have seen it, and that destruction must no doubt have been an unusually devastating one, since the Persian monarch is said to have forcibly stripped it of all its treasures, statues, and ornaments, and even to have put its priests to death. Both Strabo and Arrian indeed say, that Alexander wished to restore it; the former asserting that he found it too great a labour, for it was said that ten thousand men were not able to remove the rubbish, in the course of two months; and the latter stating that it had been begun, but that the workmen made less progress in it than Alexander expected.†

* Clio. 181.

† "The temple of Belus is situated in the heart of that city, (Babylon,) a most magnificent and stupendous fabric, built with brick, and cemented together with a bituminous substance instead of mortar. This, with all the rest of the Babylonian temples, was subverted by Xerxes, at his return from his Grecian expedition; whereupon

Here then we collect the following leading facts; first, that the tower of Belus was a pyramid, composed of eight separate stages successively rising above, and retiring within, each other; second, that its whole dimensions were a square of one stadium, or five hundred feet at its base, and its height exactly the same; third, that it had around it a square enclosure, of two stadia, or one thousand feet for each of its sides; and, fourthly, that attached to this was a temple, the relative position and dimensions of which are not specified, but the ruins of which were very considerable.

To all these features, the remains of the monument called the *Birs Nimrood* perfectly correspond. The form of its ascent is pyramidal, and four of the eight stages of which its whole height was composed are to be distinctly traced, on the north and east sides, projecting through the general rubbish of its face. Its dimensions at the base, as accurately measured by Mr. Rich, give a circumference of seven hundred and sixty-two yards, or two thousand two hundred and eighty-six feet, exceeding the square of a stadium, or two thousand feet, by no more than might be expected from the accumulation of the rubbish around it on all sides. The height of the four existing stages is equal to about half that of the original building, or two hundred and fifty feet; which, as the eight stages are said to have risen above each other in regular succession, may be fairly supposed to represent the four lowermost of them. The square enclosure to be traced around the whole appears, from the summit of the building, to occupy a line of more than three hundred yards for each of its sides, which may be thought to correspond accurately

Alexander determined to repair it, or, as some say, rebuild it upon the old foundations; for which reason he had ordered the Babylonians to clear away the rubbish, for he designed to build it in a more august and stately manner than before. But, whereas they had made a much less progress in the work than he expected during his absence, he had some thoughts of employing his whole army about it. Much land had been consecrated and set apart by the Assyrian monarchs for the god Belus, and much gold had been offered to him; from these the temple was formerly rebuilt, and sacrifices to the god provided."—*Arrian's Hist. of Alex.* b. vii. c. 17.

enough with the enclosure of two stadia, or one thousand feet, assigned by the historian.*

The great mound to the eastward of the tower is such as must have been left by the destruction of some spacious but less elevated building attached to it, and is of sufficient magnitude for any temple ;

* In a Second Memoir on Babylon, published subsequently to my visit to its ruins, in answer to some remarks of Major Rennel, on Mr. Rich's First Memoir, and which I have only seen since my return to England, this gentleman, to whom I had freely communicated all the results of my researches there, thus alludes to this portion of them:—"The whole height of the Birs Nemroud, above the plain to the summit of the brick wall, is two hundred and thirty-five feet. The brick wall itself, which stands on the edge of the summit, and was undoubtedly the face of another stage, is thirty-seven 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 bricks, 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 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,† we ought to find traces of four of them in the fragment which remains, whose elevation is two hundred and thirty-five feet ; and this is precisely the number which Mr. Buckingham believes he has discovered. This result is the more worthy of attention, as it did not occur to Mr. B. himself."—*Rich's Second Memoir on Babylon*, p. 32.

† See Mem. de l'Academie, vol. xxxi.

while the rubbish formed by the destruction of the whole, including both the tower and the temple which Alexander is said to have wished to restore, is greater than the whole solid contents of the Mujellibé, or Makloube, and would certainly occupy a body of ten thousand men nearly two months in effectually removing.

To this may be added a suggestion, of little weight perhaps when standing alone, but worthy of mention when supporting other facts, namely, the probability of the name of *Birs*, at present applied to this monument, being a corruption of *Belus*, its original name.* *El Birs* is the epithet by which it is exclusively called by some; and whenever *Nimrood* is added, it is merely because the inhabitants of this country are as fond of attributing every thing to this "mighty hunter before the Lord," as the inhabitants of Egypt are to Pharaoh, or those of Syria to Solomon. Mr. Rich, whose authority on a point of oriental philology is of great value, says, "The etymology of the word *Birs* (برس) would furnish a curious subject for those who are fond of such discussions. It appears not to be Arabic, as it has no meaning which relates to this subject in that language, nor can the most learned persons here assign any reason for its being applied to this ruin." The change from *Belus* to *Berus*, which requires only the change of a constantly permutable letter, would be less extraordinary than a thousand others which have been insisted on as decisive; and the difference between *Berus* and *Birs* is nothing in any of the Semmetic languages, or those written without vowels, since both would be expressed by the same characters, without addition or diminution, and both consequently be the same in sound.

* Pliny says, the Temple of Jupiter Belus was so called from Belus, a prince, the first inventor of astronomy. The city was however gone to decay, and lying waste in Pliny's time, from the vicinity of Seleucia, which had drawn off all its population.—*Nat. Hist.* b. 6. c. 26.

The Belus of the Assyrians is thought to be the Mahabali of the Hindoos, and the Shah Mahbool of the Persians, the last of the third dynasty of the ancient kings mentioned in the Dabistan.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 248.

The objections which might be urged against the identity of the ruin at the Birse with the Temple and Tower of Jupiter Belus, deserve a moment's consideration. The first may be found in the apparent novelty of the theory, and in the fact that no one who has hitherto visited, described, or written on this ruin, with the single exception of Mr. Rich, has yet assumed it to be the temple in question. This, however, may be easily accounted for. "All travellers," says Mr. Rich, "since the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who first revived the remembrance of the ruins, whenever they fancied themselves near the site of Babylon, universally fixed upon the *most conspicuous* eminence to represent the Tower of Belus. Benjamin of Tudela, Rauwolff, and some others, saw it among the ruins of the old Felugiah; and, fully bent upon verifying the words of Scripture, fancied it infested by every species of venomous reptile." Pietro della Valle seems to have been the first who selected the Makloube as the remains of this celebrated structure, for the reason assigned above, because it was the most conspicuous eminence among those which he had seen, and his opinion naturally remained authority, until some better was produced. Père Emanuel indeed *saw* the Birse, but, as has been said with great truth, "from the account he has given, or the clearness of the idea which he appears to have formed of it, he might, with equal advantage to the world and himself, have never seen it at all.*"

Niebuhr appears to have seen it first from a distance, when he took it for a watch-tower; and subsequently to have been upon the ruin itself, as he describes the little hole in the wall, which cannot be seen from below. After describing the ruin very briefly, he says, "Mais en relisant ensuite ce que Herodote dit (l. i. s. 170.) au Temple de Belus, et de sa forte Tour, il m'a paru très vraisemblable que j'en avois retrouvé là des restes; et c'est pourquoi j'espère, qu'un des mes successeurs dans ce voyage, en fera de plus exactes recherches, et nous en donnera la description."†

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."

† Vol. ii. p. 236. 4to.

This was the impression made on M. Niebuhr, in merely snatching a hasty view of the ruin. This was my own impression at the first moment of approaching it, without any recollection at the time of what Niebuhr had written, and this also was the effect produced on Mr. Rich. "Previous to visiting the Birs," says that gentleman, "I had not the slightest idea of the possibility of its being the Tower of Belus; indeed its situation was a strong argument against such a supposition; but the moment I had examined it, I could not help exclaiming, 'Had this been on the other side of the river, and nearer the ruins, no one could doubt of its being the remains of the Tower.'"^{*}

The next objection to the identity of the Birs with the temple of Belus, may be in its situation; as it has been the commonly received opinion, that this temple stood on the eastern side of the Euphrates. The only ground upon which this was assumed by Major Rennel, is a presumption that the Belidian gate, which was known to be on the east side, was so named from its vicinity to the Temple of Belus. This has been so satisfactorily answered by Mr. Rich, as to leave nothing to add to his remarks on this subject.[†]

^{*} Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient," p. 155.

[†] The passage, in which Major Rennel's objection and Mr. Rich's reply to it is contained, is worth extracting entire. It is this:—

"I believe it is nowhere positively asserted, that the Tower of Belus stood in the eastern corner of Babylon. Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and Quintus Curtius, do not affirm this, but it is certainly the generally received opinion; and Major Rennel says, 'It may be pretty clearly collected from Diodorus, that the temple stood on the east side and the palace on the west. A presumptive proof of the supposed position of the temple, should the words of Diodorus be regarded as ambiguous, is, that the gate of the city named Belidian, and which we must conclude to be denominated from the Temple, appears pretty clearly to have been situated on the east side. When Darius Hystaspes besieged Babylon, the Belidian and Cissian gates were opened to him by Zopyrus; and the Babylonians fled to the Temple of Belus, as we may suppose the nearest place of refuge. The Cissian or Susian gate must surely have been in the eastern part of the city, as Susa lay to the east; and by circumstances, the Belidian gate was near it.'§ Now, I do not think these premises altogether warrant the conclusion. In these

§ Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, pp. 355—357.

The difficulty is then reduced to its distance from the river, which is thought so great as to exclude it from the site of the city according to the generally received extent of its area, and its not apparently occupying that central situation in its own division which has been assigned to it by the ancient writers already quoted.

If, however, the area of Babylon, as given by Herodotus, be admitted to be correct, then, taking the ruin at Al Hheimar for its eastern, and the ruin of El Birs for its western extreme, the latter will be just included within the great square of four hundred and eighty stadia, or fifteen miles on each side. It would be indeed an obstinate bending of facts to support a previously advanced theory, to suppose that so conspicuous an edifice as this of the Birs, still retaining, even to this late period, its pre-eminence over all the other Babylonian ruins, should have been situated just without the walls, on the side which could not be approached, and which had scarcely any gates, on account of the morasses pressing in that direction close on the borders of the city; and yet, that it should not be noticed by any of the writers, describing the ancient Babylon, as occupying so singular a position.

Admitting it to be within the walls, and the adoption of the area of Herodotus completely effects this, its central situation is the

countries, as has before been remarked,* gates take the name of the places *to*, and not *from*, which they lead. The gates of Babylon are instances of this; and the very gate next the Belidian was called Susian, from the town *to* which the road it opens upon leads; so that, if the Belidian gate really derived its appellation from the temple, it would have been a singular instance, not only in Babylon, but in the whole East, at any period. It is, consequently, much easier to suppose there may have been a town, village, or other remarkable place without the city, the tradition of which is now lost, which gave its name to the gate, than that such an irregularity existed. As to the inhabitants, in their distress, taking refuge within the precincts of the temple, it is probable they were induced to it, not from its proximity to the point of attack, but as the grand sanctuary, and, from its holiness and great celebrity, the one most likely to be respected by the enemy."—*Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."*

* Vide, also, Rennel.

only difficulty to be removed to reconcile the identity of this ruin with the monument of which it is assumed to be the remains. It may be remarked, first, that we have presumptive proof of Herodotus intending this expression of its being "in the centre" in a very general way; for he places the palace and the hanging gardens in the centre of their respective divisions also: while Diodorus is most explicit as to the fact of the palace having been near to the bridge, and consequently to the bank of the river, which could not have been the centre of the eastern division of the city; and he is borne out in this description by the statements of Strabo and Quintus Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to have been very near the river, and all agree that they were within or adjacent to the square of the fortified palace.

Since, then, this expression of the topographer, "in the centre," is found to be a general one, when confronted with the testimony of other writers, and with the appearance of the ruins, both of the palace and the hanging gardens, to which it is applied, it cannot be unfair to suppose the application of it to the Temple of Belus to be equally general, when opposed to the testimony of other writers, and the appearance of remains still less equivocal than the former ones. Major Rennel himself says, indeed, "It is proper to remark, that there is this specific difference between the descriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus; the first says, that the *centres* of the two divisions were occupied respectively by the *palace* and the *temple*: but Diodorus, by *two palaces*; and although he speaks of the temple also, yet he does not point out its place."

But, after all, the ruins themselves, from their magnitude and general correspondence of detail with the tower, or temple, or pyramid, of Belus, may be safely admitted to contain more convincing proofs of their identity, than any thing that could be said on its positive or relative situation with respect to other edifices; and while so generally careful and accurate an investigator as Rennel could feel justified in fixing the position of this temple on such scanty materials as were presented to his choice; and, by a reference

to this position so fixed, as a standard, could venture to determine the place of all the other edifices of Babylon ; it may be allowed, to draw the contrary conclusions here detailed, supported as they are by ancient authorities at least as numerous, and modern appearances by far more satisfactory.

I cannot close these observations, which were all noted on the ruins themselves, and written out at length, during the evening of the same day at Hillah, while fresh from the spot, without saying, that when I first set my foot upon the ruins of Babylon, I did not expect that any thing new would offer itself to my notice. I came most certainly without any previously-formed opinions, as to positions of particular edifices at least, having with me, in addition to the written extracts made from ancient authors, Major Rennel's and Mr. Rich's Dissertations, which, though they present different and in many cases directly opposite views, I had read with equal attention at Bagdad, and again at Hillah, amidst the very ruins themselves. I came with no previous prejudices to confirm—no established theory to support ; and I can say with great truth, in the frank and modest confession of Mr. Rich, that “ I would rather incur the imputation of being an ignorant and superficial observer, than mislead by forming rash decisions upon subjects so difficult to be discussed.” It is for this reason, that, in the greater part of the descriptions of particular portions of these ruins, on which certain arguments are grounded, I have preferred the quotation of those from others, when they have accorded with my own impression, rather than assert the same thing in other words, as from myself ; since, having devoted a shorter period than I could have desired, to the investigation of these extensive and interesting ruins, the accuracy of my details might, on that ground alone, be supposed liable to be called in question.*

* We saw nothing of the insects mentioned in the following passage of Rauwolff, and of which, after describing them, he doubts the existence, as well he might :—
“ Behind it, pretty near to it, did stand the Tower of Babylon, which the children of Noah (who first inhabited these countries after the deluge) began to build up unto

It was about nine o'clock, when we descended from the summit of the Birs, bringing with us some written bricks, and fragments of the vitrified masses there. We remounted our horses at the base of the monument, and after traversing the great eastern mound without observing any thing new, pursued our return to Hillah by the same route over which we had come out across the plain.

Our escort of horsemen here exercised themselves in pursuit and flight, which, with their flowing dresses and long elastic lances, produced the most picturesque effect. We learnt, in our way, that during the rains of winter, nearly the whole tract between Hillah and the Birs is converted into a marsh.

On our re-entering the town, we noticed two buildings, with high conic domes, like that of the Tomb of Zobeida, near Bagdad. One of these within the town was still used as a mosque; the other, in the gardens without the town, is called Mesjid el Shems, or the Mosque of the Sun, a name given to it from a tradition of its being built on the spot where Ali performed his devotions, when the sun was "polite enough (as Niebuhr expresses it) to rise a couple of hours later than usual for the accommodation of the Imaum, who, having overslept himself, would have lost the usual hour of prayer, but for the obliging disposition of this luminary to retard his appearance."

We passed through a long line of narrow streets and bazārs, and Heaven; this we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but it is so mightily ruined, and low, and so full of vermin that hath bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter, when they come not out of their holes. Among these insects, there are chiefly some, in the Persian language called Eglo by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous; they are (as others told me) bigger than our lizards, and have * three heads, and on their back several spots of several colours, which have not only taken possession of the tower, but also of the castle, (which is not very high,) and the spring-well, that is just underneath it, so that they cannot live upon the hill, nor dare not drink of the water, (which is wholesome for the lambs.)—This is romance."—p. 138.

* Rauwolff was here too credulous and facile to suffer himself to be abused and imposed upon by these relaters; for that there neither are, nor ever were, any animals with more heads than one naturally, I do confidently affirm.—Ray, *Translator and Editor of Rauwolff*.

alighted at the khan, where we remained until the heat of the day had subsided, without further extending our inquiries regarding Hillah itself, already so often and so well described. It is seated on both banks of the Euphrates, the stream of the river running through its centre. Its two divisions are connected by a bridge of boats, close to each end of which is a door, terminating a long street of communication. The eastern division is inconsiderable in extent and population, but the western contains from eight to ten thousand inhabitants, chiefly Arab traders. There are some Jewish dealers, who have a synagogue for their worship, but there are no resident Christians; and the only Turks here are such as fill the immediate offices dependent on the Governor, who is generally a Georgian appointed from Bagdad.

About six o'clock we mounted our horses at the khan, and went over the bridge of boats on our return, when it was as much crowded as before. Just beyond the eastern division of the town, while yet among the gardens and date-groves, we met an Arab lad, with no covering but a shirt, his hair flying loosely in the wind, a naked dagger or yambeeah in his hand, his neck and breast covered with blood, and himself running almost breathless along the road. He made no replies to our questions, and seemed as if flying from some murderous affray.

As we approached the mounds on the eastern division of the ruined Babylon, the Koord guide and an Arab of our party expressed great alarm, from the evil spirits, both of the living and dead, whom they firmly believe to haunt these heaps at night. We passed, however, unmolested by both, which they attributed to some favourable influence possessed by Mr. Bellino, as an European and a man of necromantic learning, and slept at the khan of Mohāwil in safety.

JULY 28th.—The rest of our way to Bagdad was marked by no peculiar occurrence, as we travelled chiefly by night, and halted during the heat of the day, on the same road by which we had come down.

On the morning of the 30th, as we approached Bagdad, we met a caravan of Persian corpses, conveying to Imaum Hussein for interment. Near the bend of the Tigris, about two hours below Bagdad, we were shewn the marks of an inundation all the way from the Euphrates, rafts even coming over from one river close to the other by its waters. This is greater in extent than any inundation of the Nile, and proves also that the bed of the Euphrates is higher at Felugiah than that of the Tigris at Bagdad, in a line of east and west ; though the course of the former river is slow, as if its descent were gentler, and that of the latter rapid, as if its descent were steeper, than the other ; a difference to be accounted for only by the more winding course of the Euphrates.

We arrived at the hospitable residence of Mr. Rich, in time to join the family at breakfast, and passed some hours of the day together, in recounting the incidents of our journey, and comparing our notes and opinions on the interesting remains of the ruined city we had returned from visiting.



CHAPTER XXV.

OBSERVATIONS MADE AT BAGDAD.

ON the day after our return from Hillah, I had been seized with a severe fever, an effect of the heat and fatigue of the journey. This confined me for some time to my bed, during which period my companion also suffered from the same cause. I was again recovering my strength, however, until about a fortnight after my first attack, when, exposing myself to the sun at noon-day, in order to fix the latitude of Bagdad by a meridian altitude, at the request of Mr. Rich, I experienced a *coup de soleil*, which threw me into a relapse, and occasioned a longer and more severe illness than the first attack.*

* The observation of the sun's meridian altitude, taken on the 4th of August, 1816, for ascertaining the latitude of Bagdad, gave the following result :—

During this confinement, I had the benefit of the best medical advice, from the physician of the establishment, Dr. Hine, and every comfort which Mr. Rich's house, and the kind attentions of himself and family, could afford. But the state of the weather was itself a sufficient obstacle to rapid recovery; as, from the close of July until the middle of August, the thermometer stood at an average between 119° and 122° of Fahrenheit, in the shade at noon, with calms, now and then broken by the Simoom or Desert wind. Those who had long resided in the country had known nothing like this heat for any great number of days in succession before; and its effects were universally felt among all classes. Here, in the midst of every convenience that money could procure to ameliorate it, we fled to the terrace for air at night, and to the subterraneous cells for shelter during the day; in both cases, going nearly without garments, and finding it a sufficient penance to dress even in the lightest robes for an hour at breakfast, which was never later than seven o'clock in the morning, and again for dinner, which was always an hour after sun-set.

By a Tartar who had recently arrived from Constantinople, we heard the most distressing accounts of the state of the country, which was parched and burnt up, in the immediate neighbourhood of Bagdad and Mousul, by the excessive heat; and accidents of death from the same cause were daily reported to us. We learnt, at the same time, the fact of a kellek or raft, coming from Mousul to Bagdad by the Tigris, having been attacked by Arabs in a narrow part of the river, and every creature on board it murdered.

Observed altitude of ☉'s lower limb	...	...	...	73	41
☉'s semidiameter	...	...	...	...	16
Altitude of ☉'s centre	...	...	...	73	57
Polar distance	...	...	...	90	00
Zenith distance	...	...	...	16	3 N.
☉'s declination, reduced to the meridian	...	...	...	17	18 N.
Latitude	...	...	...	33	21 N.
3 s					

The continuance of the Fast of Ramazān, added to my yet weak state of health, and the oppressive heat of the weather, were sufficient reasons for my postponing the further prosecution of my journey towards India, until more favourable combinations might allow me to do so without great risk.

During this period of my recent illness, two vessels had arrived at Bussorah from India, one of them the East-India Company's cruiser *Aurora*, which brought despatches, and then sailed again directly, in order to take round the Bishop of Calcutta from Bombay to Bengal; the other, his Majesty's ship *Favourite*, the Honourable Captain Maude, who had taken an English vessel from Muskat, laden with slaves, and departed from Bussorah again so soon, that there was no hope of my reaching her in time.

The tedium of my confinement was considerably relieved by the number and variety of excellent books which Mr. Rich's library contained, and which were accompanied also by the most unreserved communication from that gentleman himself, of every thing calculated to increase the interest of my future journey eastward. In his extensive and valuable collection of antiques, I found also a source of amusement and information. These were chiefly Babylonian, and consisted of cylinders, amulets, idols, and intaglios, of the most curious kind. Among these I was more particularly struck with some cylinders, drilled through with holes, as if to be worn round the neck, the ornaments on which were purely Egyptian; the winged globe, wavy lines of water, the lotus, the moon, a globe in a boat, sacrifices of gazelles, rams' heads; a lunated female divinity, like Isis; priests in the same attitudes, and divinities on similar thrones to those of Egypt, with a mixture of Persepolitan figures and symbols on the same objects, and most of them accompanied by inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, such as has been found at the ruins of Persepolis, Babylon, and Nineveh. Besides these, were a fine ram's head in agate, as of Jupiter Ammon; a cow, or bull, in copper, as of Apis or Mnevis; a male figure in a sitting attitude, but unsupported by a seat, bearing an open scroll on his knees, the whole

of copper, and in the most decidedly Egyptian style ; a porcelain or opaque stone scarabeus, bored through with a longitudinal hole, covered with small inscriptions ; and many other smaller articles, which, if presented to me as Egyptian, I should have received as such, where the Babylonian writing did not prove them to have had a more eastern origin.

Among the coins were a number of silver ones that had been dug up in an urn on the banks of the Tigris, which were obtained with difficulty by Mr. Rich, as the Pasha wished to conceal the fact of treasure having been found in his dominions, from a fear that its amount would be exaggerated by the time the news reached Constantinople, and a demand of restitution from the Sultan might follow, as all treasure found in this way is his legal right. These coins included Athenian, Samian, and Corinthian, with several of Alexander and Antiochus. There were also others of silver, bearing on one side a turretted fortress, with two lions underneath it, and on the reverse, a figure about to stab the unicorn, so frequently represented in the Persepolitan sculptures ; so that these coins were most probably of that place. Besides these, were gold and silver medals of the Sassanides, of Sapor, and Ardeschir, collected at different periods, and many Cufic rings, seals, and talismans, with holy sentences engraven on them.

It may be noted as a singular fact regarding these Babylonian cylinders, which appear to have been worn around the neck, as the amulets of Egypt, that one of them was found by Baron Haller, a German traveller, well known in Greece, on the Plain of Marathon, no doubt left there by one of the Persian army, on that memorable day, and perhaps worn by one of the Babylonian legion, the destruction of whose corpse it had so long survived.

The larger antiques comprehended a figure in brass, embracing a large lingam between its knees, precisely in the style of the Hindoo representation of that emblem ; a block of black basalt, much injured, but on which was still seen, well sculptured, a fine ram, fronting a monolithic temple, like that before which the cat is

seen sitting in the temple of Hermonthis, in Egypt, the shape of the monolith, as well as the attitude of the animals, being, in both cases, exactly the same; this stone was covered with inscriptions, in the arrow-headed character, very neatly cut. On another large block of stone was seen the figure of a priest, leaning on a staff, well preserved, and terminating in a flower on the top. This was no doubt a Babylonian relic, as Diodorus Siculus says, that the Babylonians all bore in their hands a well-fashioned stick, at the extremity of which was a rose, or some other ornament; for, he adds, it was not permitted for them to carry these sticks without their having some distinctive sign. Such staffs are often seen in the hands of Egyptian priests, and other figures, on their temples, and when borne by Isis, it is generally terminated by a lotus.*

Among the smaller intaglios, was a singular figure, altogether composed of globes of large diameter for the body, and smaller ones for the head, the legs, and the arms,—probably having some astronomical allusions. One of the agate cylinders was found at Nineveh, and seemed to have some of the constellations designed on it, with spirited figures of animals and men, in action, well cut. The cylinders were in general, however, of a composition not unlike plumbago, but finer and harder.

The silver coins, found buried on the banks of the Tigris, included some which had, on one side, a sea-horse in the water, and over it, as if on the surface of the sea, an old Greek galley, filled with armed men, with helmets and shields; the design of the reverse was quite unintelligible. On others were, on one side, an owl, with hawk's legs; and, on the other, a bearded figure, driving a pair of horses in the sea, as if emblematic of Minerva and Neptune. Others, again, had on one side a castle; and, on the other, a beautiful chariot and pair of horses, with two figures, a warrior and charioteer, as in the sculptures at the cave of Beit el Waali, above the cataracts of the Nile, in Nubia.

* See *Memoires de l'Acad. Royale*, tome xxix. p. 146.

Among these curiosities, there was also a supposed seal of one of the Khalifs, dug up at Old Bagdad, and containing the words "Ya Allah!" O God! in large Kufic characters, deeply cut, on a substance resembling that of the ancient cylinders. A crystal seal, with Hebrew characters on it, easy to be deciphered, but making nothing intelligible in its combinations, was pretended, by those who found it, to have been the seal of Solomon; but it was most probably a cabalistic impress, used by some of the old Jews of Babylonia, among whom that science was in high repute.*

Added to the Indian figure of a man with a pointed bonnet

* Among the Talismans of the East, the most powerful were *Mohur Solimani*, the seal or ring of Soliman Jared, fifth monarch of the world, after Adam. These, it was held, had the power to control even the arms and magic of the Dives, or giants: and their possessors enjoyed the entire command over the elements, the Demons, and all created beings. See D'Herbelot, "*Bibliothèque Orientale*," and Richardson's "*Dissertation*." Much curious learning might be thrown together on the subject of talismans, amulets, &c.; but a note is not, of course, the proper place to enter into such researches: the reader may not, however, be displeased to find the following particulars. The ancient Pagans of Greece and Rome, no less than those of the East, were strongly addicted to repose confidence in gems, with talismanic characters engraven on them, or steeped in astrological influences. From a passage of Trebellius Pollio, one of the Augustine historians, we learn, (at least, according to the interpretation of the erudite M. Baudelot,) that the Roman generals of Gallienus's time were accustomed to wear, both in peace and war, certain magical bauldricks,—"*constellatos baltheos*,"—which were supposed to ensure them from danger or envy. The use of these charms may be traced to the remotest antiquity, for it was encouraged by the genius of polytheism. Their inventor, according to obscure tradition, was a certain man, named Jacchis, whom Suidas supposes to have lived under the reign of Sennyas, King of Egypt. He must have carried on a large business, for, besides the common talismans, *περίπτοι*, he manufactured secret remedies against all pains and aches, against the burning rays of the sun, and the influence of the dog-star. Others confer the honour of this priestly quackery on Necepsos, a king of Egypt, who lived about two hundred years before the time of Solomon, but subsequent to Jacchis. To him Ausonius attributes the initiation of the Magi in these vain mysteries: "*Quique Magos docuit mysteria vana Necepsos*."

Tertullian, a superstitious writer, talks of the emeralds which the ancients wore, it is conjectured, for magical purposes, in their girdles; and Pliny and Marcellus Empiricus also speak of these same emeralds, which, when sculptured into the form of an eagle or scarabæus, were supposed to possess wonderful virtues. Among other things, it was thought that the steady contemplation of a scarabæus,

and beard, embracing the lingam, I saw also, in the possession of an Armenian, a demi-transparent stone, like a brown agate, with a fine triad on it, the heads and full-length figures apparently all female, judging from the features as well as the drapery. This had three distinct faces and six arms, each extended, with a little bending at all the elbows; in the upper pair of arms, were a lighted candle in each; in the second pair, a naked dagger in each; and in the third pair, a sort of whip in each; so that the right and left hand of each pair bore the same emblem, and all wore the exact appearance of a deity of Hindoostan. This was also found at Babylon; and on its reverse were some Greek letters, in cabalistic combinations, more recently cut than the original figure, and of a very imperfect form.

This collection of antiques contained, besides its written bricks, of the colour of an emerald, tended to strengthen the sight in a very wonderful manner. Pliny observes, that, throughout the East, a certain greenish jasper was worn as an amulet; and that it was to the wearing of something of the kind, that the Crotonian Milo, the celebrated athleta, owed, according to report, his many glorious victories. The soldiers of ancient Egypt always carried about their persons the figure of a scarabæus, which they firmly believed had the power to shield them from the accidents and dangers of war. But let not the reader despise them on this account: British mariners of the nineteenth century exhibit a superstition no less gross and stupid, when, on undertaking long voyages, they purchase a child's caul, to protect them from the fury of oceans and tempests, and nail a horse-shoe at the heel of the bowsprit, to protect the ship from ghosts and witches. The Egyptians beheld in the scarabæus a sacred image, for it was one of their gods. And a colossal deity of this species, cut out of black granite, may be seen in the British Museum, in what, I suppose, is meant for the pronaos of the *Elgin* Parthenon.

If we may rely on the testimony of Trebellius Pollio, the Macrii, a Roman family, entertained so profound a veneration for Alexander the Great, that both the males and females of this family always wore his image engraven on their rings, bracelets, and other ornaments. The *bullæ*, too, which the children of Rome suspended on their breasts,—nay, which the very consuls and senators wore in their triumphs, as charms, to avert envy, were nothing but amulets, or talismans. See *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tome ii. pp. 378—386. It should be remarked, however, that what M. Baudelot here says, after Macrobius, of the *bullæ* being worn by great men during their triumphs, is controverted, and I think successfully, by Middleton, “*Germane quædam Antiquitatis*,” &c. pp. 43, 44.

and other things purely Babylonian, so many curious affinities to Egyptian symbols on the one side, and to Indian on the other, that there seemed every reason to believe the central situation of this great city of Babylon, between these two teeming sources of superstition, had occasioned it to receive many of the deities and doctrines of each into its own peculiar system of mythology and mystery.

The heat of the weather had prevented the usual fête on the birth-day of the Prince Regent, (the 12th of August,) but the Resident's body-guard of Indian sepoy was paraded, and the visits of the usual attendants of the Divan were received with the formality of full dresses on the occasion. Among these were only two Franks, the one a young surgeon from Damascus, who had come here to seek employment in his profession among the Turks; the other the secretary of the French Consul, M. Vigoroux being himself ill at the time; an old friar, vicar apostolic of Babylonia, and head of the Catholics of Bagdad; and a Persian, who was so old as to remember the siege of Bagdad by Nadir Shah, being born at Ispahan in 1720, and educated at Rome, from whence he had come here to reside, as head of the Armenian church at this city. Besides these, were Christians, Jews, Turks, and some entertaining Dervishes, as well as all those in dependence on the establishment, forming altogether a very numerous train.

The Christians of Bagdad are but few in number; but the Jews are said to amount to ten thousand at least, in this city alone. It appears, that ever since the two great captivities of Nineveh and Babylon, in which the ancestors of this people were carried away from Palestine, they have abounded in these parts, more than in any other portion of the globe; having generally observed with rigour the law of marrying only in their own race, and having had no destructive wars to carry them off, as they seldom or ever engage in the contests and disputes of their masters.

In the examination of Benjamin de Tudela's early and interesting Travels in the East, it appeared to me, that his general accuracy has

been very unjustly impeached ; and as his work, the original of which was written in Hebrew, is but very imperfectly known to the general readers of Travels, a few observations on its account of Bagdad at least may not be misplaced. The geography and local descriptions of his book prove that this enterprising Jew really went over most of the ground he describes, to which his claim to accuracy must be confined ; for, like Herodotus, and indeed many more modern travellers, whenever he quits the boundaries of his own observation, all is fable and exaggeration. At this moment, however, there are, in many of the places that he names, by far more Jews than there were even in his day ; and this being the case, it is but fair to admit the possibility of their having been more in some others at the date of his writing, than are to be found now, since change in this respect is so likely, from a thousand causes, to happen.

I have followed the footsteps of this early traveller, with great interest, through Syria and Mesopotamia ; and his description of the ancient Bagdad excites but a continuation of the same feeling of respect for his general veracity. As he set out on his travels so early as the year 1173 of the Christian era, and the oldest dates of the inscriptions at Bagdad are 1221, for the foundation of the walls and construction of the towers by the Khalif Nassr, in the year of the Hejira 618, and 1232 for the foundation of the celebrated Medrassee or College for the learned, by the Khalif Mostanser, in the year of the Hejira 630, it follows that it must have been the *ancient* Bagdad, the ruins of which are supposed to be still visible on the west of the Tigris, and not the present city, which Benjamin of Tudela describes. He calls it a large city, where commences the Empire of the Caliph of the Abassides, chief of the family of their Prophet, and held in veneration by all the kings of the Desert Arabs, as a sort of sovereign pontiff among them. The palace of the Caliph is said to have been three miles in circumference, with a forest of fruit and other trees, a multitude of animals and birds, and in the midst of it, a lake formed by the waters of the Tigris, which were let in there, so that hunting and fishing could be

commanded as constant diversions. This space was as large as that occupied by the castellated palace and hanging gardens of Babylon, and laid out nearly in the same way, having been used, in the time of its perfection, for a park, for which purpose the other is said to have served in the progress of its decline.

The name of the Caliph, in Benjamin's time, was Abassidas Ahmed; he was a great friend to the Israelites, understood the Hebrew, which he read and wrote with perfection, and was deeply learned in the law of Moses. In the present day, during the residence at Bagdad of Dr. Hine, physician of the English establishment, there has been a similar instance of a Kiahya, or Lieutenant of the Pasha, who was more learned in the Hebrew than any of the Jews, and spoke it with facility, which the Jews of Bagdad generally do not, Turkish and Arabic being the languages in which they ordinarily communicate. This Caliph, it appears, like the one who then reigned at Cairo, never shewed himself throughout the year, but at the Fast of Ramadān, except when the Pilgrims returned from Mecca at any other portion of the year, in which case they alone had the privilege of kissing the hem of his garment, after which they each retired to his country in peace, having nearly as high a respect for this representative of the Prophet as for the Prophet himself. This is easy of belief, as happening among early Moham-medans, when we know how far a reverence for the Pontiff of the West, and the Vicar of Christ upon earth, is even now carried among the Catholics of Italy and Spain.

From an attempt having been once made on the life of the Caliph, by the intrigues of men ambitious to reign in his stead, all his officers had their apartments within the walls of his palace; and every individual of his family or race, who might have had pretensions to share his power, were bound with chains of iron. Aspirers to forbidden honours are now generally destroyed, by the reigning Sultan of the Turks, whose unwillingness "to bear a brother near the throne," has become proverbial. Here, however, in Benjamin's time, they were suffered to live, and have each their

separate court, the splendour of which was maintained by the tribute of particular villages, districts, and lands, collected by their own treasurers, and applied exclusively to their own use. On the going out of the Caliph from his palace, at the fast of Ramadān, to the Great Mosque for prayer, he is said to have ridden on a mule, dressed in his robes of sovereignty, but bearing at the same time, over a rich turban, a black veil, as a mark of humility, and to suggest to beholders, that all the sumptuous magnificence with which he was then surrounded, would one day be covered with the shadows of death. He was followed by all the chiefs of the Arabs, magnificently dressed, and mounted on the most beautiful horses; and the road from the palace to the mosque was lined with a crowded populace, among whom were dancers, singers, and musicians, to greet the passage of the Chief. All these saluted him by saying, "Peace be upon thee, O! our Lord and King!" which, on his part, he returned by lifting his hand to his mouth and forehead, so as to touch it with the sleeve of his own garment, and signifying to the multitude, by extending his hand, that he gave to them the same salute, "On you be peace!" in which manner these mutual interchanges of respect and condescension continued all the way to the door of the mosque.*

All this is, no doubt, a faithful picture of the manners of Bagdad in the Rabbi's time, as it resembled, in almost every particular, the entrance of the present Pasha of Bagdad, which I myself witnessed on the morning of my first arrival at the city-gate. He was preceded by his troops, with a band of music and drums, on horseback, and followed by the principal chiefs of his court, on the most beautiful animals, richly caparisoned. All operations were suspended as he passed, and not a pipe was lighted, nor even a cup of coffee served, until he had gone by; every one from among the spectators made

* In an account of the first Tartar conquests of Mousul and Bagdad, there is a description of the state dress and ceremonies of the Caliph, Ul Kain, which resembles that described by Benjamin of Tudela, in the account here given.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 355.

the most respectful salutes of "Salām Alaikom," with a rising and inclination of the body at the same time; and to the humblest this was returned by the Pasha, with the answer of "Alaikom Salām," and either a laying of the hand on the heart, or an elevation of it to the mouth and forehead, in the universal manner of the country; this sort of reciprocal politeness continuing all the way from the city-gates to the palace.

Arrived at the mosque, the Caliph himself, it appears, delivered, in Benjamin's day, a sermon on some portion of the Koran, and received the benedictions and praises of the faithful; after which, a camel was sacrificed, as now a lamb is killed at the feast of the Kourban Bairām. The Khalif then returned to his palace, from which he never again went out during the rest of the year; and so great was the veneration for his person, that even the ground on which he had trodden was henceforward held sacred.* This pontiff appears to have been even more pious than those who usually filled that office. Among other things, he had made a solemn vow, neither to eat, drink, nor wear any articles of food and apparel except such as could be paid for by the labour of his own hands. For this purpose, he employed his leisure in making small mats of a curious kind, probably used as carpets now are for prayer, which, being marked with his own seal, were sent by his officers to be sold in the public market. These never wanted purchasers among the chiefs of the people, so that the money furnished by them served amply for the purpose to

* The dominion of Malik Shah, one of the Seljooke, or Tartar, dynasty, was so extensive, that it reached from the shores of the Mediterranean almost to the walls of China, and prayers were daily offered up for him in the cities of Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Bagdad, Ispahan, Rhe, Bokhara, Samarcand, Ourgungè, and Kashgar. In the year 481 of the Hejira, he made a pompous pilgrimage to Mecca, built many caravanserais on the way, and abolished the duties exacted from pilgrims. D'Herbelot tells an anecdote of his crossing the Oxus, when the boatmen complained to him that they were paid by a bill on the revenues of Antioch; but the minister of finance replying that this was not to defer their payment, but to manifest the glory of their sovereign, and the wide extent of his dominion, they were satisfied, since they could negotiate it.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 366.

which it was applied. Had this been the only trait of his piety, it might have seemed frivolous enough; though no one could deny it the merit of being a good example of industry to the people at large, and an excellent mode of evincing his approbation of the doctrine, that man should live by useful labours. But this was not all; the Rabbi Benjamin, a stranger of a different faith, and one who, being forbidden to enter the temples of their Prophet, and held to be impure, was not likely to be seduced into too favourable an opinion of an unbeliever, describes this Caliph of Bagdad as being a man of probity, respecting his word, attached to the duties of his religion, of the most affable manners, and addressing himself with condescension and familiarity to men of every class; leading, it is said, a life of purity and equity, his chief aim being to do good.

On the borders of the Tigris were erected by him a hospital for the sick, and another for the insane; in the first of which, besides every possible convenience for the unfortunate sufferers, were sixty apothecaries, well supplied with all kinds of medicines and drugs then known and used, as well as every necessary and comfort of food and nourishment, all at the expense of the Caliph, by whose orders every care continued to be exercised towards the patients, until their perfect recovery or death. The hospital of insanity was called "Dar al Marapther," or, "Dar al Marhhammas," the House of Mercy; and the establishment for the treatment and recovery of the patients seems to have been as well regulated as the former, under the inspection of proper persons engaged for that purpose.

This Jewish traveller concludes by saying, "The king did this with the intention of exercising mercy generally towards all those who, during their stay in Bagdad, were afflicted with any malady, whether it affected their bodies or their minds. And this proves what we had before said, that he was a man full of humanity and upright intentions.* The Mosque of Flowers, as it is

* See the "Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle," in Bergeron's Collection, in French, pp. 34, 35. 4to.

called, or the Hospital for the Blind, is an institution of a similar kind, founded by one of the early Arabian Caliphs, and still existing at Cairo.

Notwithstanding the great size and celebrity of Bagdad as the metropolis of the Mohammedan world, and the residence of the chief among the Jews, it is said, when Benjamin wrote, to have contained only a tenth part of its present number of Hebrew inhabitants, or about a thousand; an estimate which, coupled with that of two thousand for Cairo, and the low numbers given to many large towns in Syria, must exonerate this observing traveller from the large common charge of exaggeration, raised against him on this subject particularly. When speaking of such places as he had himself seen, his accuracy is, I think, unquestionable; though, in giving an account of countries beyond the limits of his own personal observation, he was, no doubt, liable to the same errors as all those who describe things on the authority of others.

It is curious to observe, that among the chiefs of the assemblies then resident at Bagdad, there was one Eliezer Ben Isamah, president of the fifth class, who traced his descent from the Prophet Samuel, and who, being a great proficient on the harp, played, accompanied by his brothers, on the sacred instrument of the royal David, in the exact manner which was in use in those early times, when the House of the Sanctuary still existed. The Chief of the next class was called "the Flower of his Companions," and the names of all the others are given in detail.

The principal officer of all, however, was Daniel, the son of Hhasdai, who was called "the Conductor of the Captivity," and preserved a book of his genealogy, in direct descent from David. His authority, being derived from the Caliph himself, was great in all the assemblies of the Israelites; and a decree of the Mohammedan Pontiff had ordered that Moslems, as well as the followers of every other religion, should pay this Chief of the Captives all due respect, by rising in his presence to salute him, in default of which, a hundred strokes of the bastinado was the punishment to be given.

When Daniel went to visit the Caliph, he was accompanied by a number of horsemen, Jews as well as Gentiles, at whose head was one, who, like the Baptist before the Messiah, crying, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight," exclaimed also on this occasion, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, the son of David, who is just." The manner of his receiving authority from the Caliph, was by the laying on of hands; on the day of which ceremony, he rode in the second chariot of the realm, with all its dependent ornaments, wearing robes of silk, with Phrygian embroidery, a noble tiara on the head, encircled by a white veil, similar to those, perhaps, now used in the service of the synagogue at Jerusalem, and round this veil a rich chain of gold, so that he appeared in as high splendour as the Prophet Daniel himself at the court of the great Belshazzar, in Susa. The city of Bagdad, the rulers and chief people of which Benjamin of Tudela thus minutely describes, was then, to use his own words, seated in the most fertile part of the land of Senaar, or Shinar, abounding in fine gardens, producing excellent fruits, and being the rendezvous of merchants and traders from all parts of the world, as well as the focus of wisdom and science, and the school of philosophers and men learned in the mathematics, in astrology, and the doctrines of the Cabala.

In following the route of this early Jew's wanderings from hence, Gehiaga, which he reached in two days from Bagdad, would seem to be the Felugia of the present maps. He did not, however, conceive this to be Babylon, as has been supposed, but took it for the *Resen* of the Scriptures, which is said to have been a great city, and there are still extensive ruins here to bear out the supposition. It was a day's journey from hence to the ancient Babel; and if the passage were made by boats, and on the stream of the Euphrates, on whose banks both these places stand, the distance might be easily accomplished in that space of time. He here vaguely alludes to the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, which could not be entered on account of its being the abode of dragons and wild beasts; but, as he speaks only of a palace, and fixes it at a place which the people of the

country still make the abode of demons and evil spirits, as well as numerous reptiles of all kinds, he no doubt alluded to the mounds of the Mujellibé, where the palace and hanging gardens appear to have been, and which is the only part of the whole territory that is called "Babel," even to the present day.

He clearly distinguishes this from the Tower of Babel, which he describes as being four miles beyond Hhilan, meaning Hillah, from which it is actually distant about six, though there seems to be some corruption of numbers in the distance from Babel to Hhilan, which is made fifteen miles in figures, and may probably have been written five. There were then ten thousand Jews there, the number at present at Bagdad; and the number of one thousand, given as the amount then residing at Bagdad, is about that of those at present at Hillah, so that there seems to have been only a change of place, without an augmentation or diminution of actual numbers in both.

The local features of the "Birs" are well detailed by Benjamin; for, besides its tolerably accurate distance of four miles from Hillah, he says, it was constructed of that sort of brick called, in Arabic, "Lagzar," which, a marginal note adds, was of the dimensions of eight inches broad, six thick, and twelve long, which is near the truth. The foundations, he says, were two miles long, perhaps rather in circuit, and intended to include the ruined temple and its mounds of rubbish, &c. He speaks of spiral passages up its sides, of ten cubits wide, which are not now apparent, and might have been imagined by him to exist beneath the outer rubbish of the ruins, as corresponding with the oldest drawings of the edifice, attached to copies of the sacred writings. He says, indeed, that there *were* such passages, without positively stating them to be visible at the time of his visit.

Being mounted on the summit, he continues, the view is extended to the distance of twenty miles round, more particularly as the country there is an extensive and perfect level, all which is strictly accurate. He says also, in the language of the traditions

still existing, that the place was "destroyed by fire from heaven," an opinion, no doubt, originating in the appearance of the large vitrified masses there described: he adds, that the upper part of the building was thus destroyed, leaving only the lower stages, on the summit of which he had mounted. Half a day's journey from this, was the sepulchre and synagogue of Napheus, near which resided two hundred Jews; and three leagues from this, was the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel; both of which agree, in name and distance, with the places still known as such, and leave no doubt of his having personally visited the Birs, which he thus describes, with so many local features of accuracy, as the ruined Tower of Babel.

Had any other cause than ill health, and the extraordinary heat of the weather, detained me at Bagdad, I should have gladly visited many of the places spoken of in this early Book of Travels, more particularly Felugia, and some of the present places of pilgrimage of the Jews. But, under existing circumstances, there was no moving out by day, and scarcely any suffering the oppressive sultriness of the nights. My occupations were therefore limited to such light reading as would beguile the time; for the powers of the mind were so unhinged by the influence of the climate, as to be incapable of close application to any subject requiring much thought.

During the nights of the Ramazān, I visited most of the mosques, at the hour of evening prayer, and passed several hours afterwards until midnight in rambling through the bazārs, reposing at the coffee-houses, and making one in most of the parties of diversion at the public places.

Among all the mosques of Bagdad, I saw not one that could be compared to many at Cairo, or to the great ones at Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, or Diarbekr. The Mosque of the Maidān, which has lately received many external embellishments, and has a handsome dome and minaret, adorned with coloured tiles, paintings, and inscriptions, is not of corresponding beauty within; and, except that it was clean and well-lighted, it had nothing to deserve peculiar description.

The Mosque of the Vizier, which is close by the banks of the Tigris, and just above the bridge, is also of considerable size, and has a handsome dome, which makes a fine appearance from without; but its interior is dirty, and in great want of repair.

The Mosque of the Pasha, which is very near to the last, was better lighted than all the others, the lamps of its exterior gallery being the only ones throughout the city that continued to burn until day-light; but, in other respects, the building possessed no remarkable features, its architecture is in bad taste, and its minaret had such an inclination from a perpendicular, that it seemed to threaten a speedy fall.

The Mosque of Abass el Kaddr is the largest, and, on the whole, perhaps the best in Bagdad; but this has little, except its fine flat domes, to attract admiration. It is greatly inferior to the Mosque of Solomon, on the site of the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem, as well as to most of the noble mosques of Damascus and Aleppo.

The place of the Maidān never failed to be crowded every night, with people of all classes; and every mode of diversion in use here, singing, dancing, and music, with blazing fires, lamps, &c. were called in, to add to the effect of the general rejoicing.*

The bazārs, which were mostly deserted during the day, were thronged at night by a multitude of idlers, all arrayed in their best apparel; and, as the light shalloons of Angora are generally

* The fast of the Ramazān occupies one whole month, in every year; and as the Mohammedans reckon their time by lunar months, this fast occurs successively at every season of the year, within the circle of time which it takes to bring the beginning of the solar and lunar years to correspond. The winter season, when the climate is temperate, and the nights long, is the most agreeable to the people for it to happen in. The worst season is that of the summer, especially when so oppressively hot as this has proved. During the whole of this month, every orthodox Moslem fasts rigidly from sun-rise to sun-set, not permitting water, or even a pipe of tobacco, to pass his lips. At sun-set they are released from their abstinence, till the following morning; so that the whole night is given up to enjoyment. And this alternate succession of fasting by day, and feasting by night, continues, from the first dawn of the moon of Ramazān, to the appearance of the moon of Bairām, which succeeds it.

used for the outer garments, these never failed to produce a brilliant assemblage of colours, though the turbans were almost invariably white.

The peculiar gloom, which reigned throughout these dark brick-vaulted passages during the morning, was now removed by a profusion of lamps and torches, with which every shop, and bench, and coffee-shed, was illuminated, and all was life and gaiety. It was on these nights of the Ramazān only, that the bazārs of Bagdad equalled the idea which one would form of them, on reading the descriptions of Oriental cities in Arabian tales; and dull and uninteresting as they seemed to me, on my first passing through them by day, I was amply compensated for my original disappointment, and constantly delighted by rambling through them, and mixing in their gay crowds, at night.

But the scene which pleased me more than all, was that presented at midnight, from the centre of the bridge of boats across the Tigris. The morning breeze had, by this time, so completely subsided, that not a breath was stirring, and the river flowed majestically along, its glassy surface broken only by the ripple of the boats' stems, which divided the current as it passed their line. In this resplendent mirror was seen, reflected back, another heaven of stars, almost equal in brilliance to that which spread our midnight canopy; not a cloud veiled the smallest portion of this deep-blue vault, so thickly studded with myriads of burning worlds. The forked galaxy, with its whitened train of other myriads, too distant to be distinctly seen, formed a broad and lucid band across the zenith; and even the reflection of this milky way, as belting the seeming heaven below us, was most distinctly marked upon the bosom of the silent stream.

The only persons seen upon the bridge, at this late hour of the night, were some few labourers, who, exhausted with the riot of the feast, had stolen into the bows of the boats, and coiled themselves away like serpents between the timbers, to catch there, undisturbed, the short repose which was necessary to fit them for

the morrow's burthens. It is the rich alone who can devote the night throughout to revelry, and the day to uninterrupted ease: the poor are obliged, though fasting, to earn by labour their daily portion of food. Excepting here, where I came often by night during the Ramazān, and sat for an hour in silent admiration of the beautiful heaven above, and placid stream below, with not a creature near me except the weary sleepers already described, the voice of joy was heard on every side. The whole of the river's banks were illuminated, as far as the eye could follow the Tigris in its course. The large coffee-house near the Medrāssee el Mostanser, or College of the Learned, so often mentioned in Arabian story, presented one blaze of light on the eastern side. The still larger one, opposite to this, illuminated by its lamps the whole western bank; and as these edifices were both facing the separate extremities of the bridge of boats, a stream of light extended from each, completely across it, even to the centre of the stream; and on the surface itself were seen floating lighted lamps, and vessels filled with inflammable substances, to augment the general blaze.*

It was on the evening of the 19th of August, that, during our admiration of the brilliant sky of this climate, a meridian altitude of some fixed star was suggested, to confirm the accuracy of the latitude deduced from the solar observation on the 4th of the month, and Altair in Aquila falling at the most convenient time for that purpose, its altitude was taken before we quitted our tea-table on the terrace. The only instrument Mr. Rich possessed was one of Spencer, Browning, and Rust's common quadrants, and this thrown a little out of its adjustment by the late great heats. Had there been other and better instruments here, no situation could have been more favourable for astronomical observations; as we had a spacious terrace, an artificial horizon, and the atmosphere always beautifully

* Un des divertissemens que l'on prend dans cette navigation, (du Tigre,) est de mettre le feu au Nafte, qui, après être sorti de sources auprès de Mosul, et plus bas, se repand sur le surface du Tigre: il semble alors que la rivière soit enflammée.—*Otter*, tome i. p. 158.

clear at night; but without sextant, chronometer, telescopes, or ephemeris, we were obliged to be content with such results as were attainable by the quadrant alone, assisted by the common Tables of Norie and Moore. This observation gave us a latitude of $33^{\circ} 18' 57''$ N. which, wanting only three seconds of $33^{\circ} 19'$, left a mean of $33^{\circ} 20'$ between this and the solar observation which preceded it; and considering that there was a slight imperfection in the instrument, we conceived this a sufficient coincidence to shew that the results of both were very near the truth.†

† Right Ascension of Altair for 1800	...	...	19	41	1
Annual Variation	... 2' 92"	}	...	0	48
Elapsed Years	... 16½				
	48 16				
*'s Right Ascension for August, 1816	...	...	19	41	49
☉'s Right Ascension for August 19th	...	...	9	52	00
Time of *'s coming to meridian, P.M.	...	...	9	49	49
Declination of Altair for 1800	...	...	8	20	57 N.
Annual Variation of increase	8" 5'''	}	...	2	22
Elapsed Years	... 16½				
*'s Corrected Declination	...	...	8	23	19 N.
Observed Altitude of the Star Altair, when on the meridian	...	...	65	4	00
Refraction in Altitude	... 26"	}	...	0	22
Parallax	... 4				
*'s True Altitude	...	...	65	4	22
Polar Distance	...	...	90	0	00
Zenith Distance	...	...	24	55	38 N.
Corrected Declination	...	...	8	23	19 N.
Latitude	...	...	33	18	57 N.



CHAPTER XXVI.

EXCURSION TO THE RUINS OF CTESIPHON AND SELEUCIA.

AUGUST.—My strength being now somewhat restored, and the thermometer, which had been 115° at midnight, having now fallen to that standard in the day, I benefited by my convalescence, to make a short excursion to the ruins of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, before I set out on my longer journey to the East.

It was at sun-rise on the morning of the 20th that I left the southern gate of Bagdad, on the east of the river, accompanied by the same Koord horseman of Mr. Rich, who had before gone with me to Hillah and the ruins of Babylon.

Our road lay over a level plain of fine light soil, apparently not long since watered and cultivated, but now lying waste; and our course across it was generally south-east, inclining southerly. In

our way we met many parties of Arabs, and droves of asses laden with heath and brush-wood, which is used as fuel by all classes in Bagdad; most of the men who accompanied these were strongly armed, which gave us unfavourable impressions of the state of the road.

After passing some few enclosures of garden-land and date-trees, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, which we now had on our right, we came in about an hour to an eastern bend of the river. The banks were high and on a steep slope, the stream narrow, and its current moving at the ordinary rate of about three miles per hour. A fine north-west breeze had already begun to ruffle its surface, yet the water continued tolerably clear; and on it were now descending some of the circular wicker-work boats from Bagdad, driven by the mere force of the current, and steered by paddles, while two larger craft were ascending against the stream, by a large square-sail, braced sharp to the wind.

In about an hour and half from hence, continuing the same course, we reached the banks of the river Diala, flowing gently from the north-east towards the Tigris. There had been a bridge of boats here, which was very recently passable; but it was now broken up, and several of the boats, which were hauled up on the mud for repair, still lay there untouched. The stream was too deep to be fordable, and it was thought dangerous to attempt swimming the horses across, as its soft bottom of mud yielded so easily to the animals' weight, that if they once touched the bottom, it would be difficult to extricate them; we were, therefore, drawn across in an open-sterned boat, exactly like those used in traversing the Euphrates at Bir.

The Diala appeared to be about half the breadth of the Tigris, into which it discharges; its banks were steep, its waters clear and sweet, and its current moving at a slow rate, not exceeding two miles per hour. Fishes are found in this river, called, in Arabic, "Biz;" they are each large enough to form a good load for an ass; but I know of no fish in European waters to which they can be compared. They are taken to Bagdad, and sold at a moderate

rate per fish, considering their immense size ; but they are not esteemed by the rich, and are consequently consumed chiefly by the poorer classes. The distance from Bagdad to this passage of the Diala is from eight to nine miles ; though, as the sun grew high, we could not perceive the city itself. The lofty palace of Kosroes, at Modain, upon the site of the ancient Ctesiphon, was visible to us, however, immediately after our crossing this river, looking exceedingly large, through the refracting atmosphere of the southern horizon, above the even line of which it towered as the most conspicuous object any where to be seen around us. It looked from hence much larger than Westminster Abbey, when seen from a similar distance ; and, in its general outline, it resembled that building very nearly, excepting only in its having no towers. The great cathedral of the Crusaders, still standing at the ancient Orthosia on the coast of Syria, is a perfect model of it in general appearance, as that building is seen when approaching from the southward, although there is no one feature of resemblance between these edifices in detail.

On the northern bank of the Diala were some grass huts, inhabited by a few families, who earn their living by transporting travellers across the river ; and to the westward, near the Tigris, were a few scattered tents of Arab shepherds. On the southern bank, a few date-trees were seen ; but, besides these, no other signs of fertility or cultivation appeared.

From the moment of our arrival on the edge of this stream, my attention had been particularly arrested by the appearance of large and lofty mounds to the eastward, and not more than five miles from the southern bank of the river. In size and form, they resembled those of the palace at Babylon, and the temptation to visit them was very strong ; but my companion, who was certainly not deficient in personal courage, would not listen to such a deviation from our road. Indeed, from the information given by the boatman who conveyed us across, the whole of the country hereabout was most unsafe, being scoured by a mixed race of marauders, including Koords, Persians, and Arabs, who

seemed to unite in their mixed community only the bad qualities of each of their separate classes.

We could learn no other name for these mounds than the common appellation of "Tal," or hillock; and my informants were quite at a loss to understand the motive of my inquiries. This was a double disappointment to me, as, from the moment of our perceiving these mounds, upon an otherwise bare and level plain, I felt convinced that they were formed from the wreck of earlier days.

In a Dissertation on the Royal Road from Sardis to Susa, the author, after enumerating the Tigris, and the Greater and Lesser Zab, as three of the rivers to be crossed in the way, states the fourth to be the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels, in order to revenge himself on it for the death of one of the sacred horses, which was carried away by its stream. But this, as Major Rennel observes, is unquestionably intended for the Diala of modern geography, which has its source in the same country with the Zab. It appears that Herodotus, or Aristagoras, whose description he is quoting, has confounded these rivers; as the Mendeli appears to be the Gyndes divided by Cyrus; and the Diala, a distinct stream, lying wide of its direction, and being generally deeper.

This last is called by Rennel, in his Map of the environs of Babylon, the Median Choaspes, to distinguish it from the Susian Choaspes, to the use of whose waters the Kings of Persia were restricted, as they never drank of any other, even in their distant expeditions. But it is known also in antiquity by other names, as the Torna and Delas, which last approaches nearly to its present name of Diala, by which it is known both in modern maps and in the country itself.

The site of Sitace, which is given in Rennel's map as near the discharge of the Diala into the Tigris, had also excited my inquiries after names or ruins on the opposite side of the river, but without any satisfactory results, as the people of the country themselves know little either of positions, names, or remains, and, if possible, care still less.

Xenophon, says M. D'Anville, saw this city while it was yet large, populous, and flourishing, and places it at fifteen stadia on this side of the Tigris, before passing that stream over a bridge of thirty-seven boats. Ptolemy, he adds, is wrong in placing this city and the country of the Sitacene, to which it gave its name, beyond the Tigris; and Pliny, he continues, is guilty of the same error, in speaking of Opis under the name of Antiocha, when he says, "*Sitace Græcorum ab ortu est.*" But, perhaps, D'Anville himself is scarcely less in error, when he says of Sitace, "*Texeira passed over a mound of ruins, which occupies the place of that city, at the distance of five or six hours' journey, after departing from Bagdad. It is that which is called Tal Akkarkûf, or the Hill of Karkûf, otherwise Karkûpat, in adding to it the name of Nimrod, from an opinion entertained that this city was constructed by him.*"*

In a paper on the Monarchy of Nineveh, presented to the Royal Academy of France, by the President de Brosses, the author, when speaking of the four cities built by Nimrod, in the land of Shinar, says, "The city of Acchad, or Arcad, was built, according to the opinion of Bochart, on the banks of the river of Argad, which, by the testimony of Ctesias, washed the walls of Sitace, a city situated on the *east* of the Tigris, between Susa and Ctesiphon, which induced him to believe that Sitace was the same city of which Nimrod was the founder."†

The data on which Major Rennel has fixed this city of Sitace in his map, is not indeed apparent. When speaking of the error of Herodotus, in placing the city of Opis below the confluence of the Tigris and Gyndes, which, from the description given by Aristagoras, answers to the Diala, and is meant by him for that river, though the true Gyndes is thought to be the present Mendeli, the English geographer says, "Now, according to the history of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, Opis cannot stand so low, even as the mouth of the Diala, for it was not less than twenty parasangas above

* D'Anville, p. 100.

† Memoires de l'Academie Royale, tome xxvii. p. 31.■

Sitace, which city appears pretty clearly to have stood *above* the mouth of the Diala, since the Greeks did not cross it in their way.*

In the map of the environs of Babylon there referred to, the site of this city is placed immediately *opposite* the discharge of the Diala into the Tigris; but, though the data for assigning to it such a position may fully justify the geographer, I could hear of neither names nor ruins in that direction, which seemed to mark its remains. In this quarter of the globe, however, so long and so often the theatre on which the empire of the world has been contended for, between the ambitious sovereigns of the east and west, it has been the fate of so many cities to be swept away, without leaving a trace of their former greatness, that the traveller learns, upon a succession of such numerous instances as occur throughout his way, no longer to feel disappointment or wonder at not identifying their remains, however much it may be a subject of regret.

From the banks of the Diala, we bent our course more southerly, as the lofty palace of Chosroes bore from us due south by east; and, continuing in nearly this direction for about an hour, we came again to an eastern bend of the Tigris. There was, in the middle of the stream, a large bank, formed from the deposit of the river, and looking, from its light colour, like sand, but composed of pure earth. The broadest arm of the Tigris flowed to the west of this, and that to the east was but barely of sufficient breadth to characterize the bank as an island: the general size and rate of the stream seemed just as we had before observed it at Bagdad.

The former part of our road had been over a bare plain, which still retained marks of recent cultivation; but we now came on a ground covered with a heath, thickly spread, and sending forth a highly aromatic odour.† It is of a dark-green hue, and produces a fruit like a large bean, and of a light purple colour. It was this

* Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus.—Asia, p. 202.

† The passage from Xenophon, in which he alludes to this peculiarity of Mesopotamia, has been already referred to in a former place.

heath, with which were laden the droves of asses, that we had met going to the Bagdad market, and the same production is found more or less along the banks of the Tigris, from Eski Mousul, all the way to this place.

In about an hour from hence, and little more than two after our crossing the Diala, we reached the mounds of Ctesiphon. These were of a moderate height, a light colour, and strewed over with fragments of broken pottery, the invariable marks of former population. They appeared to take a wide semicircular range to the eastward, and their continued line and form marked the circuit of the city-walls. I should have gladly made the circuit of these mounds, for the purpose of obtaining a more correct idea of the extent and shape of the city they enclosed; but I was still so imperfectly recovered from my late illness, that even this short ride had greatly fatigued me, and as noon was approaching, the sun had already grown oppressively hot, the thermometer standing at 108°.

The outer surface of the mounds made them appear as mere heaps of earth, long exposed to the atmosphere; but we were assured, by those well acquainted with all the local features of the place, that on digging into the mounds, a masonry of unburnt bricks was found, with layers of reed between them, as in the ruins at Akkerkoof, and the mound of Makloobe at Babylon. The extent of the semi-circle formed by these heaps, appeared to be nearly two miles. The area of the city, into which we now descended, had but few mounds throughout its whole extent, and these were small and isolated; the space was chiefly covered with the thick heath already described, which formed a cover for partridges, hares, and gazelles, of each of which we saw considerable numbers.

After traversing a space within the walls, strewed with fragments of burnt brick and pottery, we came, in about half an hour, to the Tomb of Selman Pauk, which is within a short distance of the ruined Palace of Chosroes. Here, therefore, we turned in, to obtain shelter from the sun, and repose; our whole ride having occupied about five hours, and the distance from Bagdad being little more than

fifteen English miles. We found here a very comfortable and secure retreat, within a high walled enclosure of about a hundred paces square, in the centre of which rose the tomb of the celebrated favourite of Mohammed.

This Selman Pauk, or Selman the Pure, was a Persian barber, who, from the fire-worship of his ancestors, became a convert to Islam, under the persuasive eloquence of the great Prophet of Medina himself; and, after a life of fidelity to the cause he had embraced, was buried here in his native city of Modain. The memory of this beloved companion of the great head of their faith is held in great respect by all the Mohammedans of the country; for, besides the annual feast of the barbers of Bagdad, who, in the month of April, visit his tomb as that of a patron saint, there are others who come to it on pilgrimage at all seasons of the year.

At the period of my being here, there were two travellers from Shooster, who had halted in their way to Bagdad, to pay their devotions at this shrine. As I found no difficulty in mixing freely with the people of the country, we entered into the sepulchre together. I kissed as frequently, though apparently not with the same fervour, as my fellow-pilgrims, the side posts of the doors, now stained by the impressions of human hands, dipped in a deep red colour, such as is often seen on the walls and entrances to Hindoo pagodas. We placed our foreheads in reverence on the door, and after making a circumambulation round the Tomb three times, after the manner of the Pradikshina of the Hindoos, kissing the corners and sides of it in our course, the Shooster pilgrims placed themselves beside each other, with their faces towards the Caaba of Mecca, for prayer. They were much astonished at my not joining them, and when their devotions were over, a conversation on this subject ensued. My having shewn as great a veneration as themselves for the sepulchre of the sainted favourite of the Prophet was a proof, in their minds, that I was not a Wahābee, because, a contempt for the tombs of departed mortals is one of the leading features of their reforming creed. But when I expressed my belief, that prayer offered up to

the great Creator of the Universe could not be more acceptable from one spot than from another, provided the heart was equally pure, they were inclined to think me half a convert to Wahābeeism. Strictly in unison as this doctrine is with that of the Koran, and indeed with the practice of its believers in general, they still contended that there was a peculiar merit in pilgrimages to holy tombs, and in prayers offered up from them; though they did not presume to deny the omnipresence of the Deity, and the fitness of every part of the great Temple of Nature, for the duty of pouring out the heart to its almighty Author.

The edifice erected over the tomb of Selman the Pure, or Suliman, as he is sometimes inaccurately called, consists of one domed sanctuary, with a vaulted piazza, and other apartments attached to it. The sanctuary itself is about fifteen paces square at the base, and has its interior walls faced with coloured tiles. Over this, at the height of about twenty feet, is an octagonal stage, receding within the square, and having its inner surface laid out in Arabic work of small pointed niches, as at the tomb of Zobeida in the old Bagdad of the Caliphs, and highly ornamented by painting and devices in the Persian style. The whole is crowned by a plain but well-proportioned dome, forming altogether a height of from sixty to seventy feet, and is well lighted by open windows at the base of the dome, and coloured glass ones near the octagonal stage of the centre.

The tomb itself rose in the centre of this sanctuary, and was nearly an oblong square, railed-in by a neat palisade. On the head of it stood a singular tripod, the upper part of which was formed of a solid piece of wood, in shape nearly like a human head, and exactly resembling an European barber's block, placed on a stand of three legs. It was half hidden from profane view, by an ample veil of green gauze, worked with stars of gold; and I should have thought it had some allusion to the occupation of the saint during his lifetime, and was an offering from the pilgrims of the same profession, who make their yearly visit to his shrine; but, as far as I have

seen, the Oriental barbers never use such blocks, nor is it probable that they ever did so, unless when the monstrous wigs of the Sassanian monarchs, such as they are seen on the coins and medals of that dynasty, were in general fashion in this part of Persia, and especially in their own capital of Ctesiphon, of which the saint thus honoured was himself a native.*

When we had come out from the tomb to repose in the shade and free air of the vaulted passage that leads to it, I made inquiries of these Shooster pilgrims regarding the ruins of the ancient Susiana of the Persian monarchs, and the "Shushan the palace" of the Scriptures, which are reported still to exist at Shooster, the place of their residence. Their replies, however, led to no satisfactory results. They were neither aware that this had been the seat of the ancient Persian sovereigns, nor the scene of many portions of sacred as well as profane history, though they spoke of the tomb of Daniel as being still at Shooster, and visited equally by Moslems, Christians, and Jews. Josephus, in his eulogies on the prophet Daniel, attributes to him, among other branches of knowledge, a superior skill in architecture, and names, as an example, a famous edifice of his construction at Susa. This building, says he, was constructed in the form of a castle, and the execution of it was excellent. He says, also, that the tombs of the Parthian and Persian kings were in this castle.† The roads from Shooster to Bagdad were described as being highly dangerous, and the distance to be twenty caravan days' journey, the country between these cities being traversed by the Arabs of Lauristān.

By the violence of a north-west gale, which blew with such fury, as to threaten the rooting-up of the few date-trees that were here,‡

* It is remarkable that wigs and other ponderous artificial coverings for the head should have grown so early into fashion. They are seen on all the ancient sculptures of Persepolis, in most of the temples of Egypt, and on the heads of the two colossal statues of Memnon and Osymandyas at Thebes.

† *Memoires de l'Academie Royale*, tome xxix. p. 143.

‡ Cypress-trees were said formerly to have abounded in Babylonia, but Alexander

the heat of the day was much tempered, and the thermometer at three P. M. stood only at 113° in the shade. We still remained within the enclosure, however, until this degree of heat had subsided; and about two hours before sun-set, we went out to see the large ruin, which forms the principal object of attention at the place. This is situated about seven hundred paces to the south of the Tomb of Selman Pauk, and presents the remains of a large edifice, called, by the people, Tauk Kesra, or the Arch of Kesra. It is composed of two wings, and one large central hall, extending all the depth of the building. Its front is nearly perfect, being about two hundred and sixty feet in length, and upwards of a hundred feet in height. Of this front, the great arched hall occupies the centre, its entrance being of an equal height and breadth with the hall itself. The arch is thus about ninety feet in breadth, and, rising above the general line of the front, is at least a hundred and twenty feet high, while its depth is at least equal to its height.

The wings leading out on each side of the central arch to extend the front of the building, are now merely thick walls, but these had originally apartments behind them, as may be seen from undoubted marks that remain, as well as from two side-doors leading from thence into the great central hall. A similar door led out of the back of this hall also, but the large arched entrance of the front must have been always open, and it is therefore probable that the hall was only used as a receiving-room of state on ceremonial occasions.

The walls, which form these wings in the line of the front, were built on the inclined slope, being about twenty feet thick at the base, and only ten at the summit. The walls of the great hall seem also much thicker below than above; and, in the vaulted roof, hollow tubes, perhaps of earthenware or pottery, have been observed in the masonry, bending with the arched form of the work,

ordered them to be cut down, and used in building the fleet with which he intended to explore and conquer the coasts of Arabia, in the Persian Gulf.—*Arrian*, book vii. chap. 19.

as well as large beams of wood, still shewing their ends in the wall near the arch of entrance in front.

The masonry is altogether of burnt bricks, of the size, form, and composition of those seen in the ruins of Babylon; and among them I noticed several with a green vitrification on their outer surface, like those found at Babylon and Akkerkoof, but I observed none with writing or impressions of any kind upon them. The cement is white lime, and the layers much thicker than is seen in any of the burnt brick edifices at Babylon, approaching nearer to the style of the Greek and Roman masonry found among the ruins of Alexandria, where the layers of lime are almost as thick as the bricks themselves; while at Babylon, either at the Birs, the Kassr, or Al Hheimar, the cement is scarcely perceptible. The symmetry of the work here is inferior, however, both to these and to the fine fragments of brick-masonry of the age of the Caliphs, still remaining at Bagdad.

The wings have their front divided into two stories, the lower one of which has large arched recesses, and an arched door-way, each separated from the other by double convex pilasters, or semi-columns, going up nearly half the height of the building, and including, between their divisions, separate compartments of three small recesses each, standing respectively over the larger arched recesses, and arched door-way below. In the second story are double arched recesses, or two in one compartment, divided from each other by short pilasters, and every pair separated by a longer pilaster reaching to the summit of the building. Next follow, in the third story, compartments of three small concave niches, as if designed for shell or fan tops, each divided from the other by the long pilasters going to the top. And last of all, in the fifth story, is a continued line of still smaller arched niches, divided from each other by small double pilasters, the tops of which are now broken.

Both these wings are similar in their general design, though not perfectly uniform; but the great extent of the whole front, with the broad and lofty arch of its centre, and the profusion of recesses and

pilasters on each side, must have produced an imposing appearance, when the edifice was perfect; more particularly, if the front was once coated, as tradition states it to have been, with white marble, a material of too much value to remain long in its place, after the desertion of the city.

The arches of the building are all of the Roman form, and the architecture of the same style, though far from chaste. The pointed arch is nowhere seen throughout the whole of the pile, but a pyramidal termination is given to some long narrow niches of the front, and the pilasters are without pedestals or capitals.

The front of the building, though facing immediately towards the Tigris, lies due east by compass, the stream winding here so exceedingly, that this edifice, though standing on the *west* of that portion of the river flowing before it, and facing the *east*, is yet on the *eastern* bank of the Tigris in its general course.

We ascended some mounds, about a hundred yards to the south of the palace, which, like those we had before seen, were formed of a light earth, strewed over with pottery, and appeared to mark the site of some range of buildings now destroyed. From its summit, we could see the continuation of the semi-circular mounds which mark the line of the city-walls, and I was confirmed in my former opinion, regarding their extent. We could perceive from hence too the still higher mounds which occupied the site of Seleucia on the opposite side of the river,* while the stream itself was here so

* Seleucus, who was a great protector of the Jews, and after whom this city was called, founded many others of the same name; though this Babylonian Seleucia on the Tigris was the chief of them all. "Seleucus built many other cities both in the Greater and Lesser Asia:† sixteen of which he called Antioch, from the name of Antiochus his father; nine Seleucia, from his own name; six Laodicea, from the name of Laodice his mother; three Apamea, from Apama his first wife; and one Stratonicea, from Stratonice his last wife; in all which he‡ planted the Jews, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, especially at Antioch in Syria; where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that city, as

† Appianus in Syriacis, p. 201. Editionis Tollianæ.

‡ Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. et contra Apionem, lib. 2. Eusebius in Chronico.

serpentine, that the boats which were going *up* by it to Bagdad were steering south-south-west through one reach, and north-west through another above it.

I should have gone across from hence by one of these boats, to the site of Seleucia, had I not been previously assured by Mr. Rich that there was nothing there to reward the search. A Babylonian statue was seen by him far in the Desert, on that side; but it required a person to know the exact spot on which it lay, to give any hope of finding it again. Boats were said to be sometimes five days in ascending against the stream, from this place to Bagdad, owing to the tortuous course of the river between them. Before we quitted this spot, I noted the bearings of some of the principal objects in sight,* and observed that every part of the river's banks, as far as we could see them, was destitute of wood.

The most remote antiquity assigned to this place is that of the

they were at Alexandria. And from hence it was that the Jews became dispersed all over Syria, and the Lesser Asia. In the eastern countries beyond the Euphrates, they had been settled before, ever since the Assyrian and Babylon captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was Seleucus Nicator that first gave them settlements in those provinces of Asia, which are on this side the Euphrates. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to him in his wars, and other trusts and interests, he for this reason gave them these privileges through all the cities which he built. But it seems most likely, that they were the Babylonish Jews that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the Jews of Palestine, being under Ptolemy, were not in capacity to be serviceable to him. But Babylon being the place where he laid the first foundations of his power, and the Jews in those parts being as numerous as the Jews of Palestine, if not more, it is most likely that they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it, and that for this reason he ever after shewed so much favour to them; and it is scarce probable, that any thing less than this could be a sufficient cause to procure such great privileges from him, as he afterwards gave to all of that nation."—*Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*, pp. 814, 815.

* Mounds of Seleucia, extending from S. E. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. to S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. about a mile.

Direction of the Tigris going toward Bagdad, S. S. W. for nearly five miles.

Direction of another upper reach of the river, E. but bearing from us, N. W. only one mile distant, the interval forming a wide curve.

Some tall date-trees on the Diala, N. N. W. distant about six miles.

age of Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord, of whom it is said, "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.*" It is conceived by some antiquaries, and particularly by M. de Brosses, one of the Presidents of the Royal Academy of France, already quoted, that the Calneh here spoken of stood on the site of Ctesiphon.

In a paper of this writer, presented to that Academy, he says, "The name of Chaln , (which is construed *habitaculum perfectum*,) the fourth city founded by Nimrod, seems to be found in that of Chalonite, a district of Babylonia on the east of the Tigris. This induces a very general opinion that Chaln  is Ctesiphon, originally the capital of that province, and since the metropolis of all the Parthian empire, and the winter residence of their kings." He adds, that according to the opinion of Abulpharage, these cities of Erec, Acchad, and Chalne, which he names Chalya, were Roha, Nisibis, and Madyen, or Orfah, Nisibeen, and Modain.† Sir Walter Raleigh, treats also of the position of these cities, but without throwing much light on the subject.‡

Authorities, however, are more certain, for the position of Seleucia, which stood near the same spot, along the western bank of the Tigris, and was constructed chiefly out of the ruins of the ancient Babylon. The foundation of this city is thought indeed to have been undertaken for the express purpose of completing the ruin and desertion of this enormous capital of the East, after its rebellion against Darius Hystaspes, and the reduction of its walls by that sovereign.§

* Genesis, c. x. v. 10.

† Memoires de l'Academie Royale, tome xxvii. p. 31.

‡ History of the World.—c. i. 10—2.

§ "About this time,|| (Anno 293, Ptolemy Soter 12,) Seleucus built Seleucia on the Tigris, at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It was placed on the western side of that river, over against the place where now Bagdad stands, on the eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great city. For Pliny¶ tells us, it had in it six hundred thousand inhabitants, and there are not much above an hundred thousand more in London,

|| Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 738 et 743. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 26.

¶ Ibidem.

M. D'Anville, in his *Memoir on the Euphrates and the Tigris*, says, the intention of the first of the Seleucida was to oppose to Babylon, a city that should be purely Greek, "*Macedonum moris*," in the words of Pliny, with the privilege of being free, "*sui juris*." The same author reports its population to have been considerable; and there is no doubt, but that its situation in the most fertile part of the east, "*solum orientis fertilissimum*," as Pliny expresses it, contributed much to its prosperity. It sustained its consequence for five hundred years after its termination, or till the time of that author himself.*

which is now (waving the fabulous account which is given of Nankin in China) beyond all dispute the biggest city in the world. For by reason of the breaking down of the banks of the Euphrates, the country near Babylon being drowned, and the branch of that river, which passed through the middle of the city, being shallowed and rendered unnavigable, this made the situation of Babylon by this time so very inconvenient, that when this new city was built, it soon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being situated much more commodiously, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the Euphrates, and the place of his residence, whenever he came into those parts, in the same manner as Antioch was for the other provinces which were on this side that river: for the sake of these advantages, the Babylonians in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to Seleucia. And besides Seleucus having called this city by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after ages, gave it many privileges above the other cities of the East, the better to make it answer this purpose: and these were a farther invitation to the Babylonians to transplant themselves to it. And by these means, in a short time after the building of Seleucia, Babylon became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore †Pliny tells us, 'That it was exhausted of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator built there on purpose for this end.' And ‡Strabo saith the same, as doth also Pausanias, in his *Arcadics*, where he tells us, 'That Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun ever saw, had, in his time, (i. e. §about the middle of the second century,) nothing left but its walls.'—*Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*, pp. 808, 809.

* Seleucia was built by Seleucus Nicator, forty miles from Babylon, at a point of the confluence of the Euphrates with the Tigris, by a canal. There were six hundred thousand citizens here at one time, and all the commerce and wealth of Babylon had

† Lib. vi. cap. 26.

‡ Lib. xvi. p. 738.

§ For he lived in the time of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. See Vossius de *Historicis Græcis*, lib. ii. cap. 14.

The site of this city was on the west bank of the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of a place still more ancient, called Coxé, or Coche, at the mouth of a canal leading from the Euphrates to the Tigris, "in confluente Euphrates, fossa perducte atque Tigris," says Pliny; and in another place, "circa Seleuciam præfluenti infusus Tigri." This canal is known by the name of Nahar Malka, "quod significat fluvius regium." We have this precise indication of the site of Seleucia, that the discharge of the Nahar Malka into the Tigris ought to be *above* that city; because, in following the route which led into the provinces of the Parthian empire, as traced out by Isidore, of Charac, in Stathmis Parthicis, it is necessary to cross the canal before entering into Seleucia.*

After an examination of the distance assigned by the ancient writers, between Seleucia and Babylon, the reported positions of which correspond nearly with that of their actual remains, he continues to say, Ctesiphon was the second of two cities, of which the grandeur contributed to the progressive annihilation of Babylon,† placed opposite to each other on the banks of the Tigris; the power which Seleucia seems to have preserved for several centuries after the establishment of the Parthians, was a sufficient reason for these last to seek to degrade that which hurt their pride, with the same feeling as Seleucia herself had strove to lessen the importance of Babylon.‡ The manner in which Pliny explains himself is perfectly

flown into it. The territory in which it stood was called Babylonia; but it was itself a free state, and the people lived after the laws and manners of the Macedonians. The form of the walls was said to resemble an eagle spreading her wings, and the soil around it was thought the most fertile in the East."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 26.

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 117 et seq. Paris, 1775. 4to.

† "The Parthians, in order to do by Seleucia as the Greeks who built that place, had done by Babylon, built the city Ctesiphon, within three miles of it, in the track called Chalonitis, in order to dispeople and impoverish it, though it is now the head city of the kingdom."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 26.

‡ "It must be acknowledged," says Dr. Prideaux, "that there is mention made of Babylon as of a city standing long after the time, where I have placed its desolation, as § in

consistent with this, “Invicem ad hanc exhauriendam Ctesiphontem in Chalonitide condidere Parthi;” and one can hardly suppose that they had established their residence at Ctesiphon before the decline of Seleucia.*

In the expedition of Trajan, who quitted Rome in the year 112 of the Christian era, and Antioch in 114, after subduing Edessa, Osrhoene, Batnes, Nisibis, and Singāra, traversing the Tigris, on a bridge constructed under his own eye, and taking possession of

Lucan,† Philostratus, and others. But in all those authors, and wherever else we find Babylon spoken of as a city in being after the time of Seleucus Nicator, it must be understood,‡ not of old Babylon on the Euphrates, but of Seleucia on the Tigris. For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old Babylon, so also did it in its name. At first it was called Seleucia Babylonia, that is, the Babylonian Seleucia, or Seleucia of the province of Babylon, to distinguish it from the other Seleucias which were elsewhere, and after that § Babylonia simply, and at || length Babylon. That Lucan, by his Babylon, in the first book of his *Pharsalia*, means none other than Seleucia, or the New Babylon, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the metropolis of the Parthian kingdom, where the trophies of Crassus were hung up after the vanquishing of the Romans at Carrhæ, which can be understood only of the Seleucian or New Babylon, and not of the Old. For that new Babylon only was the seat of the Parthian kings, but the old Babylon never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this Babylon, (i. e. book vi. v. 50.) he describes it as surrounded by the Tigris, in the same manner as Antioch was by the Orontes: but it was the Seleucian or the New Babylon, and not the Old, that stood upon the Tigris. And as to Philostratus, when he brings his Apollonius (the Don Quixote of his romance) to the royal seat of the Parthian king, which was at that time at Seleucia, then called Babylon, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the Old Babylon, and therefore ¶ in the describing of it he gives us the same description which he found given of Old Babylon in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and other writers.”—*Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*, pp. 811—813.

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 120.

† Lib. i. c. 17, 18, 19.

‡ Plutarch indeed, in the life of Crassus, speaks of Babylon and Seleucia, as of two distinct cities then in being. For, in a political remark, he reckons it as a great error in Crassus, that in his first irruption into Mesopotamia, he had not directly marched on to Babylon and Seleucia, and seized those two cities. And Appian, in his *Parthics*, says the same thing. But Plutarch was mistaken herein, taking for two cities then in being, what were no more than two names then given one and the same place, that is Seleucia. For as to Old Babylon, it appears, from the authors I have mentioned, that it was desolated long before the time of Crassus. And as to Appian, he doth no more than recite the opinion of Plutarch; for he writes word for word after him as to this matter.

§ Plin. lib. vi. cap. 26.

|| Stephanus Byzantinus in *Βαβυλών*.

¶ Lib. i. cap. 18.

Adiabene, and Gaugamela or Arbela, he laid siege to Ctesiphon and Seleucia. Chosroes was then, it was said, occupied in quelling a revolt of his eastern provinces, so that these cities soon surrendered to Trajan, with all the neighbouring country. The Roman emperor then went down to the island of Mesene, situated between two branches of the Tigris and Euphrates, where he passed the winters of the years 116 and 117. After this, he returned again to Ctesiphon, to quell a revolt of the provinces which he had so recently subdued. The termination of this expedition, by his unsuccessful wars against the Arabs, his return to Italy, and his death, of a disease brought on by the campaign in the end of the same year, are well known.

Nothing can be more accurate than the actual and relative positions of these celebrated cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, as well as the delineation of the winding course of the Tigris between them, given in Major Rennel's map of the environs of Babylon, accompanying his Memoir on the ruins of that city, in the Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus. D'Anville says, there is no longer any doubt regarding Ctesiphon and Seleucia, which are both nearly annihilated, though reunited at one period under the name of Madain, which, in grammatical language, is "plurale factum," being derived from Medineh, a word signifying simply a city, in the Arabic language.*

Of the succession of Madain to the two cities, on whose ruins it was built, we have this notice in the History of the Sassanides, translated from the Persian of Mirkhond, by M. Silvester de Sacy. After the wars of Shapour against the Arabs and the Greeks combined under one of the Constantines, and his recovery of Nisibeen, where he placed a colony of twelve thousand Persians, it is said, that he returned to his country, and being arrived safe in Irāk, he laid the foundations of the city of Madain, which was completed in the space of a year. This prince fixed his court here, and drew around

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 119.

him all the grandees of Persia; and after passing seventy-two years on the throne, ended his days there.* After the death of Yezderdja, the third sovereign from Shapour, one of the descendants of Ardeschir was chosen to succeed him. He was named Khosrou, which name the Arabs have written Kesra, and being conducted to Madain, was crowned there.† In the reign of this Kesra, or Nouschirvan the Just, as he was sometimes called, there arose one Mazda, the head of a sect, who preached community of women, and made it a great merit to encourage the sexual union of the nearest relations. It was one of the first acts of this sovereign's reign to destroy the leader of this sect, with all his adherents; and a remembrance of this fact, with the general fame of his actions during life, occasioned one of the Eastern poets to exclaim, on seeing his palace yet undemolished, "Behold the recompense of an irreproachable conduct, since time has not been able to destroy the palace of Kesra!"‡

This same Nouschirvan had his fame extended so far, according to the Persian historian, that the kings of the East came to do him reverence. Among the enumeration of presents sent to him from distant lands, are some romantic stories, in the true Oriental style, of palaces of gold, paved with pearls—harems of a thousand virgins, all daughters of royalty, and some supremely beautiful, which decked the bed of the Chinese monarch—castles of gold, whose gates were of precious stones—and lovely girls, whose silken eyelashes were so long as to repose upon their cheeks, devoted to the pleasures of the kings of Indoustan. The conclusion of this pompous display may, however, be more accurate, when it is said, it was during the reign of Nouschirvan, that the book entitled Colaila and Dinna was brought from India into Persia, as well as the game of chess; and a certain black dye, named Hindi, which, being applied to white hairs, stains them of a black colour even to the roots, and this so perfectly, that it is impossible to distinguish them from being originally of that colour.§

* De Sacy's *Memoires*, p. 316. † *Ibid.* p. 329. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 360.

§ *Memoires et Histoires de Sassanides*, par M. Silvestre de Sacy, p. 374.

That Chosroes, to whom the erection of this palace at Madain is attributed, was master of great wealth, there can be little doubt; and it would appear that a commercial intercourse with India on the east, and Europe on the west, for which the central situation of his capital was admirably adapted, had contributed as powerfully to the augmentation of his treasures, as the regular tribute of his empire. Gibbon enumerates the riches deposited in the palace of Dastagherd, the favourite retreat of the Persian king; and we learn from Cedrenus,* that when Heraclius sacked this imperial residence, he found in it aloes, aloes-wood, mataxa, silk, thread, pepper, muslins, or muslin garments, without number; sugar, ginger, silk robes, woven and embroidered carpets, and bullion. The manufactured articles are also specified among the plunder of Ctesiphon, or Madain,† when Sad, the general of Omar, took this place; and both these instances are quoted to shew, that on the decline of the Roman power, the revived Persian dynasty had the trade of India, through this channel, entirely in their own hands.‡

It was sun-set when we returned to our quarters in the enclosure of Selman Puk's Tomb, where we partook of a supper, the provisions for which we had brought with us from Bagdad, and at which the old Sheikh or Guardian of the Tomb very readily joined us, the continuance of the fast of Ramazān rendering the evening meal a welcome feast to all.

In conversation with the people here, I made many inquiries about a place called "Sebat al Madain," which M. de Sacy says is near to Madain Kesra, and the name of which he conceives to be corrupted from Balashabad, or "the habitation of Balash,"§ but we could learn nothing of such a place or name.

The violence of the gale, which had blown through the day, having now subsided, we slept with much pleasure, in the open air,

* Abulfeda, Reiske, p. 70.

† p. 418.

‡ Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. ii. Arabia, p. 322, in a note, by Dr. Vincent.

§ Memoires, p. 351.

and had a sky of more than usual brilliance, even in this climate, above us, the storm having no doubt purified the atmosphere.

AUGUST 21st.—The splendid train which follows the Pleiades was already high above the eastern horizon when we began to prepare for our departure, and the moon had risen when we quitted the gate of Ctesiphon on our return to Bagdad. As we quickened our pace during the cool of the morning, we reached the Diala just at sun-rise, where I profited by the opportunity of its emerging from a plain as level as the sea, to take its amplitude by compass, finding it to be at rising, E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. or N. $84^{\circ} 23'$ E. which gives $8^{\circ} 44'$ westerly variation.*

We were detained on the southern bank of the Diala nearly an hour, by the passage of asses laden with heath and fire-wood for Bagdad, before we could get a place in the boat, and joined here a party of fifteen Shooster Arabs, who had a mixture of the Persian character in their dress and appearance. The early hour of the day enabling us to distinguish the minarets of Bagdad and the Palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon at the same time, I took their bearings from the passage of the Diala.*

After crossing the river, we increased our speed, and entered the gates of Bagdad about seven o'clock, not having been more than two hours actually in motion from Ctesiphon to this place. The whole distance appeared, by the calculation of time and rate of travelling, on going and coming, to be about sixteen miles, which agrees nearly with the position assigned to the site of Madain by the Arabian geographer Edrisi, who places it at fifteen miles below

* True amplitude for Latitude $33^{\circ} 12' N.$ }				
and Sun's Declination of $12^{\circ} 4' N.$ }	...	...	14	21
Complement of Sun's observed Amplitude	...	...	5	37
Magnetic Variation westerly	...	...	8	44

† Bagdad N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	...	...	9 miles.
Tauk Kesra, S. by E.	...	...	7 miles.

Bagdad. The mouth of the Diala, or the point of its discharge into the Tigris, appeared to be nearer to Bagdad than to Ctesiphon, in the proportion observed in the bearings of these respective objects from the passage of that stream. We reached the British Residency in time to join Mr. Rich and family at breakfast, and met from them the same kind reception and warm interest in the events of the excursion, which had been so cordially evinced before.



CHAPTER XXVII.

FURTHER STAY AT BAGDAD.

THE short journey of trial which I had just performed, trifling as it was, proved to me that my strength was not yet perfectly re-established. I was, however, impatient to prosecute the remainder of my way, and began to make such preparations and inquiries as were necessary.

The evening of the 23d of August ushered in the Turkish feast of the Bairâm, by a discharge of cannon and fire-works, from all parts of the city, though it was absolutely impossible that any one could have yet *seen* the new moon, which is the necessary prelude to the commencement of this feast, and until which, indeed, the fast of Ramazân is not at an end. Two witnesses had solemnly deposed, however, at the seat of justice, before the Cadi, that they had seen the

great apathy, as they think it undignified to permit their tranquillity to be disturbed by any human event.

The Pashalic of Bagdad has never been so unproductive in revenue, or so unprotected against internal commotion, or external attack, as since it has been under the government of its present Pasha. Scarcely any thing is sent from the treasury of the city to Constantinople; so that this frontier town is of little value to the Turks; and the Pasha himself is so poor that he borrows even now the smallest sums. It is thought, therefore, that the Shah Zadé, the eldest son of the King of Persia, who resides at Kermanshah, commands an extensive territory, and is an ambitious young man, may be one day tempted to add Bagdad to his dominions, or perhaps make it his capital; and it is believed, by most persons residing here, that it would fall an easy prey to his arms.

We saw to-day a very singular and curious intaglio, on a dull agate, which was brought for our inspection, and said to have been found at Samara,* on the Tigris, where Jovian arrived after the death of Julian, a little way only up the river, and erroneously called Old Bagdad. On one side was a military trophy, represented in the Roman style, by a body of armour, two shields, a helmet, &c. On the reverse was a figure with a human body and a hawk's, or eagle's, head. In his right hand he held a scourge, or whip; on his left arm was a shield; his body was clothed with armour; beneath his feet, as if forming a continuation of them, were two wavy serpents, with their heads turned outward, to the right and left; and beneath the whole was an upright tortoise. Around each of these were some Greek letters, badly cut, which were unintelligible to us, and the whole, though singularly curious in its device, was of bad execution.

A Persian ambassador, who had recently arrived here from the king at Tabriz, to treat on some affairs with the Pasha of Bagdad, had just gone off on pilgrimage to the celebrated Tomb of Ali, to

* See a note on Samara, at p. 243 of the present volume.

the south-west of Hillah, and as he was shortly expected back to set out on his return to his sovereign, it was thought that it would be a favourable occasion for me to go under the protection of the same party through Persia to Tehraun, and from thence down to Bushire. These pilgrimages of the Persians are performed with great risk to themselves, and scarcely ever fail to draw forth the hostility of the Arabs on the road, when the parties are not sufficiently protected for self-defence. Small bodies are constantly interrupted and plundered by the Bedouins west of the Euphrates; and it is not long since that the town of Kerbela was entered by the Wahābees, all its male population that could be seized put to the sword, only women and children spared, and the mosque of the Imam Hossein, so highly revered by the Shiahs, stripped of all its treasures.*

When the Persians go from hence through the country of Nedjed, on their pilgrimage to Mecca, the protection or permission of the Wahābees is necessary to be purchased before they set out. As this is always an affair of personal treaty, skilful and influential individuals are generally employed for that purpose. It happened, during the last year, that on an application being made to the chief, from the pilgrims waiting here, for a free passage, the answer returned to them by the hands of the Wahābee messenger was, that they would be suffered to go through the country in safety on the usual terms, on the condition that they were to come through Derṯā, where the chief of the Wahābees then resided. Either from conceiving this demand to be too humiliating to be complied with, or from some other motive, the Wahābee messenger who brought it was beaten and sent back by the Persians to his tent. They soon afterwards set out with the determination to go straight through the country, without turning to the right or left. They were met, however, by a large body of the Wahābees, whose messenger they had so ill-treated; many were killed, still more wounded, and the rest obliged to go down to Derṯā, where some in despair gave up their pilgrimage

* See an account of this massacre and plunder at p. 137 of the present volume.

together, and came back again to Bagdad, while others remained at Der̄yā subject to daily persecution, in order to join the first caravan from thence to Mecca for the next Hadj.

Der̄yā is said to be a large town, seated on a mountain, like Mardin, which it resembles in form, size, population, and manner of building; it lies to the south of the direct road from hence to Mecca. The surrounding country is generally desert, though there are some fertile spots and many date-trees, and there is no want of caravanserais or water in the way. In his Dissertation on the Commerce of Arabia, Dr. Vincent says, "After the conquest of Persia by the Mohammedans, a road was made across the whole of the peninsula from Mecca to Kufa, the old city at which the Kufic character was completed, and whose ruins, among which are some very old Arabic buildings, still exist, between Mesjed Ali and the Euphrates. This road was reported to have been seven hundred miles long, marked out by distances, and provided with caravanserais and other accommodations for travellers. Into this road fell the route from Basra and from El Khatif or Gerrha."* Abulfeda speaks of a road from Mecca to Bagdad, seven hundred miles in length, which road was made by El-Madi, Caliph, in the year of the Hejira, 169.

The opportunity of going through Persia with the suite of this Persian ambassador, promised to be a favourable one; but the period of his return from the pilgrimage to Imam Ali seemed uncertain. By Bussorah there was no hope of finding an occasion until the latter end of October, by which time a cruiser was expected up from Bombay; but native Indian ships, if not English trading ones, were almost certain to be met with at Bushire: so that it was strongly recommended to me, both on the score of speed and certainty, as well as health, not to descend the Euphrates to Bussorah, but to go to some Persian port by land, the banks of the river being infested with robbers at every league, and the climate most unhealthy, from the heat and moisture of the autumnal season.

* Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. ii. p. 327.

The route from Bagdad to Bushire, by way of Shooster, seemed the nearest in point of distance, and I should have preferred it, from the circumstance of its being an unfrequented one, and including the interesting province of Susiana, with the old capital of the Persian monarchs, in which interesting ruins might be found, and disputed positions established; but the road was deemed too unsafe to venture on, without a very strong guard, or a large caravan, and there was neither of these just now on the point of departure. During the mission of Sir John Malcolm to the King of Persia, two English gentlemen, Mr. Grant and Mr. Fotheringham, set out by this route from Bagdad to Ispahan, on their return to India, being attached to the military service of Madras. In the way, they were both murdered by one of the predatory chiefs, of which there are several, occupying this tract of country, in the mountains and plains; and since that period, these hostile marauders had grown progressively more powerful, more insolent, and more cruel. The only way that remained open, therefore, was by the regular caravan road of Kermanshah, Hamadān, and Ispahan; and finding, on inquiry, that there would be a caravan starting for that route in the early part of the ensuing month, I determined to accompany it.

On the 26th of August we were visited by a Dervish, from the northernmost part of the ancient Bactria. He described the present town of Balkh, which is thought to occupy the site of the city of Bactria, as being small, but having several colleges, and many learned men, with an extensive library of the most rare and valuable Eastern books; the date of the foundation of this library was unknown to him, but the collection of books in it, he said, was large, perfect, and undisturbed. The inhabitants he described as mostly Mohammedans, and of the Soonnee sect. Bokhāra he described to be as large as Bagdad, well built, peopled by Mohammedans, and descendants of Moghul tribes, having also many colleges and learned men, but no extensive library, like that of Balkh. Samarcand, which he knew by its original name, he said

was now only a small town, not half the size of Bokhāra, and having fewer Mussulmans among its population than either it or Balkh. The Turkish language was understood in each of these, but the Arabic, as a language of communication, in neither; the Toorki, or Turcoman, tongue, being spoken in all these towns and their surrounding neighbourhood.

We had brought to us in the Divan, on the morning of the 27th, an ancient mace, about two feet long, with a slender handle of wood, pointed and enamelled in green, and its head composed of a piece of coarse alabaster, about the size and shape of a turkey's egg, turning round on a rod of iron, and ending in a nail-head at the top. The history of this mace was more curious than the weapon itself, as nearly similar ones are even now in use; but this was dug up, with a number of others, enclosed in a vase, which had been found on the banks of the river Mendeli, near a place called Belled Drooze, about six days' journey to the eastward of Bagdad. The modern Mendeli is thought to be the ancient Gyndes, which Cyrus is said to have divided into three hundred and sixty channels, in order to render it insignificant, according to Herodotus,* in revenge for its current having carried away and drowned one of the sacred horses; but probably only with a view to render it more fordable, by diverting its waters into as many channels as possible.

During the remainder of my stay at Bagdad, my time was divided between looking out for occasions of departure, and seeing as much as I could of the state of society in this city, my Asiatic dress, beard, and language, easily procuring me admission to the company of all classes.

From my first entry into Bagdad, I was surprised to find the Turkish language much more generally spoken and understood than the Arabic, notwithstanding that this city is more surrounded by Arabs on all sides, than either Damascus, Aleppo, or Mousul, in each of which Arabic is the prevailing tongue. The Turkish spoken here is said, however, to be so corrupt, both in idiom and pronunciation,

* Clio, 189.

that a native of Constantinople is always shocked at its utterance, and on his first arrival finds it almost unintelligible. I had sufficient evidence myself of the Arabic being very bad, taking that of Cairo, of Mecca, and of the Yemen, as standards of purity in pronunciation; for scarcely any thing more harsh in sound, or more barbarous in construction, and the use of foreign words, can be conceived, than the dialect of Bagdad. Turkish, Persian, Koord, and even Indian expressions, disfigure their sentences; and such Arabic words as are used are scarcely to be recognised on a first hearing, from the corrupted manner in which they are spoken.

Literature is at so low an ebb here, that there is no one known collection of good books or manuscripts in the whole city, nor any individual Moollah distinguished above his contemporaries by his proficiency in the learning of his country. I had hoped to procure at Bagdad a copy of the "Thousand and One Nights," particularly as this capital of the Abassides had been so much the scene of its story, and the Tomb of Zobeida was still popularly known, and pointed out by its inhabitants. But I learnt, with regret, that not a perfect copy of this work was thought to exist throughout all Bagdad, as inquiries had been frequently made after one, without success, though sufficiently large sums had been offered for the work to tempt its being brought out from any private collection, if it had existed in any such.

In this, as in all other respects as an Oriental city, Bagdad is infinitely inferior to Cairo, and the interior of its streets and bazārs presents nothing like the faithful pictures which are constantly met with in Egypt, to remind the traveller of the scenes and manners described in the Arabian Tales. From this circumstance, added to the detection of many phrases in the language of the "Thousand and One Nights," which are purely Egyptian, the best judges on this subject are of opinion that the work was originally composed, and first brought into circulation, at Cairo, though its deserved popularity soon extended its fame over all the Eastern world.

In the course of my peregrinations about Bagdad, I saw no

females unveiled in the streets, though I had occasion to observe, more than once, youths of the other sex, corresponding in appearance, manner, and character, with the one I had seen at the khan of the village where we halted on the night before arriving at this city. Such publicity has not been always allowed, however, to this species of libertinism; for, during the reign of a certain Ali Pasha, not many years ago, a man was thrown headlong from the highest minaret of the city, on being detected in the commission of this abominable vice.

The police of Bagdad is extremely defective. That quarrels should arise, and disputes be terminated in blood, among the Arabs who occupy the skirts of the city within the walls, and this without any cognizance of such affairs by the government, was not so surprising, as that murders should take place at the very gates of the palace, and of the great mosque, without the criminals being so much as even sought after to be brought to justice. Since the period of Mr. Rich's return from Europe to Bagdad, which was hardly six months since, no less than twelve murders had been committed within the city, one of which was close to the Pasha's residence, and another in the very porch of the mosque of Abd-ul-Khadder. The latest instance of these atrocities was only a few days before my departure; and though committed in the public streets, and before the face of a hundred witnesses at mid-day, no one thought either of punishing the murderer on the spot, or of apprehending him for the common safety. "It is an affair of blood," said they, "which the relatives of the dead may revenge, and which the Pasha may investigate, but it is no business for us to meddle with."

Robberies too had been of late committed with impunity, in various parts of the town. They were generally effected during the night, by private gangs, who escaped without detection. But in one instance, a combination of a more extensive nature than usual was discovered to exist, for the carrying these daring outrages into execution; and one of the leading merchants of the city was found

to be concerned in the encouragement of its depredations, by purchasing their acknowledged plunder. This man, however, stood too high, by his wealth only, to be called to account; and the rest, though mostly known, were, by his influence alone, suffered to escape. The Pasha, it was said, had formed the determination of going about the city at night in disguise; but by some, this was thought to be a mere report, given out to alarm the offenders; while others laughed at such a weak alternative, intended to be substituted for what alone could quell the evil, an active and vigorous police.

The women of Bagdad invariably wear the checquered blue covering, used by the lower orders of females in Egypt; nor among those of the highest rank here are ever seen the black and pink silk scarfs of Cairo, or the white muslin envelopes of Smyrna and Damascus. This, added to the stiff black horse-hair veil which covers the face, gives an air of great gloom and poverty to the females occasionally seen in the streets. When at home, however, their dress is as gay in colours, and as costly in materials, as in any of the great towns of Turkey; and their style of living, and the performance of their relative duties in their families, are precisely the same.

As the view from our lofty terrace at an early hour in the morning laid open at least eight or ten bed-rooms in different quarters around us, where all the families slept in the open air, domestic scenes were exposed to view, without our being once perceived, or even suspected to be witnesses of them. Among the more wealthy, the husband slept on a raised bedstead, with a mattress and cushions of silk, covered by a thick stuffed quilt of cotton, the bed being without curtains or mosquito net. The wife slept on a similar bed, but always on the ground, that is, without a bedstead, and at a respectful distance from her husband, while the children, sometimes to the number of three or four, occupied only one mattress, and the slaves or servants each a separate mat on the earth, but all lying down and rising up within sight of each other. Every one rose at an early hour, so that no one continued in bed after the

sun was up ; and each, on rising, folded up his own bed, his coverlid, and pillows, to be taken into the house below, excepting only the children, for whom this office was performed by the slave or the mother.

None of all these persons were as much undressed as Europeans generally are when in bed. The men retained their shirt, drawers, and often their caftan, a kind of inner cloak. The children and servants lay down with nearly the same quantity of clothes as they had worn in the day ; and the mothers and their grown daughters wore the full silken trowsers of the Turks, with an open gown ; and if rich, their turbans, or if poor, an ample red chemise and a simpler covering for the head. In most of the instances which we saw, the wives assisted, with all due respect and humility, to dress and undress their husbands, and to perform all the duties of valets.

After dressing, the husband generally performed his devotions, while the slave was preparing a pipe and coffee ; and, on his seating himself on his carpet, when this was done, his wife served him with her own hands, retiring at a proper distance to wait for the cup, and always standing before him, sometimes, indeed, with the hands crossed, in an attitude of great humility, and even kissing his hand on receiving the cup from it, as is done by the lowest attendants of the household.

While the husband lounged on his cushions, or sat on his carpet in an attitude of ease and indolence, to enjoy his morning pipe, the women of the family generally prayed. In the greater number of instances, they did so separately, and exactly after the manner of the men ; but on one or two occasions, the mistress and some other females, perhaps a sister or a relative, prayed together, following each other's motions, side by side, as is done when a party of men are headed in their devotions by an Imaum. None of the females, whether wife, servant, or slave, omitted this morning duty ; but among the children under twelve or fourteen years of age, I did not observe any instance of their joining in it.

Notwithstanding the apparent seclusion in which women live

here, as they do indeed throughout all the Turkish empire, there are, perhaps, as many accessible dwellings as in any of the large towns under the same dominion. They are, however, much less apparent here than at Cairo, though they are all under such concealment from public notice, as not to offend the scrupulous, or present allurements to the inexperienced by their external marks. It is said, that women of the highest condition sometimes grant assignations at these houses; and this, indeed, cannot be denied, that the facility of clandestine meetings is much greater in Turkish cities, between people of the country, than in any metropolis of Europe. The disguise of a Turkish or Arab female, in her walking dress, is so complete, that her husband himself could not recognise her beneath it; and these places of appointment are so little known but to those who visit them, and so unmarked by any distinction between them and others, that they might be entered or quitted by any person at any hour of the day, without exciting the slightest suspicion of the passers-by.

Among the women to be occasionally seen in Bagdad, the Georgians and Circassians are decidedly the handsomest by nature, and the least disfigured by art. The high-born natives of the place are of less beautiful forms and features, and of less fresh and clear complexions; while the middling and inferior orders, having brown skins, and nothing agreeable in their countenances, except a dark and expressive eye, are sometimes so barbarously tattooed as to have the most forbidding appearance. With all ranks and classes, the hair is stained a red colour by henna, and the palms of the hands are so deeply dyed with it, as to resemble the hands of a sailor when covered with tar.

Those only who, by blood, or habits of long intercourse, are allied to the Arab race, use the blue stains so common among the Bedouins of the Desert. The passion for this method of adorning the body is carried, in some instances, as far as it could have been among the ancient Britons; for, besides the staining of the lips with that deadly hue, anklets are marked around the legs, with lines

extending upwards from the ankle, at equal distances, to the calf of the legs ; a wreath of blue flowers is made to encircle each breast, with a chain of the same pattern hanging perpendicularly between them ; and, among some of the most determined belles, a zone, or girdle, of the same singular composition, is made to encircle the smallest part of the waist, imprinted on the skin in such a manner as to be for ever after indelible. There are artists in Bagdad, whose profession it is to decorate the forms of ladies with the newest patterns of wreaths, zones, and girdles, for the bosom or the waist ; and as this operation must occupy a considerable time, and many "sittings," as an English portrait-painter would express it, they must possess abundant opportunities of studying, in perfection, the beauties of the female form, in a manner not less satisfactory, perhaps, than that which is pursued in the Royal Academies of Sculpture and Painting in Europe.

A P P E N D I X.

CONTAINING

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE RESULT OF CERTAIN LEGAL PROCEEDINGS
CONNECTED WITH THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

AT the close of the last volume of *Travels*, which I had the honour to lay before the world, was an Appendix, which contained a number of documents, illustrative of the measures pursued by the late Mr. John Lewis Burckhardt,—Mr. William John Bankes, late member for Cambridge,—Mr. Henry Bankes, his father, late member for Corfe Castle,—Mr. Gifford, late editor of the *Quarterly Review*,—and Mr. John Murray, publisher,—who had united their misrepresentations and their influence, to destroy my reputation, both as a man and an author, for the purpose of preventing the publication of my “*Travels in Palestine*,” and other countries of the East, in order that Mr. W. J. Bankes, who had some intention to publish his observations on the same countries, should come into the field before me, and reap whatever fame was to be acquired by priority and novelty, in the details of researches and observations made by each at the same period and on the same spot.

As soon as my return from India to England rendered it practicable, certain proceedings at law were instituted by me against three of these parties, for the purpose of proving to the world the utter falsehood of their calumnies, and the gross injustice of their conduct. Although two years had elapsed between the institution of these proceedings and the publication of the volume of *Travels* alluded to, yet, when it was issued from the press, not one of the three had been brought to a close. Since that period, two other years have passed away, and even these have been but just sufficient to terminate proceedings which, had not delays been studiously interposed by the parties interested, might have been closed in four months, and at a cost of one hundred pounds, instead of occupying four years, and involving an expense of upwards of five thousand pounds.

The reader, who desires to acquaint himself with the details of these proceedings, (the history of which is considered, by legal men, to be among the most curious and extraordinary of any to be found on record in the whole range of disputed questions affecting literary property and character,) is referred to the Appendix to “*Travels among the*

Arab Tribes," in which all the documents are given at length,* and to the verbatim Reports of the Trials, in "The Oriental Herald," where the whole of the proceedings in the Court of King's Bench are faithfully recorded.† As, however, there may be many readers of the present volume, to whom the facts of the case are but imperfectly known, and who may desire to be acquainted with them in outline, I shall, for their information, briefly recapitulate them; being now happily enabled to follow them from their origin to their close; and to put on record, in a permanent form, the final issue of the whole.

In the year 1816, Mr. Bankes and myself met at Jerusalem; and, by mutual consent, performed together a journey of seven days, among the ruined cities of the Decapolis, east of the Jordan, each paying his half of the expenses, the whole of which did not, however, exceed five pounds sterling. So great was Mr. Bankes's satisfaction at the pleasure and advantage of travelling in my company, that subsequent to this period, and during our joint stay in Syria, he gave me, in writing, pressing invitations to meet him at Baalbeck, solicited me to join him in an excursion to Palmyra, and actually made an attempt to come after me, for the purpose of joining me in the deserts beyond the Dead Sea, but was driven back by the dangers of the road. Having subsequently met again at Damascus, where we lived together in a Catholic Convent, he read my notes on the journey I had made, and was so much impressed with their value, that he proposed adding his drawings to these notes, for the purpose of forming out of them a joint work on Palestine and Syria. After we had parted at Damascus, he wrote me several letters, full of compliments to my industry and understanding, in which he acknowledged having read these notes, and evinced so much deference to my supposed superior judgment in matters of ancient architecture, that, on adverting to a difference of opinion between us on the age of a particular edifice, he asserted, that he should not venture, on such a subject, to put his opinion in competition with mine; admitting, at the same time, his own indolence in writing, and expressing a hope that I should not be *ashamed* to see my name associated with his, in what we might be able to contribute jointly to the work proposed.

We finally met in Aleppo, where Mr. Bankes, after a knowledge of me for nearly six months, in frequent personal intercourse and correspondence, retained and expressed the same unaltered high opinion of my character and acquirements; on which ground, he obtained for me the attention of the British Resident there, to whom he was himself strongly introduced; and on my leaving that city for an overland journey to India, he gave me a letter of high commendation to his friend, the late Sir Evan Nepean, then Governor of Bombay.

At the moment of our parting at Aleppo, Mr. Bankes expressed a strong desire to receive back all the letters he had written to me, during our separate journeys in Syria, on the plea that, as he kept few or no notes of his own, these letters, which contained fuller details than any he possessed, would be useful to him, while, from the completeness of my own notes, which he had seen, they would be of little value to myself.

* In 1 vol. 4to. published by Messrs. Longman and Co. 1825.

† See Oriental Herald, vol. vi. p. 380; vol. viii. p. 157; vol. x. p. 360; and vol. xi. p. 375.

Having no reason whatever to decline complying with his wish, these letters were readily delivered up, excepting one only, which, being sought for in vain, was supposed, by both parties, to be lost, and was no more thought of, until it was subsequently found, on my arrival in India, stuck fast by the sealing wax, which the heat of the climate of Mesopotamia had melted, to the top lining of an old portmanteau, in which linen and loose papers had been kept; and this letter, with a shorter one found inclosed in it, fortunately contained all the evidence necessary to refute the charges of its author.

I proceeded to India; when, circumstances having led to my settling in that country instead of returning to England, as we had both thought probable when we parted, my notes were shewn to and approved by the late Dr. Middleton, then Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Colonel Mackenzie, the Surveyor General of India, Dr. Lumsden, the Arabic Professor at Fort William, and other distinguished literary characters in Bengal, at whose suggestion, and with whose admitted approbation, they were announced for publication, and the manuscript sent home to England, and accepted by Mr. Murray, of Albemarle-Street, for that purpose.

Mr. Bankes, being then at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, and seeing this announcement in a copy of the "Calcutta Journal," which had reached him amid the ruins of that deserted city by way of the Red Sea, appears to have been inspired with the most ungovernable rage, or jealousy, at my appearing in print before him, (though all idea of the proposed joint work had been mutually abandoned before we separated;) and, imagining, perhaps, that as all his letters to me had been returned, I should have no evidence to refute any charges he might advance, he addressed a letter to his father in London, directing him to go at once to Mr. Murray, to induce him to desist from publishing my work, on the ground that I had palmed myself upon his company, on a condition that I should keep *his* journal while he paid *my* travelling expenses!—that I had treacherously taken away these notes, and formed out of them the volume announced for publication;—that I was so ignorant as not to know a Turkish building from a Roman one, or a Greek inscription from a Latin one!—that I kept no notes whatever, not having even paper for so doing;—and that I was altogether a worthless and abandoned character.

Mr. Bankes, senior, having then no reason to suspect his son of falsehood, as soon as he received this letter, wrote to Mr. Murray on the subject, recited the contents of his son's communication; and, without even asking to see the materials alleged to be stolen, so as to identify them as those of another, urged Mr. Murray not to publish this worthless and imperfect work, (though pretended to be wholly made up of his son's materials,) but to wait until Mr. Bankes, junior, should himself return, when he would give to the world a much better account of the same countries than this now sent him, which he ventured unequivocally to denounce, though neither he nor his son had seen a line of its contents. Ten years have now elapsed, however, without the promised work, which was to supersede this volume of mine, having yet made its appearance!

Mr. Murray, having then also no reason to suspect the arrogant pretensions of the son, or the perhaps pardonable weakness of the father, yielded to this representation:

and although he had actually made a purchase of the manuscript, and fixed both the price and the period of publication, retracted his engagement, and declined to have any thing further to do with the supposed stolen production. The same representation operated equally with other booksellers ; so that, until twelve months had elapsed, during which reference was made to me in India, the work lay under such odious imputations that no publisher would touch it.

At the same time that Mr. Bankes addressed this letter to his father in London, he wrote a similar one to Sir Evan Nepean, at Bombay, calling on him to discountenance me, and to use his influence to proscribe me in India ; which letter fell into the hands of Mr. Elphinstone, Sir Evan Nepean's successor, and was generally seen in Bombay. He addressed another letter to myself, at Calcutta, calling on me to desist from my intended publication, and to give up all my manuscripts and papers to Sir Evan Nepean, for his use ; or, in the event of my refusing to do so, threatening me with the exertion of all his influence to make my character as infamous in England, as he pretended it already was (and he himself had laboured hard to make it so) in the East. It is needless to say, that I despised his threats, and did not give up a single sheet to purchase his silence or forbearance.

The original of the letter to myself was sent by way of Arabia, and was twelve months before it reached its destination ; but, for the more effectually securing the infamy which Mr. Bankes threatened to bring on my name, he gave an open copy of this letter, written with his own hand, to Mr. Henry William Hobhouse, whom he met at Trieste on his way to India, with instructions to make it public wherever he went. This gentleman, having known Mr. Bankes's family in England, and having then no reason to doubt the entire truth of the statements it contained, received the open letter in question. But learning, on his first landing at Bombay, that its accusations were likely to be disproved, he made no further use of it till his arrival at Calcutta ; where, at the request of Mr. John Palmer, a mutual friend of Mr. Hobhouse and myself, the letter was given up to me, as the person to whom (though open) it was originally addressed.

Mr. Bankes in the mean time returned from Egypt to England ; and, in this interval, the proofs that I had been able to send from India, of the entire falsehood of his imputations, appeared so satisfactory to Messrs. Longman and Co., that they undertook the publication of the hitherto suppressed volume. When the work appeared, however, instead of Mr. Bankes coming openly forward, and claiming any portion of the volume as his own, or producing the original notes from which it was alleged to have been stolen, he made interest with Mr. Murray, or with Mr. Gifford, then Editor of the Quarterly Review, to admit into that Periodical one of the most ungentlemanly, bitter, and slanderous articles, that ever disgraced the critical literature of the country. In this article, which, on the testimony of Mr. Murray, was written with Mr. Bankes's own hand, he not only repeats all the calumnies contained in his letter before adverted to, but adds others equally unfounded ; at the same time that he very modestly praises the labours of himself, and speaks of the impatience with which the literary world were

anxiously awaiting the appearance of his own valuable materials! now, as he asserted, rendered the more necessary by the intrusion of the worthless trash then under review! The world has waited, and will still have to wait in vain, however, for the promised treasure.

This article reached India, where I was then residing; and, although I was there able to repel it, by an exhibition of proofs which established my innocence in the minds of all reflecting persons; yet, it was made a pretext, by my political enemies, for their calling on the Government of India to expel from the country a man denounced by such high authorities as Mr. Banks and the writer of the article in the *Quarterly Review*, (then supposed to be two distinct persons, but since proved to be one and the same.) The Indian Government, wanting nothing but such a pretext as would lessen the odium of so harsh a measure, encouraged the cry thus raised; and, under this encouragement, the flood-gates of calumny were opened, and every species of atrocity attempted towards me by the favoured minions of power.

I sought my remedy, where an Englishman should be always proud to meet his opponents, and where I have never yet shrunk from mine, in a British court of justice. I called those libellers (not before an impartial and independent jury, for in India, in cases of civil prosecution, there are no juries whatever, but I called them) before a single English judge, being willing to abide the issue of his decision, though he sat alone upon the bench, and was, of necessity, in continual and familiar intercourse with the very members of the ruling body to whom I was an object of so much dread and hatred. The proceeding was by a civil action, in order to give my slanderers the utmost opportunity of producing proofs. Will it be believed, that this was the moment chosen by the Indian Government, when I stood before the supreme court of justice, seeking merely to defend my character against unjust imputations, for banishing me from the country altogether? Yet such was the fact: I was not permitted to remain in India to bring my calumniators to justice; but was banished, without a trial or a hearing, in the midst of those proceedings, and thus cut off from the power of enjoying the triumph which my innocence afterwards received. Much, however, as every cause, and especially a personal one, must suffer by the forcible removal of the plaintiff from the court and country in which it is tried, my own was so strong as to outlive all this; for, while I was absent on the ocean, in the ship that bore me as an exile from India for ever, a verdict was given against my calumniators, on which occasion, the judge who pronounced it declared that "the malice of the libels was only equalled by their falsehood," and that they were "too atrocious to be even thought of without horror."

On my arrival in England, and before I had received intelligence of the issue of the trial in India, I commenced three several actions against my slanderers here; 1st, against Mr. Murray, the publisher of the *Quarterly Review*, for the libellous article contained in that work; 2nd, against Mr. Henry Banks, senior, the present Member for Dorsetshire, for the letter addressed by him to Mr. Murray, and which led to the suspension of my publication; and 3rd, against Mr. William John Banks, then

Member for the University of Cambridge, for the false and scandalous imputations contained in the open letter sent out to India by the hands of Mr. Hobhouse.

All these actions have now happily been brought to a close. In the *first*, Mr. Murray voluntarily expressed, in open court, his sincere regret that his publication, the *Quarterly Review*, should have been made the vehicle of unfounded slander against a respectable individual, and consented to a verdict being recorded against him, including damages and costs, without attempting a justification, though Mr. William John Bankes, the writer of these unfounded slanders, was then himself in court, and every witness ever professed to be required by him was in attendance; so that the not even calling them was additional proof, if any more were necessary, of the utter absence of all grounds for the acknowledged falsehoods contained in the article in question. In the *second*, Mr. Henry Bankes, the father, though he needed no other witness than his son, who was the only source of his information, to prove his allegations, declined placing that son in the witness-box to support his own assertions; and consented to a verdict being recorded against himself, paying all costs as between attorney and client; thus confessing to the whole world, that his son had made him the medium of communicating to others slanderous imputations which he dared not venture to support by his oath, and abandoning them as scandalous and false. A very short detail of the progress and termination of the *third* cause will complete the history of this extraordinary combination of events and proceedings.

On commencing the action against Mr. William John Bankes, the open letter sent to India by Mr. Hobhouse was produced, and its publication *morally* proved, by the fact of Mr. Hobhouse's hand-writing being at the top of the first page, where he had obliterated a motto in Italian, apparently because of its extravagant language, and written underneath it these words, "I desire this motto not to be noticed. H. W. Hobhouse;"—a proof, not merely that the letter was read by him before it came into my possession, (which of itself is legal publication,) but also of his feeling himself authorised, by the writer of it, to shew that he had so read and understood its contents. This letter was set out at full length in what is technically called "the declaration," where it must have been seen and read by Mr. Bankes and his legal advisers; and in what are called "the pleadings," he justified his having published it, on the ground that it was true, that he could prove its truth, and that, therefore, I ought to have no remedy for any injury it might have done me. In the mean time, he solicited the indulgence of the Court to allow him to send to Syria or Egypt (where the Court has no jurisdiction) for a man named Mohammed, (without any other specification,) who, with another person named Antonio, (the one an Albanian soldier, the other a Portuguese groom,) were the respectable witnesses necessary to establish his case. This indulgence was granted, on condition that Mr. Bankes should admit the identical letter produced to have been really *written* by him, reserving only the question of its *publication*; and several months passed away in the supposed finding and bringing over these witnesses from abroad, though it is believed that they were both nearer London than Jerusalem, at the time

they were pretended to be sent for. The period arrived for going to trial, but it was discovered that the *moral* evidence of publication, though enough to satisfy any impartial mind, did not amount to the legal proof required, and proceedings were at a stand. I then expressed my belief, that, as Mr. Bankes had already admitted to the Court that the letter was really written by him, and as he had in his pleadings justified (not merely his having *written* it, for that, not being a ground of civil action, needed no justification in this case, but) his having *PUBLISHED* the letter, on the ground that it was true, and therefore he had a *right* to publish it,—he could not fail, as a man, to waive the technical difficulty, and re-admit, at this stage of the proceeding, as he had already admitted in a former one, that he *did* publish it, so that we might go at once to the merits of the question: he well knowing that, if his imputations could be supported by evidence, my defeat and his triumph would be certain. Mr. Bankes refused, however, to admit any such thing, and shrunk from coming to the proof, though all his witnesses were at hand, declining, in short, to repeat what he had before admitted, and what he had even justified his having done.*

As Mr. Hobhouse, the bearer of the letter in question, and the only person who could prove its publication, was in India, it was necessary for me to obtain permission of the Court, to send out a Commission to that country, in order to get his evidence to this fact. An application was made for such permission; but it seems the Court could not grant it to the plaintiff, without the leave of Mr. Bankes, the defendant; and when *he* was applied to for his consent, although he had been, himself, permitted to send to Syria, or Egypt, for a certain individual named Mohammed, without stating where he was to be found, or what he was to prove, (which was as vague an errand as if any person in Turkey were to send to England or America, for a man named John, of which he might find nearly as many as there are Mohammeds in Turkey,) he declined granting it; so that he would neither admit nor deny that he published the letter, nor would he give his consent to the sending for the only evidence by which this point could be settled. If he *did* publish the letter, he ought at once to have admitted it. If he did *not* publish it, then there could be no possible reason for his refusing to send for the evidence, which must have been in his favour.

On the hardship of this case being explained, the Judges, at length, compelled Mr. Bankes to consent; but he had still the power to exact a condition, which was, that

* The unprofessional reader should know, that if a man merely *writes* a libellous letter to another, without its passing through a third person, it can only be made the ground of a criminal proceeding, in which its truth cannot be stated in justification, as such proceeding is only on the plea of the letter having a tendency to break the king's peace; and the more true it is, the more angry it is likely to make the person to whom it relates, so that, in this sense, the greater the truth the greater the libel, i. e. the greater its tendency to provoke the parties to break the peace. But no civil proceeding for damages can be instituted against the writer of such letter, since it can only produce damage by being known to others, and it can only be known to others but through the agency of the person to whom it is exclusively addressed. In actions of this kind, therefore, it is not enough to prove that a certain person wrote a libellous letter. It must be proved or admitted that he shewed it to others besides the party libelled. It is this which is technically called "publication," without proof of which, no action for damages can be sustained.

besides my paying all the costs of the action up to that period, I should pay into Court about two hundred pounds more, as a fund for defraying the expenses of the Albanian soldier; and Portuguese groom, who were to be detained here, at *my* expense, (for twelve months at least,) to give evidence *against myself*, until an answer could be returned from India to the application sent out for Mr. Hobhouse's testimony! Hard as these conditions seemed, I was so intent upon the establishment of my own innocence, that I would have stripped off my last garment for sale, rather than abandon my pursuit of justice. I accordingly, though plundered of all I possessed by the Indian Government, and trampled to the earth by those to whom I had since appealed for redress, did contrive to raise the sum required, and deposited it in Court accordingly, for the subsistence of those who were to have twelve months more to reflect on and arrange their evidence against me.

The next step was to send the letter of Mr. Bankes to India, to be identified by Mr. Hobhouse, and to have his deposition on oath, as to whether he published it with Mr. Bankes's authority or not. I had hoped that an attested copy of this would have answered the purpose, particularly as Mr. Bankes could not retract the admission he had made to the Court of having actually *written* the original of the letter set out in the declaration. But the nicety of the law required that the identical letter itself, on which Mr. Hobhouse had, with his own hand, written the words before quoted, should be sent out, though attested copies might be kept here to produce, in case of its loss, which would, however, again be required to be proved by affidavit. The original letter was accordingly transmitted to India, by the steam-ship *Enterprise*, with a view to the greatest despatch. She was longer on the passage than had been expected, and when she reached India, Mr. Hobhouse had left it some time for England; so that, while he was in one hemisphere, the letter was in another, and the object of sending it to India was thus entirely defeated.

Mr. Hobhouse, however, soon reached this country; but, as his stay in it was uncertain, and as the only obstacle to our proceeding to trial was the question of *publication*, it appeared to me impossible that Mr. Bankes should now decline coming into Court, to meet the question fairly. He had already *indirectly* admitted that he PUBLISHED the letter, when he pleaded its truth as his justification for having so done. He had since *directly* admitted that he WROTE the letter, when this was exacted as a condition of his sending for witnesses into Syria. And although, when he discovered that our moral evidence did not amount to legal proof of publication, he declined to repeat his former admission, and thus put off the evil day for another year; yet, as the gentleman himself, Mr. Hobhouse, who alone could settle this doubtful point of publication, had arrived in England, was soon about to leave it, and could be summoned to the Court immediately, to say "aye" or "no" to this simple question, I considered it certain that Mr. Bankes would consent to our putting the matter at once to the test, by going before a jury without delay. He was applied to, for this purpose, through the usual channels of our respective solicitors. He not only declined to come into Court, and have the issue tried, but set up, through his attorneys, an absurd and

required, without exacting the smallest pecuniary compensation from his purse for the enormous evils I had suffered. Whether, however, the sum necessary to cover the amount of expenses actually incurred, was too great to be parted with, by one who loved it so well;—or whether the only sort of reparation, which the party from whom it was due would be prepared to make, was a private hushing-up of the matter,—to which, if even my existence hung upon the issue, I would never have yielded my consent;—or, indeed, whether both of these considerations might not have had an equal influence in strengthening the unrelenting purpose of my accuser,—it is not easy to determine; but, in point of fact, no measures were actually taken by him to evince either regret for the injuries he had done, or a desire to repair them.

We accordingly went, on the morning of the next day, (October 19, 1826,) to trial. The Court was crowded, especially with literary and political characters, and the interest was intense. The trial lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till nearly seven at night; and throughout the whole of that time the Court continued as full as at the beginning. Mr. Hill and Mr. Pattison opened the case; and Mr. Brougham, in a masterly speech of analysis and narrative, stated the libels, and commented on their atrocity and incredibility; after which, evidence was called to prove the allegations set forth in the pleadings on my behalf:—including Mr. Hobhouse, to prove the publication of the letter;—Mr. Arrowsmith, to prove that the engravings contained in my printed volume of “*Travels in Palestine*” were from original materials of my own, contained in manuscript books carefully examined by him, and compared with the published work, so that they could not have been copied, as pretended, from the plans exhibited as those of Mr. Bankes;—and Dr. Babington, as to knowledge of my character and capacity as a Traveller, obtained from a personal acquaintance of many years, and daily intercourse during a joint voyage made by us together from India to Egypt, by way of Arabia, in the year 1815, before I had ever seen Mr. Bankes, or even heard of his pursuits.

Mr. Gurney followed, on the part of the defendant; and, after a speech, in which he solemnly declared his being able to prove that every word and tittle of Mr. Bankes's accusations were true, he called Giovanni Benatti, the Albanian soldier, who had acted as interpreter to Mr. Bankes in Syria, speaking Italian and Arabic only, and Antonio Da Costa, the Portuguese groom, who spoke only Portuguese and Italian; with Col. Leake, Capts. Irby and Mangles, and Mr. Parry; the two former to speak to facts occurring during the seven days which Mr. Bankes and myself had travelled together from Jerusalem to Jerash and Nazareth; and the four latter to speak to the accuracy of certain Greek inscriptions, copied from the ruins of Geraza, as well as the resemblances and differences between certain plans of the ruins of that city, drawn by different hands, with a view to determine whether one had been copied from the other, or whether each had the appearance of being original.

Upon the evidence adduced on both sides, Mr. Brougham made an eloquent and powerful reply, in which—after denouncing, in terms which will be long remembered for their force, the conduct of Mr. John Murray, the publisher, in a transaction connected with the detention of certain property intrusted to his care by me, and

secretly supplied by him to my accusers to strengthen their evidence,—thus assisting to make others the instrument of new wrongs to an individual who had already forgiven him his own offences,—to procure which forgiveness, he had publicly expressed his regret at having been made, by others, the unwilling instrument of wrong to the very same person whom he was now helping others to overwhelm with fresh injuries;—after setting the evidence of the foreign witnesses in a light which closely approached to wilful perjury;—and proving, from undisputed letters written with Mr. Bankes's own hand, that *he* too had been guilty of uttering false, scandalous, and malicious libels, well knowing them at the time of their utterance to be untrue;—he appealed to the justice of the Jury, and left the case entirely in their hands.

The Chief Justice delivered, after this, an elaborate charge, in which, though evincing every disposition to extend mercy to the defendant, he was constrained to admit that Mr. Bankes had failed altogether in his justification, and that therefore the plaintiff was entitled to the verdict of the Jury; which, however, in conformity with the evident disposition before adverted to, he used all his influence to persuade them to reduce to as moderate a standard as possible.

The Jury retired, and after a consultation,—in which it was understood that large damages were contended for by some, who were overruled, however, by others over whom the persuasive powers of the Judge had greater influence,—they came into Court, and pronounced their verdict, declaring Mr. Bankes to be guilty of the false, scandalous, and malicious libels laid to his charge, and adjudging him to pay, as damages, to the Plaintiff, the sum of Four Hundred Pounds.

This, then, has been the issue of the three several actions instituted against the three separate parties named. Mr. John Murray, the publisher of the Quarterly Review, has publicly expressed his regret that his work should have been made the vehicle of unfounded slanders (which he has since openly avowed to have been written by Mr. W. J. Bankes himself) against a respectable and innocent individual; and, as a proof of the sincerity of this admission, he consented to abandon all justification, to submit to a verdict being recorded against him, and to pay all the costs incurred. Mr. Henry Bankes, senior, though he expressed no regret, consented to admit the accusations to be false, by abandoning all justification of their truth, by submitting to a verdict being recorded against him, and by consenting also to pay all costs. Mr. William John Bankes, feeling no regret, and abandoning no justification, is at length compelled to adduce his evidence before a Jury of his countrymen, whose verdict, after the most patient hearing of all that could be said in his defence, stamps his character in terms, of which the record will remain as long as the Court of King's Bench shall exist, or the memory of this signal triumph of integrity over injustice shall endure.

It remains only to add, that—notwithstanding the amount of the verdict given in my favour, and the nominal payment of all the ordinary costs of the proceedings by the convicted parties, yet, from the shamefully defective state of the law, the appalling power given to interested parties to delay proceedings and accumulate expense, with the advantage taken, by the parties accused, of various technical obstacles which from time

to time presented themselves, and the extraordinary charges thus resulting, which fall entirely on myself,—the costs of this complete victory, obtained by an individual over a powerful conspiracy, by which, all that wealth, rank, and influence, could accomplish, was essayed in vain, will be little short to me of One Thousand Pounds sterling, independantly of the suffering and loss inflicted on me by the effect of these widely-spread slanders in India. There, indeed, the injury occasioned to me by their influence was immense; for they undoubtedly led, in their results, not merely to my being banished from that country, without a trial or a hearing, at the very moment of my bringing the abettors of these calumnies before a British Court of Justice; but also to a total annihilation of all my future prospects in life, and to the wanton and utter destruction of all the property I had lawfully and honourably acquired, by the labours of my pen, and left behind me in India, while I came to England to seek redress. This property, amounting in saleable value to Forty Thousand Pounds, and yielding, at the moment of my being torn from it, a clear and improveable income of Eight Thousand Pounds sterling per annum, was, as soon as I had quitted the shores of India, forcibly transferred, with all its advantages, to other hands, in consequence of a premeditated design (since discovered by secret papers produced before a Committee of Parliament) first to get me to leave the country, in the confidence of its being safe from violation, and then, as soon as I was absent, to destroy it altogether; the Government of Bengal making a local regulation for this express purpose, which regulation has since been declared, by the King's Judges in the Supreme Court of Justice at Bombay, to be utterly repugnant to British law, and in violation of the rights of the subject; which no Court of Justice could therefore legally sanction.

To crown the whole of this career of treachery and iniquity, the Indian authorities in England,—including the Directors of the East India Company, and the Members of the Board of Controul, to each of whom all these facts are as well known as to myself,—have not only denied me all redress for this illegal plunder of their servants abroad, but have refused me even permission to return, for a few brief weeks only, to my ruined concerns in the East, in order to gather up, if possible, some fragments from the scattered wreck, which is now, therefore, entirely and irretrievably swept away for ever!

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

TAVISTOCK-SQUARE,
FEBRUARY 5, 1827.

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