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# BY NILE AND TIGRIS

## VOLUME II.

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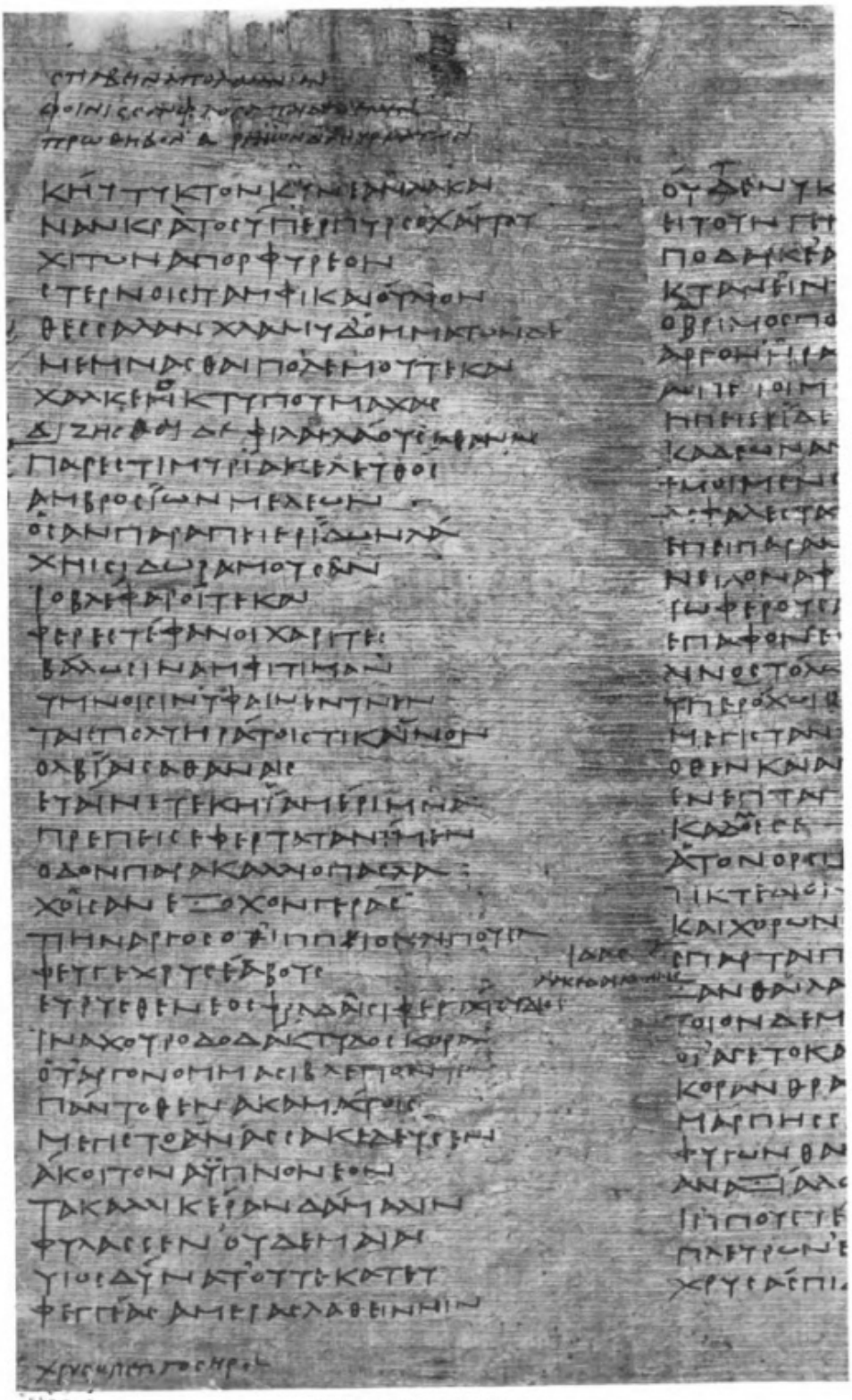
*Frontispiece, vol. ii.*



Odes of Bacchylides
*Brit. Mus., Pap.* No. 733, cols. 38 and 39.

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## A NARRATIVE OF JOURNEYS IN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM BETWEEN THE YEARS 1886 AND 1913.


BY SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, KT.,

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*With numerous illustrations.*


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# THIRD MISSION.

*(Continued from Vol. I.)*

## NINEVEH AND THE EXCAVATION OF ITS RUINS.

THE name "Nineveh" is a transcription of the Hebrew נִינְוֵה, which in turn is the transcription of "Ni-na-a," 𒉺𒀭 𒀀, the old name of the city which in the seventh century B.C. developed into the great capital of Assyria. About the meaning of this old name "Ni-nâ,"[1] which is not necessarily Semitic, there is some doubt. The second part of it, "nâ," seems to mean something like "dwelling-place" or "resting-place,"[2] and if this be so we may assume that the city was regarded as the abode of some deity, and that "Ni" (or whatever may be the true reading of 𒉺 in this place) represents that deity's name. The ideogram for the city's name is 𒉺𒆳 𒆠, NINÂ *ki*,[3] which means "House [of the] Fish," and as this is also the name of a goddess[4] who was the daughter of Ea it has been thought that Nineveh was a centre, perhaps the chief centre, of her cult. At a comparatively early period Ishtar was the great goddess of Nineveh, and the city enjoyed her peculiar favour and protection, and was called "Narâm Ishtar," the "beloved of Ishtar." Her cult spread northwards into Mitani, and Tushratta, King of Mitani, and his father, prompted by the goddess, made vigorous attempts to induce the

---

[1] The variants (*alu*) NI-NU-U 𒉺𒉣𒌑 and (*alu*) NI-NU-A 𒉺𒉣𒀀 also exist. (Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscrip.*, iii, pls. 48, 3, 8; i, pl. 19, ls. 93, 101.)

[2] Delitzsch, *Wo lag*, p. 260.

[3] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, i, pl. 39, l. 39. See also Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, v, pl. 23, l. 6, where 𒉺𒀭 𒀀 is equivalent to 𒉺𒆳 𒆠, and Brünnow, *Classified Lists*, Leyden, 1889, Nos. 4800–4805.

[4] Delitzsch, *Wo lag*, p. 260.



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Egyptians to worship " Ishtar of Ni-i-na-a, the Lady of the World."[1]

Thanks to writers who lacked exact information on the subject, the size and extent of Nineveh have been greatly exaggerated. Strabo says (xvi, 1, section 3) that the city of Nineveh was " much larger than Babylon (πολὺ μείζων τῆς Βαβυλῶνος), and was situated in the plain of Aturia,"[2] *i.e.*, Assyria. When Jonah spoke of " an exceeding great city of three days' journey " (iii, 3), he must have been speaking of Nineveh and its suburbs, in which he probably included Nimrûd (*i.e.*, Calah), about 20 miles south of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and Khorsabad, about 30 miles from Nimrûd, and 15 miles from Ḳuyûnjiḳ, besides Nineveh itself. According to Diodorus (ii, 3), the city of Nineveh had the form of an oblong rectangle, the longer sides being 150 stadia (about 16½ miles) in length, and the shorter sides 90 stadia (10 miles). The walls were 100 feet high, and were wide enough for three chariots to drive side by side on them ; the towers which flanked the wall were 200 feet high, and were in number 1500. In size and magnificence no other city could compare with it. Ninus, its founder, determined to build a city which had never been equalled, and should never be surpassed, and according to Diodorus he did so. No walls of such height and length, and no towers of such height can ever have existed at Nineveh, and no city of the size described by Diodorus was ever built on the Tigris. It is likely enough that the land along the river bank for many miles to the north and south of Nineveh was regarded as a part of Nineveh by careless writers and thinkers, but about the size of the Nineveh of Sennacherib there can be no doubt whatever. The fact that Diodorus places Nineveh on the Euphrates should warn us not to put too much confidence in his figures. The

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[1] 𒀭𒌷 𒀭𒉡 𒄑𒀀 𒄑𒈾 𒊏𒊏 𒆳𒄑 𒀀𒄑 𒈾𒈾 𒄑𒆳 𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋. See Bezold and Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 10, obv. l. 13 (p. 24).

[2] *I.e.*, ܐܬܘܪ, *Âthûr*, the name which Syrian writers give both to Assyria and to the town of Môṣul, which Bar Baḥlûl says was built by Sapor.

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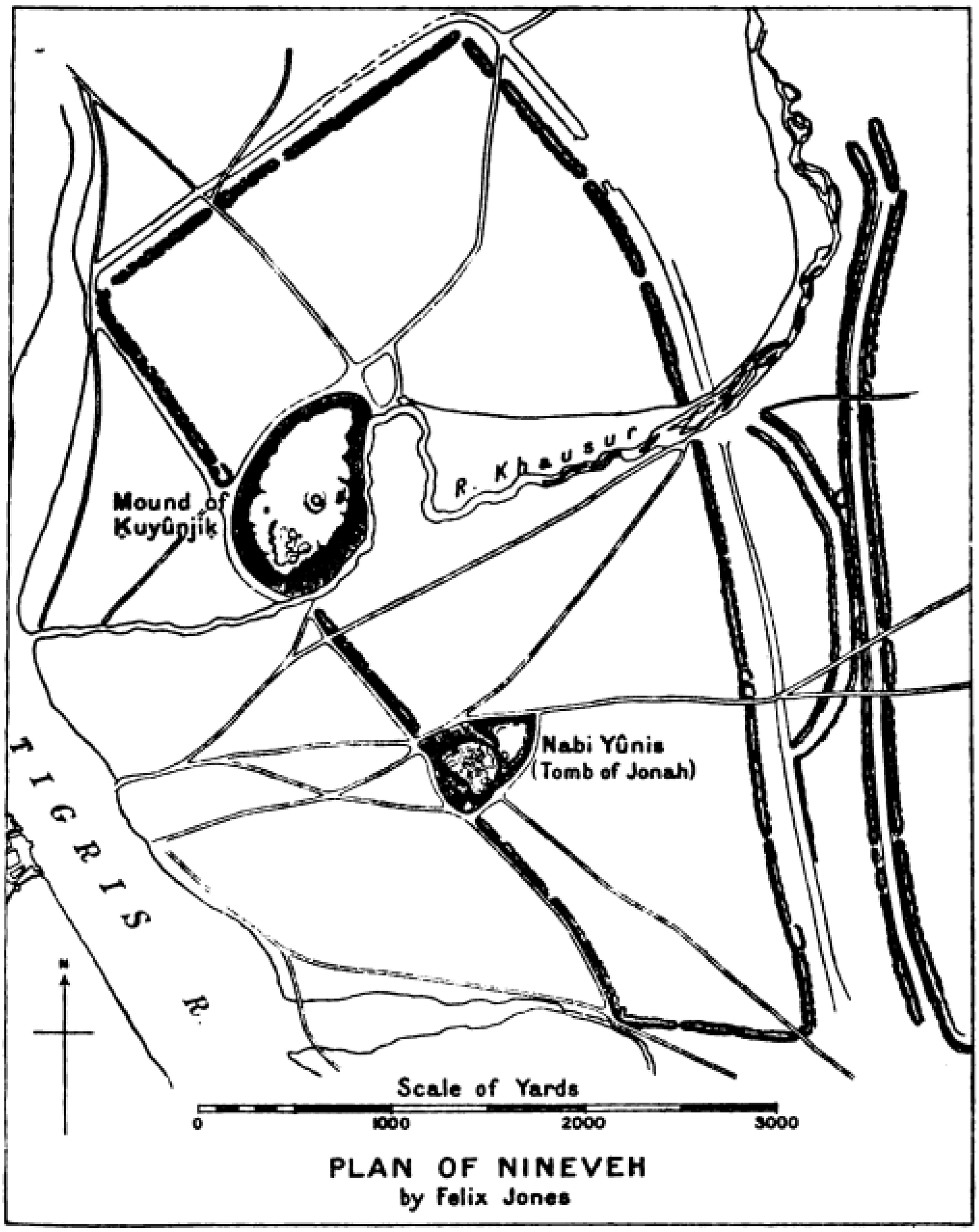
mistake itself is not surprising, for, as Felix Jones says, "at the present day the Tigris is confounded with the Euphrates by half the population of the district." And I




PLAN OF NINEVEH
by Felix Jones

have met Turkish officials of high rank who thought that the "Baghdâd river" was the Euphrates, and that Baghdâd stood on one of its banks and Babylon on the other!

The ruins at Ḳuyûnjiḳ prove that Nineveh proper was



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a comparatively small city. But outside the walls large vegetable gardens must have extended in all directions, and the whole region round about must have been filled with villages of various sizes, and if all these were regarded by ancient writers as parts of Nineveh, it is easy to understand their statements. In fact, Jonah, Strabo and others confused the suburbs of Nineveh with the city of Nineveh. The region on the east bank of the Tigris, which may properly be regarded as the greater Nineveh, was well defined by Felix Jones in 1852.[1] It is the plain, a somewhat irregular parallelogram in shape, 25 miles by 15 miles in extent, lying between the river Khusur, which falls into the Tigris just opposite Môṣul, and the Upper Zâb, which flows into the Tigris in latitude 35° 59′ N. On this "highly arable plain" are most of the Assyrian sites with which we are acquainted. It has a gradual inclination westward from Jabal Maḳlûb and the hill of 'Ain aṣ-Ṣafrâ, and is protected by these and the Gomel river on the north-east and east, and by the Zâb and the Tigris on the west, south, and south-east, and by the Khusur stream on the north and north-west. The whole of this plain is capable of tillage, and it has always afforded abundant pasture for flocks and herds at most seasons of the year. It is crossed by many watercourses, the dews which fall upon it are frequent and heavy, and in the winter it receives heavy rain and snow.

One of the most fertile parts of this plain lies near the junction of the Khusur stream[2] (which flowed through the city of Nineveh) with the Tigris. Here the primitive inhabitants or conquerors of Assyria, who do not seem to have been Semites, established on the east bank of the Tigris, close to the river, a frontier market and trade centre. Exactly why they settled there cannot be said, but whatever was their reason for doing so, it was sufficiently important and permanent to make their descendants build city after city on the same site for three thousand years at least. Both Arab and Persian

[1] *Notes on the Topography of Nineveh* (*Records of Bombay Government*, No. XLIII), p. 404 ff.

[2] In Assyrian (*nāru*) Khu-zu-ur .

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merchants have told me that, provided the Tigris flowed close by it as in ancient times, and not a mile and a half from it as at present, Nineveh would be a far more convenient place for a frontier market than Môṣul. Indeed, it is probable that the development of Western Nineveh into the large town which Sapor I called "Mawṣil," was due to the fact that the Tigris removed itself from the west wall of the city further to the west, or that one of the arms of the river flowing parallel with it became the main stream.

The date of the founding of Nineveh is unknown, but it is probable that a town or city always occupied both banks of the Khusur river near its junction with the Tigris. At a very early period some ruler of Babylonia took possession of the primitive town and enlarged it, and arrogated to himself the title of "founder of Nineveh." There is little doubt that the city of Nineveh is older than the city of Ashur. As more than one great Babylonian ruler (*e.g.*, Gudea and Dungi) restored temples at Nineveh between 3000 and 2500 B.C., the city must have possessed considerable importance at that early period. A little before or after 2000 B.C. the great Babylonian lawgiver, King Khammurabi, carried out works of restoration in "Ni-nu-a *ki*," as he calls the city in the introduction to his Code of Laws,[1] and brought the country of Assyria under his domination. In the fifteenth century before Christ the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh declared her intention of going to Egypt, the land that she loved, and Tushratta, King of Mitani, sent a statue of her to Amenḥetep III, and entreated the goddess to protect himself and the King of Egypt for a hundred thousand years.[2] Shalmaneser I, about B.C. 1300, rebuilt Ishtar's temple at Nineveh, and we may assume that during the next six centuries the kings of Assyria maintained it. The shrine of the goddess seems to have been the one important thing in the city. About 1080 B.C. Ashur-bêl-kala, a son of

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[1] , col. iv, line 60 (ed. de Morgan, Paris, 1902, pls. 4, 5; ed. Harper, pl. 6).

[2] See *Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xlii.

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Tiglath Pileser I, made Nineveh his capital, and built a temple to Ishtar, and dedicated to the goddess an alabaster statue of a naked woman.[1]

At the beginning of the seventh century before Christ the great King Sennacherib (B.C. 705–681) carried out vast building operations in the city, and fortified it with mighty walls. The circuit of the city which he found there was 9,300 cubits, and he added to it 12,515 cubits, making its total 21,815 cubits. He built an inner and an outer wall about the city, the former being 40 cubits thick and 180 *likpi* in height; the outer wall was immensely strong, and built upon a stone foundation, and faced with slabs of stone up to the coping. Sennacherib's walls had fifteen gates, seven in the south and east walls, three in the north wall, and five in the west wall. Sennacherib greatly improved the water-supply of the town, building a reservoir near some springs to the north-east of Nineveh, and bringing water from it, by means of an aqueduct, into the city. He also dug a canal, and made a system of channels, whereby his gardens and orchards were watered. In one section of the city he laid out a park with ornamental waters, and he planted it with trees of all kinds, which were brought there from various parts of the country, and from foreign lands. Among these were the "trees that produced wool (*i.e.*, cotton), which men picked and made into apparel." Into this park the king turned wild boars and other animals. The trees afforded a home for various kinds of rare birds, which nested in their branches, and the reeds of the lake sheltered various kinds of water-fowl.[2] Under the strong hand of Sennacherib Nineveh became the true capital of Assyria, and it was greatly enriched by the vast amount of spoil which the king brought back from his successful expeditions. The works which he carried out in connection with his alteration of the course of the river Tebiltu were a marvellous feat of hydraulic engineering.[3] His

[1] This statue is in the British Museum (No. 849).

[2] See *Cuneiform Texts*, part xxv (ed. L. W. King), London, 1909.

[3] In the great cylinder inscription of Sennacherib, B.M. No. 103,000, the king states (col. v, l. 79 ff.) that the river Tebiltu, which

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British Cavalry (13th Hussars) passing the mounds of Ḳuyûnjiḳ.

Excavation of stones from the foundations of Sennacherib's wall between Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis.

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son, Esarhaddon, and his grandson, Ashur-bâni-pal, maintained its fame and splendour, and added to its wealth. Very little is known about events in Assyria after the reign of Ashur-bâni-pal, but it seems that his sons, Ashur-etil-ilani and Sin-shar-ishkun,[1] were unable to protect themselves and their country against the enemies who banded themselves together against them, and little by little the great kingdom of Assyria began to break up.

The most bitter enemy of the overlordship of Assyria at this time was Nabopolassar, the Assyrian Governor of Babylon. After Ashur-bâni-pal's death in 625 he was, to all intents and purposes, king of all Babylonia. He came to an understanding with the Medes, and it is tolerably certain that their chiefs, or kings, knew that in the event of their making an attack upon Nineveh, Nabopolassar would send no help to the Assyrians. Some think that the Babylonians actually took part with the Medes in their assault on the city, but whether this be so or not is of little importance, for Nineveh fell either in 608–7 or 607–6, and the Medes took all the northern part of the Assyrian kingdom, and the King of Babylon all the southern. No details of the capture of Nineveh are extant, but it is quite probable that the palaces and other important buildings were destroyed by fire, and the state of the remains of many of the chambers at Ḳuyûnjiḳ proves that parts of Ashur-bâni-pal's palace, at least, were burnt with fire. It is possible that Sin-shar-ishkun, the last King of Assyria, did, as Abydenus[2] says, set fire to his palace, and then cast himself with his wives and family into the flames, but of this tragedy the cuneiform inscriptions make no mention. The flooding of the Tigris appears to have played a prominent part in the downfall of the city.

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flowed through Nineveh, was a strong, swift stream, that its waters reached the palace, and that its heavy floods had destroyed the foundations of the building to such an extent that he pulled down the little palace completely. He then changed the course of the Tebiltu and made it discharge its waters outside the city into an artificial lake or swamp.

[1] The Sarakos of the Greeks.

[2] Quoted by Eusebius, i, 9, p. 25; and the Syncellus, p. 210.

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In those days the Tigris flowed close to the west wall of the city, and the river Khusur flowed into it through an opening specially formed for that. Rain, coupled with a very sudden thaw, would create a flood in both rivers, which would rise to an abnormal height, and their waters would cover a very large portion of the area of the city.[1] Moreover, the enemy would be able to float their battering rams close up to the walls of the city, and to sail their boats into the heart of Nineveh. It is possible that allusions to such a flood are contained in the Book of Nahum (ii, 8), when the prophet says, "Nineveh of old [is] like a pool of water," and "the gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved" (ii, 6).

But though the destruction wrought in the city of Nineveh by the Medes and their allies must have been very great, the huge walls with their massive stone foundations, and the palaces and other great buildings which were lined with slabs of alabaster, prevented it from being utterly wiped out. Its enemies, having looted the temples and palaces and houses of the nobles, no doubt smashed and burnt everything that could be smashed and burnt, but they found it beyond their power to raze the walls to the ground, as the ruins of them testify even after the lapse of twenty-five centuries. It is quite clear that Nineveh lost all its importance after its fall, but it is incorrect to say that its site was unknown. Though the city was destroyed, nothing could affect the value of its site as a market and trading centre, and nothing could kill the trade which had made Nineveh's merchants rich. This being so it was impossible for its site to be forgotten, and there is abundant proof that it was not. Ammianus, who died shortly before 400, calls Nineveh "an important city of the province of Adiabene" (xviii, 7), and though the city to which he referred was probably Môṣul, his words show that he connected both cities in his mind.

**The works of Arab writers all agree in identifying the mounds on the east bank of the Tigris opposite Môṣul**

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[1] See page 7.

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with the ruins of Nineveh. Mas'ûdî says (ii, 92) that Nînawî (Nineveh) was opposite Môṣul, and that in his time (A.H. 332 = A.D. 943) it consisted of heaps of ruins, among which were villages and cultivated lands. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the Rustâḥ of Nînawî (ed. de Goeje, p. 145), where of old stood the city on the east of the Tigris facing Môṣul, to which Jonah was sent, and says the ruins of its walls are still visible.[1] Muḳaddasî (ed. de Goeje, p. 146) says that the ruins of the ancient city of Nineveh are close by the Mosque of Jonah. Abu'l-Fidâ (p. 285) says that the ruined Nînawî to which Jonah was sent is opposite Môṣul. Yâḳût (iv, 870) identifies Nînawî with the village of Yûnis bin Mattai, and says (iv, 682) that Môṣul, "the Gate of 'Irâḳ," and the "Key of Khurâsân," is a very old city on the banks of the Tigris, and that opposite to it, on the east bank, is Nînawî. Ibn Baṭûṭah (ii, 137) says that the ruins near Nabi Yûnis are those of the famous city of Nînawî. In the seventh century there must have been some strong fort on or close to the site of Nineveh, for Bilâdhurî, in his Fatuḥ al-Buldân (ed. de Goeje, p. 331), says that when 'Amr ibn al-Khattâb 'Utba had taken Môṣul (A.H. 20 = A.D. 640), he attacked the people of Nînawî, and captured its fortress on the east bank. Ibn al-Athîr (ed. Tornberg, ii, p. 418) also mentions this fortress, for in speaking of the Fortresses of Nînawî and Môṣul, he says that the former was the Eastern Fortress and the latter the Western. Among the Syrian Christians there has never been any doubt about the site of Nineveh, and some of their greatest writers speak of Môṣul and Athûr and Nineveh as if they were one and the same place. From the days of Benjamin of Tudela (1173) downwards, all the great European travellers who visited Môṣul never doubted that the miles of long low mounds which they saw on the eastern bank of the Tigris represented the

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[1] Ibn Jubayr describes the "great ruin" of Nînawî, the city of Yûnis, which he himself saw, and mentions the line of its walls, and the places of its gates, and the mounds of earth of its lofty towers. *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. Wright, p. 238.

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walls of the "Potent Town of Nineveh."[1] The only exception was Niebuhr, who actually rode over Nineveh, and did not know it until the natives told him where he was! The mounds containing the ruins of the walls he regarded as a row of hills, and did not find out his mistake until it was pointed out to him.[2] The Ḳala'at Nûnyâ, or "Castle of Nineveh," which he mentions, was probably the mass of ruins about one of the gateways in the north wall. It is interesting to note that the village of "Koindsjug," *i.e.*, Ḳuyûnjiḳ, was in existence in his time.

The first systematic examination of the ruins of Nineveh was made by C. J. Rich, British Consul at Baghdâd, during the four visits which he paid to Môṣul between 1808 and 1820.[3] According to him the area of Nineveh is from 1½ to 2 miles broad, and 4 miles long. On the north, south, and west sides are the remains of only one wall, but on the east side are the remains of three. The greatest height of the mound of Nabi Yûnis is about 50 feet, and in front of this mound the west wall ran. The mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ is of irregular form, its sides are very steep, and its top is nearly flat. Its perpendicular height is 43 feet, and its total circumference 7,691 feet. The ruins at Nineveh all belong to the same period, and the area enclosed within walls only represented a very small portion of Nineveh. Whether Rich actually made excavations at Nineveh is doubtful, but it is quite clear that he deduced sufficient evidence from the diggings of the natives, who were searching for stones and bricks and alabaster slabs to burn, to convince him that the remains of great buildings lay buried in the mounds of Ḳuyûnjiḳ

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[1] Rauwolf, *Travels*, i, p. 204.

[2] "Ich erfuhr es nicht eher dass ich an einem so merkwürdigen Orte war, als nahe am Flusse . . . zeigte man nur auch noch die Wälle von Ninive die ich auf meiner Durchreise nicht bemerkt, sondern für eine Reihe Hügel gehalten hatte." *Reisebeschreibung*, tome ii, p. 353.

[3] See *Residence in Koordistan*, vol. ii, p. 34 ff. Kinneir examined the mounds opposite Môṣul in November, 1810, and he describes the area of Nineveh as an oblong square not four miles in compass. See his *Geographical Memoir*, London, 1813, p. 258, and his *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan in the years* 1813 *and* 1814, London, 1818, pp. 461, 462.

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and Nabi Yûnis; and it is equally clear from the antiquities which he collected, and his remarks about them, that he realized their general importance. At Nabi Yûnis he saw men digging up hewn stones which had been laid in bitumen, and recognized that they formed part of the substructure of a building, and he was present when Ḥusên Âga found a square stone slab with a cuneiform inscription in the wall of a house there; he secured it for his collection. The natives of Nabi Yûnis showed him underground chambers and corridors near the so-called Tomb of Jonah, and through his "curiosity hunter," Delli Samaan, he acquired many objects from the mound close to it, including whole bricks and fragments of slabs covered with cuneiform inscriptions. The greatest treasure which he obtained from Nabi Yûnis was a baked clay hollow cylinder, fourteen inches long, inscribed with a cuneiform text describing the building operations which Sennacherib (B.C. 705–681) carried out on that site during the first two years of his reign.[1] At Ḳuyûnjiḳ he obtained several fragments of inscribed tablets, and these must have been dug up by the natives

[1] This is presumably the famous "Bellino Cylinder" now in the British Museum (No. 22502). A very accurate copy of the text, made by Mr. Bellino, was sent by Rich to Grotefend, who published it in the "Abhandlungen" of the Academy of Sciences at Göttingen. Another copy of it was published by Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, London, 1851, plates 63 and 64, but according to Fox Talbot, Bellino's copy is the more accurate, and is the "most wonderful instance of patient accuracy which is to be found in the whole range of archæological science." See the prefatory remarks of Fox Talbot to his translation of the cylinder in *Jnl. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xviii, 1861, p. 76 ff. Bellino was a friend and companion of several of the English travellers in Mesopotamia, and he possessed naturally the faculty for copying cuneiform inscriptions accurately. Ker Porter says that he is indebted to his learned and persevering friend, Mr. Bellino, for the scrupulous accuracy of copies of texts which he publishes (vol. ii, p. 394). Bellino is mentioned several times by Buckingham (*e.g.*, vol. ii, pp. 233, 251), and in Rich's *Residence*, vol. ii, p. 126, he is described as a "young man of a singularly affectionate disposition, whom no one could know and not love," and as Mr. Rich's "amiable and accomplished young friend." He was attacked by fever during a journey to Hamadân, and he died at Môṣul in November, 1820.

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from the floor of one of the buildings there in their search for stones and alabaster slabs. Besides the nine fragments which are mentioned in the manuscript copy of the Catalogue of the Rich Collection of Antiquities acquired by the British Museum, four others are known, viz., a fragment of a duplicate text of Eponym Canon I, referring to the years 794–768 B.C., a fragment of an omen tablet, a fragment of a tablet of forecasts, and a fragment of a private contract tablet.[1]

We owe to Rich the first detailed notices of Nineveh and Babylon ever published, and it was the publication of his "Residence in Ḳoordistan" by his widow, in 1836, which drew the attention of the learned world to the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, and caused the French Government to employ Botta (Consul at Môṣul) in making excavations at Ḳuyûnjik, and Stratford Canning to employ Layard at Nimrûd; and, as Felix Jones rightly remarks, "Rich was the first real labourer in Assyrian fields."[2] The researches which Rich made at Nineveh were also of great importance from the collector's point of view. By buying fragments of inscribed tablets, "barrel-cylinders," seal-cylinders, bricks bearing inscriptions, etc., he taught the natives of Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis that such things had pecuniary value, and that they were objects for which travellers were ready to pay money. As soon as the natives found this out they began to take care of everything that had an inscription upon it, and to search through the earth which they threw up whilst digging for stones for building purposes, with

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[1] These were given by Mrs. Rich after her husband's death to Miss Hay Erskine, who in turn gave them to Miss A. Holmes, who presented them to the British Museum in 1895.

[2] *Jnl. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 330: "Nothing, indeed, is wanting in his descriptions, though he was but a passer-by; and for labour in detail, where he had opportunities of survey, he cannot be surpassed. . . . Rich thirty years ago presaged the existence of Assyrian monuments in the mines from whence they have been exhumed. . . . At that time all that we knew of either Nimrûd or Nineveh was from the pen and pencil of Rich, whose survey, engraved in the volumes edited by his widow, will be found as correct as the most diligent enthusiast can desire."

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the hope of finding a gem, or a fragment of a tablet to sell. In fact, Rich did for the tablets at Nineveh what the Abbé Beauchamp did for the cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar II from Babylon, *i.e.*, he made it worth the while of the native to preserve "anticas."

The next important survey of the ruins of Nineveh was made by Commander Felix Jones, I.N.,[1] in 1852. He showed that the principal wall was on the east side of the city, and that it was 16,000 feet long, and that the north wall was 7,000 feet long. The west wall, close to which the Tigris flowed, was 13,600 feet long, and the south wall 3,000 feet long. He described the area of Nineveh as an irregular triangle, or trapezium, having its apex abruptly cut off to the south. Its total circuit was 13,200 yards, or 7½ miles, which is not greatly in excess of the dimensions assigned to the city in Sennacherib's inscription, though Felix Jones was not aware of that. The area of Nineveh from the above measurements is 8,712,000 square yards, or 1,800 English acres of land. These facts disposed once and for all of the theories, both ancient and modern, which had been current about the size of the city of Nineveh.

The principal mounds within the area of the city of Nineveh are Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nabi Yûnis, which are situated in the north-west and south-west angles of the city respectively, and are close to its western wall. Ḳuyûnjiḳ is the larger mound, and is about one hundred acres in extent; the buildings on it were protected on the north-east and south sides by the river Khusur, and on the west side by the Tigris, which in ancient times flowed close to the great city wall. Felix Jones regarded the mound as the Acropolis of Nineveh. During the Middle Ages it was commonly called "Ḳal'at Nînawî," or the "Castle of Nineveh," and a fortress or stronghold of some kind stood on it for many centuries. The shape of Ḳuyûnjiḳ is that of an irregular oval, somewhat elongated at its north-eastern extremity, which rises ninety-six feet above the Khusur near its junction with the Tigris.[2]

[1] *Topography of Nineveh*, p. 404, and *Jnl. R. A. S.*, vol. xv, p. 297.
[2] *Topography of Nineveh*, p. 436.

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The credit of beginning archæological research at Ḳuyûnjiḳ belongs to Botta, whom the French Government appointed Consul at Môṣul in 1841–2. Before he left Paris to take up his duties he had several interviews with Mohl, the eminent Orientalist, who pointed out to him that Môṣul was the centre of a district of great historical and archæological importance, and urged him to make good use of the splendid opportunity which he would enjoy for collecting antiquities, and even for making excavations on his own account. Mohl had read Rich's works, and realized clearly that the author had found the exact site of the ruins of Nineveh, and he felt that priceless archæological treasures lay buried there[1]; and it was said that Botta's appointment as Consul at Môṣul was due entirely to the influence and activity of Mohl, who persuaded the Government and the learned Societies of Paris that a French Consul at Môṣul could do what a British Consul at Baghdâd had done, *i.e.*, make large collections ot Oriental manuscripts, cuneiform tablets, etc. Be this as it may, Botta arrived in Môṣul early in 1842, and tried to collect antiquities, but there was very little to be had, and Botta himself laments that Rich had swept up and carried off everything. He then turned his attention to excavating, and was anxious to make his first attempt at Nabi Yûnus, where Rich had seen so much ancient building and sculpture, and acquired so many antiquities. But the Pâshâ of Môṣul and the authorities of the Mosque of Jonah would not allow any part of that mound to be disturbed, and Botta decided to begin work at Ḳuyûnjiḳ. He started digging in December, 1842, and worked steadily for six weeks, but the results he obtained were few, and besides inscribed

[1] Victor Place says: "Les récits de Rich avaient donné une sorte d'intuition de la vérité à M. Mohl, qui engagea M. Botta a pratiquer des fouilles dans l'un des monticules épars sur la rive gauche du Tigre, et d'où les habitants du pays avaient, disait on, extrait de grandes pierres sculptées pour les réduire en chaux. Le conseil fut suivi, et la découverte eut lieu." *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, tome i, Preface, Paris, 1867 (3 vols.).

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bricks and some small and unimportant objects, he found nothing. He carried on his excavations at his own expense, and as his means were small he began to wonder if it were worth while continuing the work. Whilst his men were digging they were watched by many people from the town and country round about, and they all wondered at the care with which every brick and fragment of alabaster were set aside to be kept. One day, when Botta was examining a number of such fragments, a Christian from the village of Khorsabad, by trade a dyer, asked him why he preserved such things. When the dyer heard that he was digging for alabaster slabs with figures sculptured upon them, he told Botta that he ought to come to his village, where they frequently dug up such things. In no very hopeful spirit Botta sent two or three men to dig at Khorsabad on March 20th, 1843, and three days later they came upon the top of a wall, one side of which was covered with sculptured alabaster bas-reliefs. A week's work showed Botta that he had discovered the remains of a huge Assyrian palace, containing a large number of chambers and corridors, all the walls of which were lined with slabs bearing sculptured representations of gods and kings, and battles, and religious ceremonies. Side by side with these representations were long inscriptions in the cuneiform character. Botta sent despatch after despatch to his patron Mohl, and, thinking that he had discovered Nineveh, he announced to him that "Ninive était retrouvée." It was not Nineveh that he had discovered, but the palace of Sargon II, King of Assyria, B.C. 721–705. Before the end of May Botta definitely abandoned Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and devoted all his energies to the excavations at Khorsabad. In 1845, having completely cleared out Khorsabad, he returned to France with a magnificent collection of Assyrian sculptures and cuneiform inscriptions.

In 1845 Stratford Canning undertook to provide Layard with funds sufficient to begin excavating the great mound of Nimrûd, which lies about twenty miles south of Môṣul, and he further promised that if important sculptures were discovered there he would find the means

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for clearing out the site. Layard had visited Nimrûd on two previous occasions, and contrary to the teaching of Arabian and Syrian historians and ancient local tradition, believed that the ruins of Nineveh were buried under the mound of Nimrûd, and there he betook himself and began his remarkably successful excavation of the site. Though the works at Nimrûd necessitated his constant supervision, he managed to watch the excavations which the new French Consul at Môṣul, Botta's successor, was carrying on at Ḳuyûnjiḳ. Before Botta left Môṣul in 1845 Layard had made an arrangement with him whereby he could excavate at Ḳuyûnjiḳ on behalf of Stratford Canning, but when he began work the new French Consul protested, and claimed to possess the sole right to excavate the mound. In spite of this Layard continued to open trenches in the south side of the mound, and the French Consul went on digging little pits a few feet deep in another direction. Both excavators worked in this way for about a month, but neither found anything of importance, and Layard stopped digging at Ḳuyûnjiḳ temporarily, and went to Nimrûd. During the years 1845–47 Layard succeeded in digging through a great many parts of the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and in the course of this work he discovered many fine sculptures.[1] He was ably assisted by Mr. Ross, a British resident in Môṣul, who, in spite of the opposition of the Pâshâ and the French Consul, managed to keep the excavation of Ḳuyûnjiḳ going during Layard's long absences. When Layard returned to England in 1847 the Trustees of the British Museum asked Mr. Ross to carry on the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ on a limited scale, and for nearly two years he did so with conspicuous success.[a] When he

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[1] The chambers excavated by Layard in 1845–47 and 1849–51 are clearly marked on the plan published with Rassam's paper in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii, p. 37 ff. Mr. Ross's discoveries, acknowledged by Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii, p. 138 ff.), are not noticed in this plan.

[a] We owe to Mr. Ross our earliest good general description of the sculptures of Sennacherib at Bavian, which lies about thirty miles north-east of Môṣul. The first European who visited them in modern times

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left Môṣul he (with the approval of the Trustees of the British Museum) handed over the excavations to the care of the British Vice-Consul, Mr. Christian Rassam, who was instructed to keep the works at Ḳuyûnjiḳ going on a small scale until Layard's return. Layard went back to Assyria in 1849, and at once devoted all his energies to Ḳuyûnjiḳ, where work went on steadily until he left the East finally in 1851. The buildings which he excavated in the years 1849–51 are marked on Rassam's plan,[1] and a good idea of the vast amount of work which he accomplished during this period in the palace of Sennacherib alone may be obtained from his own summary of it. He says: "In this magnificent edifice I had opened no less than seventy-one halls, chambers, and passages, whose walls, almost without an exception, had been panelled with slabs of sculptured alabaster. By a rough calculation, about 9,880 feet, or nearly two miles of

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seems to have been M. Rouet, the French Consul at Môṣul, who was taken there by some natives in 1846 or 1847. Mr. Ross followed him in the winter of 1847–48, and drew up a description of the sculptures and inscribed tablets, which was printed by Layard in his "Nineveh and its Remains," vol. ii, pp. 142, 143. When Layard returned to Assyria in 1849 he went to Bavian, and spent two days there in copying the inscriptions and exploring the ruins (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 216); he travelled thither by Ross's route, viâ Bazaani and over the Maḳlûb and Missûri hills. The sculptures are cut in relief on the side of a rocky ravine on the right bank of the river Gomel. They consist of a series of tablets of various sizes, three of which are inscribed, and some large figures of gods standing on the backs of dogs, with two kings before them, and a series of smaller figures of Sennacherib, with divine emblems above him. In the river at the foot of the limestone cliff are several other sculptures, some very badly broken. Sketches of the sculptures were published by Layard in *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pl. 51, and in *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 210 ff. The famous Bavian Inscription of Sennacherib was published by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. iii, pl. 14. A popular description of the sculptures is given by Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, p. 121–4. Bavian was next visited by Victor Place about 1851, and it was claimed in the French papers that it was he who had first discovered the sculptures, which consisted of complete series of bas-reliefs sculptured with portrait figures of all the Assyrian kings from Tiglath Pileser I to Sennacherib.

[1] See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii, p. 37.



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bas-reliefs, with twenty-seven portals, formed by colossal winged bulls and lion-sphinxes, were uncovered in that part alone of the building explored during my researches. The greatest length of the excavation was about 720 feet, the greatest breadth about 600 feet."[1]

During the excavations which Layard made at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nimrûd in 1845–47, he was assisted by H. Rassam, who was his honorary secretary and overseer of works. During his Second Mission (1849–51)H. Rassam again acted in the same capacities, and when Layard was absent, and travelling about the country in search of adventures, the responsibility for conducting the excavations devolved upon him solely. In 1851 Layard abandoned the East, and Rawlinson took charge of the excavations. On Layard's recommendation the Trustees of the British Museum appointed H. Rassam to continue the excavations under the general control of Rawlinson, and at the end of 1852 he began work. Meanwhile, Victor Place had been sent out to Môṣul by the French Government to renew excavations both at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and at Khorsabad, for the French claimed Ḳuyûnjiḳ as French property, because Botta was the first to excavate there, notwithstanding the fact that the Sulṭân had given to Stratford Canning a permit to dig in any part of Turkey in Asia he pleased. When Rawlinson took charge of the work, Place obtained from him permission to dig at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and thus it fell out that when Rassam wanted to dig there he found that his chief had practically made it impossible. Rassam had always hankered to clear out the northern corner of Ḳuyûnjiḳ which remained untouched, and, using strategy, he began to work there by night, and on the third night discovered the ruins of the palace of Ashur-bâni-pal, and the splendid set of sculptures which form the "Lion-hunt."[2] In March, 1854, Rassam left Môṣul for England, and as for private reasons he refused to return to Ḳuyûnjiḳ, Rawlinson recommended the Trustees of the British Museum to

[1] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 589.

[2] See his narrative of the discovery in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii, p. 41 ff.

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appoint Loftus[1] to carry on further excavations with the new grant which they had obtained from the British Government. Loftus opened various parts of the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and discovered bricks, tablets, and a few slabs, but he seems to have done little more than to continue the clearing of trenches made by his predecessors.

No further excavations were carried out at Ḳuyûnjiḳ until 1873. Between 1854 and that year scholars had had time to examine the mass of cuneiform tablets in the British Museum, to complete their system of decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, and to begin the publication of Assyrian and Babylonian texts. George Smith had searched through the collections from Nineveh, and had managed to collect a series of fragments of the "Deluge Tablet" from among them, and to translate them. The publication of his paper on the "Chaldean Account of the Deluge" created world-wide interest, and everyone was anxious that further search should be made at Nineveh for the missing fragments of the Assyrian story of the Flood. The proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* recognized the great value of Smith's discovery, and offered to spend one thousand guineas on excavations at Nineveh, provided that the Trustees of the British Museum would allow him to conduct the excavations, and to supply them from time to time with accounts of his journeys and discoveries. The Trustees accepted this generous offer, and gave Smith leave of absence for six months. He left London on January 20th, 1873, and arrived in Môṣul on March 2nd. As the Pâshâ prevented him from beginning work, he went by raft to Baghdâd, and paid a visit to Babylon and Birs-i-Nimrûd, and purchased

[1] William Kennett Loftus, born about 1821, died 1858. He served as geologist on the staff of Sir W. Fenwick Williams's Turco-Persian Frontier Commission from 1849–1852. In 1853 he was sent out to Mesopotamia by the Assyrian Exploration Fund, and spent the two following years in excavating ancient sites in Babylonia and Assyria. He published the results of his Babylonian work in *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*, London, 1857. He resumed his work on the Frontier Commission in India in 1856, but overwork and ill-health compelled him to resign, and he died on his way to England.



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a collection of contract tablets. He returned to Môṣul on April 2nd, and then went to Nimrûd, where he excavated the temple of Nebo and other sites until May 4th. He began work at Ḳuyûnjiḳ on May 7th, and on May 14th he discovered a fragment of the "Deluge Tablet," containing "the greater portion of seventeen lines of inscription belonging to the first column of the Chaldean account of the Deluge, and fitting into the only place where there was a serious blank in the story."[1] He closed the works at Ḳuyûnjiḳ early the following month, and on June 9th he left Môṣul, and arrived in England on July 19th. The tablets, etc., which he tried to bring with him were seized by the Customs' authorities at Alexandretta, and were only released by them some weeks later after a protest to the Porte by the British Ambassador.

The permit from the Porte under which Smith had been working expired on the 9th or 10th of March, 1874, and the results of his excavations were so important that the Trustees of the British Museum decided to send him to Nineveh on their own account. He therefore left London on November 25th, and arrived in Môṣul on January 1st, 1874. He confined his operations entirely to Ḳuyûnjiḳ, but even so the local authorities gave him a good deal of trouble, and his difficulties with them and with his workmen became so pronounced that he was obliged to close the excavations on March 12th. Before he left Môṣul on April 4th the Pâshâ took from him, by order of the Porte, all the duplicates of his collection for the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. The reasons for the obstruction which he encountered at Môṣul, and the refusal of the authorities to let him carry off all his treasures, are things easily understood if they be looked at from the Turkish point of view. Smith's discoveries were "boomed" in the papers in England, and every small fragment which he brought from Nineveh was described as "priceless" and "unique." All such descriptions found their way into Continental papers, through which they reached the Porte, and the

[1] Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1875, p. 97.

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Government in Stambûl believed that Smith and other excavators were carrying priceless treasures out of Turkey. Smith practically created the trade in antiquities in Môṣul and Baghdâd. He bought dated tablets of the Persian and Parthian Periods, a large boundary-stone,[1] the lion of Khian,[2] etc., from the natives of Baghdâd, and he purchased the famous memorial slab of Rammân-nirari I[3] from M. Péretié, the French Consul at Môṣul.[4] Rumour exaggerated the prices paid for these things, and the Porte firmly believed that the Turks were losing a large revenue by allowing antiquities to leave their country.

In 1876 the Trustees of the British Museum again sent Smith to the East, and he visited Môṣul and Baghdâd, where he bought further collections of tablets, etc. As, unfortunately, he died on his return journey, near Aleppo (see Vol. I., p. 387), details of his labours on this, his Third Mission, are wanting; but from what I was told by natives at Aleppo and Môṣul of the difficulties which he encountered through the opposition of the Turkish authorities, and through the dishonesty and revolt of his workmen, it seemed that his last excavation at Ḳuyûnjiḳ yielded very poor results.

In 1877 H. Rassam[5] returned to Môṣul to continue excavations on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, and in November of that year he began to work both at Ḳuyûnjiḳ and Nimrûd. Among the treasures which he found in the former place was the magnificent ten-sided cylinder of Ashur-bâni-pal, now in the British Museum. He continued his excavations at both places until the winter of 1878–79, when he went to Babylonia, and began to dig at Babylon, Birs-i-Nimrûd, Abu Ḥabbah and other ancient sites.

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[1] Bought for the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*. Brit. Mus. No. 90,850.

[2] Egyptian Gallery, No. 987. [3] Brit. Mus., No. 90,978.

[4] *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 47. According to Mr. H. Rassam (*Asshur*, p. 210), the French Consul bought the slab from a native for 30 piastres, and sold it to Smith for £70!

[5] For a full account of his excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ see his *Asshur and Land of Nimrod*, pp. 7; 208, 222.

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As the result of the intensive study of the Ḳuyûnjiḳ tablets that went on among Assyriologists all over the world between 1872 and 1887, there was a demand for a further examination of the mound of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and the Trustees of the British Museum decided to apply to the Porte for a permit to re-open the excavations there. The permit was, in due course, obtained, as I have already stated (see Vol. I., p. 360), and I found myself at Môṣul in the middle of January, 1889, ready to begin work. I started with a limited number of men, which I increased up to two hundred. From what has been said above, it will be readily understood that there was small hope of making any great discovery in a mound which had been dug through by Botta, Ross, Layard, Rassam, Loftus and Smith, and from which so many bas-reliefs and other sculptures and cuneiform tablets had been extracted. My task was a humble one, and consisted chiefly in searching through the débris in the palaces of Sennacherib and Ashur-bâni-pal, and the heaps of earth outside them. I should have liked to carry away to a distance all the débris in the chambers, and sift it carefully, but the materials for a light railway and the necessary plant were not available, and we therefore had to do all our work with shovels and baskets only. The work went on steadily from the third week in January until the end of June, 1889, and from November, 1890, until January, 1891, and from first to last we recovered from the mound about 590 tablets, fragments of tablets,[1] and other objects.

Twelve years later the Trustees of the British Museum decided to re-open the excavations at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and they sent out one of their officials, Mr. L. W. King, to carry out the work. Mr. King left Constantinople on December 22nd, 1902, and arrived in Môṣul on January 26th, 1903, and he dug from March 3rd to July 18th, and from September 9th of that year till April 18th, 1904. He was relieved by another official from the Museum, Mr. R. C.

[1] Descriptions of these will be found in Bezold, *Catalogue*, vols. i–v, London, 1889–99.

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Thompson, who arrived in Môṣul on February 29th, and took sole charge of the works there from June 22nd, 1904, to February 11th, 1905, when the excavations were finally closed by the Trustees. Short of digging down and sifting the whole mound, it seemed that nothing more was to be found there.[1] Two years later rumours reached London that further excavations had been carried on at Nineveh, but by whom and in what spot was not clear. A little later further rumours stated that some important "finds" had been made, and some of these having made their way to England were acquired by the British Museum in 1909–14. Among these were the fine cylinder of Sennacherib (No. 103,000[a]), dated in the eponymy of Ilu-ittia (B.C. 694), and several large pieces of other historical cylinders of the same king. There is no doubt that the cylinder was found in a chamber built in the wall (or perhaps it was sunk in the actual wall), close to one of the human-headed bulls of one of the gates of Nineveh, and the bull near which it was placed must have been removed before it could be extracted from the wall. There was only one bull left *in situ* when I was last at Ḳuyûnjiḳ (1891), and it was in a perfect state. When Mr. Parry saw it in 1892[3] its head had been hacked off and taken to mend a local mill. Subsequently, according to report, "the whole monument was sold for the sum of three shillings and sixpence by the Vali of Môṣul, and burnt into lime by its purchaser."[4] It is probable that cylinder No. 103,000 was discovered by the natives when they were breaking this bull to pieces, and we must be thankful that they had sense enough to realize that it would fetch more money complete than when broken into fragments.

Brief mention must now be made of the other great

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[1] For descriptions of the tablets and fragments recovered from the mound by Messrs. King and Thompson, see L. W. King's *Supplement* (London, 1914) to Bezold's *Catalogue*.

[a] King, *Supplement*, No. 3329, p. 222, and *Cuneiform Texts*, Pt. XXVI, London, 1909.

[3] *Six Months*, p. 248.

[4] W. A. Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, London, 1914, p. 84.

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mound at Nineveh, namely, Tall Nabi Yûnis, or the "Hill of Jonah the Prophet." The shape of this mound is irregular, and it has an area of about forty acres. It is practically divided into two parts by a gap or ravine; on the western part stand the village of Nabi Yûnis and the so-called Tomb of Jonah, and the eastern part contains a large cemetery. The western side of the mound, which is rather steep, seems at one time to have been joined to the city wall. In spite of every effort made by Europeans the mound of Nabi Yûnis has not been completely excavated, even though it is well known that palaces of Sennacherib and of Esarhaddon are buried in it. The great obstacle to its examination and excavation has always been, and still is, the Tomb of Jonah, which rests on its summit within a mosque,[1] called after the saint's name. A very ancient tradition asserts that Jonah stood upon this mound and preached repentance to the Ninevites, and several Arab writers (see above, pp. 9 and 32) call it "Tall at-Tawbah," *i.e.*, the "Hill of Repentance."[2] A local tradition, which was repeated to me several times, also associates with Jonah the spring or fountain about half a mile distant from Nabi Yûnis. It rises from the limestone, through an opening in the western bank of what was the middle moat outside the east wall of the city of Nineveh. The water in Rich's time was "good and clear and pure," and it was so when I drank of it. Though it had no mineral taste that I could distinguish, the natives have always attributed to it most miraculous healing properties, due not in any way to the water itself, but to the fact that Jonah drank of it, and washed in it when he was in Nineveh. The penitent

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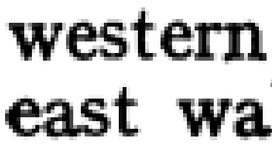
[1] The mosque is described by Rich, *Narrative*, ii, p. 32. Its peaked cone stands at a height of about 136 feet above the junction of the Khusur (in Assyrian  ) with the Tigris; see Felix Jones, *Topography of Nineveh*, p. 433.

[2] Thévenot says that the Ninevites only abjured their evil works for forty years, and that after that period they returned to them. Therefore, "Dieu renversa la Ville sens dessus dessous, et les habitans aussi, qui furent enterrez sous les ruines, la teste en bas, et les pieds en haut." *Suite du Voyage de Levant*, p. 99.

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Ninevites also washed in it, and it removed all their material and spiritual infirmities, and to this day it is believed to do the same to every religious man—Jew, Christian, Arab, or Kurd—who goes to the spring in faith.[1] Once a year the natives sacrifice a sheep there, and make a feast with singing and dancing, and this custom proves (to my mind) that the spring was a holy place long before Jonah preached at Nineveh.

When Rich visited Nabi Yûnis he acquired many antiquities, *e.g.*, "written bricks," seal-cylinders, and a "curious little stone chair,"[2] which had been found at Nabi Yûnis. The foundation cylinder of Sennacherib,[3] which he bought there, proves that even at that early period the natives must have dug their way down to the foundation of some important part of Sennacherib's palace. Another proof of this is the "Taylor Cylinder" of Sennacherib, a priceless document, recording the first eight campaigns of this king,[4] which was obtained

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[1] The Turks call the spring "Damlâmâjah," دملامه. This is the "Thisbé's Well" of Rich's *Narrative*, and on one of its walls Captain Kefala cut the name of Mary Rich (*Narrative*, ii, p. 51).

[2] *Narrative*, ii, pp. 38, 55.

[3] The "Bellino Cylinder," Brit. Mus., K. 1680. Though included in the Ḳuyûnjiḳ Collection, there is no proof that this cylinder came from Ḳuyûnjiḳ, but if it did not the argument remains unchanged. It contains sixty-four lines of text, and describes the first two campaigns of Sennacherib, and was written B.C. 702. The text was first published by Grotefend in the *Abhandlungen* of the Academy of Göttingen in 1850; for the literature see Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur*, p. 97; and Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 331.

[4] Fox Talbot (*Jnl. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xix, p. 135) says it was found at Ḳuyûnjiḳ, but this is impossible. The text of this cylinder was already injured in places in 1840, when Rawlinson made a paper "rubbing" of all its six sides; from this rubbing a plaster facsimile of the cylinder was made by the late Mr. Robert Ready of the British Museum. The cylinder was lost sight of for several years, but at length it was recovered from Baghdâd, and Rawlinson purchased it on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum from Mrs. Taylor in July, 1855. The complete text (487 lines) was first published by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i, pls. 37–42. For the literature see Bezold, *Bab.-Assyr. Lit.*, p. 96, and Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1620, where by some extraordinary oversight no mention is made of Smith's important work on the Annals of Sennacherib (ed. Sayce).

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(? purchased) at Nabi Yûnis[1] by Colonel J. Taylor, British Consul-General at Baghdâd, in 1830. And yet another proof is the six-sided cylinder of Esarhaddon,[2] which Layard obtained from Nabi Yûnis, and gave to the British Museum in 1848. When it first came into his possession he does not state, but he says that both it and the Taylor Cylinder were discovered, "he believed," in the mound of Nabi Yûnis. It is quite clear that he did not excavate the cylinder himself, for he adds that it had been used "as a candlestick by a respectable Turcoman family living in the village on the mound of Nebbi Yunus, near the tomb of the prophet."[3] The cylinder is hollow, and has a hole at each end, and the grease stains upon one end, which are still visible, show in which hole the tallow candle was placed. The Turcoman who owned it must, judging by the grease stains, have had it in use for some time, and it is fortunate that the top of it, in which the candle was placed, is not more damaged than it is. Thus it is quite clear that the natives of Nabi Yûnis had penetrated to the foundations of the palaces of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon many years before Botta and Layard began to dig at Nineveh.

Another collector of tablets and antiquities at Nineveh was Maximilian Ryllo[4] (born December 31st, 1802, died at Khartûm June 17th, 1848), a Jesuit Father, who brought to Rome a collection of antiquities,[5] and

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[1] Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 345) also states that this cylinder was discovered at Nabi Yûnis.

[2] It gives an account of his expedition against Sidon and the conquest of Northern Syria, etc., and describes the building of his palace at Nineveh. The text (358 lines) was first published by Layard (*Inscriptions*, pls. 20–29). For the literature see Bezold, *Bab.-Assyr. Lit.* p. 104; and Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1689.

[3] *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii, p. 186.

[4] A full account of his work in the Sûdân and of the establishment of his Mission at Khartûm will be found in G. Moroni's *Dizionario di Erudizione*, Venice, 1840-61, vol. xcviii, p. 278 ff. For his life and writings see the work quoted in the following note.

[5] "Le P. Ryllo rapporta, en 1830 [*sic*] de Mossoul à Rome des moulages de débris de monuments Assyriens. Ils furent déposés à la Vaticane." See *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, edited by de Backer and C. Sommervogel, 1st ed., vol. iii, col. 442 (Louvain, 1876); 2nd ed., vol. vii, coll. 343, 344 (Paris, 1896).

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presented them to Pope Gregory XVI in 1838; they are now in the Vatican.[1] This collection was examined and described in 1903, and consists of (1) Part of a brick. (2) Fragment of a cylinder of Sennacherib. (3) A tablet of adoption, dated in the thirtieth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II. (4) A contract tablet (ninth year of Nabonidus or Darius). (5) Fragment of an alabaster vessel. (6) Fragment of a brick of Nebuchadnezzar II. (7) Layer of bitumen, with impression of a similar brick. (8 and 9) Fragments of two cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar II. (10) Babylonian seal with figures of Gilgamish and a bull, and Eabani and a lion. (11) Cylinder seal of Sharru-ili. (12) Large cylinder seal with figures of the Bull of Ishtar, Gilgamish, Eabani, etc. (13–18) Small cylinder seals. Without numbers are: (1) Object in lapis lazuli. (2–8) Seven small Sassanian gems. (9) A scarab, inscribed on the base. (10) Fragment of a vase.[2]

Now though Layard states that "to disturb a grave on Nebbi Yûnis would cause a tumult which might lead to no agreeable results," he succeeded by artifice in finding out the contents of one part of the mound. Hearing that the owner of one of the largest houses on the mound wanted to make underground chambers for the use of himself and kinsfolk in the summer, Layard proposed to him, through his overseer, to excavate them for him, provided that any sculptures, inscribed stones, etc., should belong to Layard. The native agreed, and the overseer was rewarded by finding several inscriptions and bricks bearing the name and titles and genealogy of Esarhaddon[3] (B.C. 681–668). Soon after Layard returned to England a native of Nabi Yûnis, whilst digging the

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[1] The label over the cases reads: Gregorio XVI Pont. Max. | Musei Etrusci ac Aegyptiaci Conditori | sigilla et scripta gemmis lateribusque | ab Asiae gentibus vetustissimis insculpta | Maximilianus Ryllo Sodalis e Soc. Jesu | ab expeditione Babylonica redux | an. Christ. $\overline{M}$. $\overline{DCCC}$. $\overline{XXXVIII}$. I owe this transcript to the great courtesy of Monsignor Giovanni Mercati.

[2] See Peiser, in *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, Bd. vii, February 15th, 1904, p. 38 ff.

[3] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 598.

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foundations of his house, discovered two colossal human-headed bulls, and two large slabs sculptured with figures of a king fighting with lions. The British Vice-Consul and Mr. Hodder, an artist who was sent to Nineveh by the Trustees of the British Museum, were informed of the discovery, but they did nothing to secure these treasures, and the Turkish authorities seized them, and they disappeared. Hilmi, the Wâlî Pâshâ of Môṣul in 1851–52, was much more enlightened than any of his predecessors, and took an intelligent interest in the history of the country over which he was called to rule in (what the Muslims call) the "Jahilîyah," or the "Era of Ignorance," *i.e.*, Pre-Islamic times. As soon as he heard of the native's discovery at Nabi Yûnis, he collected a gang of workmen from among the prisoners in gaol,[1] and in April, 1854, dug into the mound at a place close by the Tomb of Jonah. He opened out several chambers, and discovered two splendid bulls, each about sixteen feet high, and a series of slabs covered with cuneiform inscriptions, and a large number of bricks of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. But to have made a complete success of the work Hilmi Pâshâ would have been obliged to tunnel under the Tomb of Jonah, and when the inhabitants of the village saw this they raised such an outcry that the excavations had to be abandoned. Among the inscriptions discovered by Hilmi Pâshâ was one which has been called the "Constantinople Inscription," and the "Memorial Tablet," and the "Nebbi Yûnis Inscription" of Sennacherib. This important monument bears an inscription (in two columns, which contain fifty and forty-four lines respectively), giving an account of the great wars of this king, and a description of the "Bît Kutalli," or "Arsenal," which he built at Nabi Yûnis.[2] On the authority of Rawlinson, people have always believed it to be at Constantinople, but I

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[1] Jones, in *Jnl. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xv, p. 327.

[2] The text is published by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i, pls. 43, 44. I gave a rendering of the greater part of it in *Records of the Past*, vol. xi, p. 45 ff. (Old Series).

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never succeeded in finding it, and Ḥamdî Bey told me that he had never seen it.

Nothing more was done at Nabi Yûnis until 1879, when Mr. H. Rassam returned to Môṣul. In that year some of the villagers offered to let him dig under their houses, and others offered to sell him their houses so that he might dig under them. As the owners of the houses could not sell them without the permission of the keepers of the Mosque, Rassam went to them, and told them that he proposed to buy certain houses, and they gave him authority to do so. He bought several houses, and began to dig under them, but a few days after he started some natives in the village said they objected to his excavations, and petitioned the local authorities to stop the works. The Wâlî Pâshâ inquired into the matter, and was prepared to allow the digging to go on, but when the Mutasarrif, or District Governor, called the attention of the Minister of Public Instruction at Stambûl to the petition against the works, the Porte ordered them to be stopped, and the Wâlî was obliged to obey the order.[1]

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[1] See Rassam's account in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. viii, p. 195; and in *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 292.

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## Al-Mawṣil, or Môṣul.[1]

Nineveh, the "exceeding great city of three days' journey" (Jonah iii, 3), was built on the left bank of the Tigris, just as Babylon was built on the left bank of the Euphrates, and as the city of Babylon grew and spread across to the right bank of the Euphrates, so, when Nineveh became great, it spread across to the right bank of the Tigris. Western Babylon developed in the course of centuries into Ḥillah, and Western Nineveh developed in the course of centuries into Al-Mawṣil. It may be assumed that Western Nineveh suffered as severely as Nineveh itself when the Medes seized the capital and destroyed it. But its site was in all times most suitable for a market and trading centre, and on it or near it a town has always stood. Of the history of Western Nineveh in the earliest ages nothing seems to be known, but in Sassanian times the town which occupied part or all of its site was called "Bûdh Ardashîr," and its masters were, of course, Sassanians. The name always given to the town by Muslim writers is "Al-Mawṣil,"[2] or "the junction," *i.e.*, the town at the place where several streams of the Tigris join, and it seems to have been known by this name for about twelve hundred years.[3] After the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Arabs the town soon became a thriving trading centre, and in the middle of the eighth century it was the capital of the Province of Jazîrah, and the principal town of the district of Dîâr Rabî'ah.[4] Muslim writers of the tenth century describe

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[1] This is the common native pronunciation, and I use it throughout.

[2] الموصل. See Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. de Goeje, p. 143 ff.; Muḳaddasî, ed. de Goeje, pp. 138, 139, 146; Abu'l Fidâ, p. 54; Yâḳût, vol. iv, 684.

[3] Muḳaddasî (ed. de Goeje, p. 138, last line) says that Môṣul was called "Khawlân" خولان.

[4] Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 87.

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View of Môṣul from the west bank of the Tigris.

The new bridge over the Tigris at Mô;ul.

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Al-Mawṣil, or Môṣul, as a fine large town, with good markets, and surrounded with beautiful gardens. Soon after the Arabs became masters of Môṣul they joined it by means of a bridge of boats to the town which had sprung up about the ruins of Nineveh on the eastern bank, and the town greatly prospered. Its houses were strong, and built of the grey alabaster which is brought from quarries in Jabal Maḳlûb, and it was said to be about one-third of the size of Al-Baṣrah. The Mosque built on the river bank by Marwân II (about 749 ?) was a fine and decorative building, and the strong "square" Castle (Al-Murabba'ah) which stood on a slight elevation gave dignity as well as protection to the town. Benjamin of Tudela, who was in Môṣul about 1173, says of it: "This city, which is mentioned in Scripture as 'Ashur the Great,' is situated on the confines of Persia, and is of great extent and very ancient. It stands on the banks of the Tigris, and is united by a bridge with Nineveh. There are 7,000 Jews in it. Although Nineveh lies in ruins, there are numerous inhabited villages and small townships on its site. Nineveh is distant one parasang from the town of Arbîl, and stands on the Tigris. Môṣul contains the synagogues of Obadiah, of Jonah ben Amithai, and of Nahum, the Elkoshite."[1] At this time the town was protected by high walls, and a very deep moat, and its suburbs were populous, and possessed many mosques and religious houses of the Christians and was famous for its hospital.

Ibn Baṭûṭah visited Môṣul in the middle of the fourteenth century, and he says that it was "ancient and rich." Its Castle was then called "Al-Ḥadbâ," *i.e.*, the "humpbacked," because it was built on a rounded rise in the ground, and it was said to be impregnable by reason of its massive wall, flanked with towers. A large wide street ran between the government buildings and the town, and joined Upper and Lower Môṣul. The town had two very thick, strong walls, with towers at frequent

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[1] *Itinerary* of Rabbi Benjamin, ed. Asher, London, 1840, p. 91.

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intervals, which resembled those of Delhi, in India. Mosques, baths, khâns, and bazârs were numerous, and he admired the famous iron railings that surrounded the mosque built by Marwân II, and the benches overlooking the river. In the mosque built by Nûr ad-Dîn was an octagonal marble fountain resting on a marble pillar, and the jet of water in it played to the height of a man. The Mâristân, or hospital, was in front of this mosque. The bazâr, or "Kaysârîyah," had gates made of iron, and shops and rooms, one above the other, ran round all sides of it. Between the new mosque and the bridge gate was the little mosque containing the tomb of Saint George, who was revered by Muslims and Christians alike.

"Across the river is Tall Yûnis, on whom be peace! and about one mile from it is the 'Ayn, or healing spring, which is called 'The Fountain of Yûnis.' It is said that Jonah called upon the Ninevites to cleanse themselves in its waters, and that when they had done so they went up on the hill, and he prayed with them, and God averted the punishment from them which they deserved. On the Tall is a large building containing many chambers and halls, and places for ablutions, and fountains, and all these are shut in by a single door. In the middle of this building is a chamber with a silk curtain over it, and it has a door inlaid with precious stones. It is said that Yûnis used to live in this place, and that the Miḥrâb of the shrine which was in this building is the place where he used to pray. Near Tall Yûnis is a large village, and close by it is a mass of ruins which is said to be the site of the well-known city of Nineveh, the city of Yûnis, on whom be peace! The remains of the wall which encircled the city are visible, and the places where the gates were in it can be plainly seen."[1] Muḳaddasî, who wrote in the latter half of the tenth century, calls 'Jonah's Hill' the 'Hill of Repentance' (Tall at-Tawbah), and says that "Jonah's Fountain is half a parasang distant, and that by it are a mosque and the 'place of the gourd plant of Yûnis' (Shajarah al-Yaḳṭîn)."[2] It is interesting

[1] Ibn Baṭûṭah, *Voyages*, iv, p. 135 ff.
[2] Muḳaddasî, p. 146.

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to note that Ibn Baṭûṭah seems to have seen no trace of the damage which Changiz Khân did to the town of Môṣul when he captured it (A.H. 654 = A.D. 1256), and when he is said to have put to death between seven and eight hundred thousand of its inhabitants. The town suffered greatly at the hands of Tîmûr-i-Leng (A.H. 796 = A.D. 1393), who practically left it a heap of ruins. The Persians held it in the early years of the sixteenth century, but the Turks, under Salîm, took it in 1516, and from that time the trade and importance of the town declined.

In Rauwolf's time (died 1596) the town was still of importance. He says: "We went into the famous City Mossul (*sic*) . . . over a Bridge made of Boats. This is situated in the Country of the Curters (Kurds). . . . It belongeth to the Turkish Emperour, as all the rest hereabout. There are some very good Buildings and Streets in it, and it is pretty large; but very ill provided with Walls and Ditches, as I did observe from the top of our Camp which extended to it. Besides this, I also saw just without the Town a little Hill, that was almost quite dug through, and inhabited by poor People, where I saw them several times creep in and out as Pismires do in Ant-hills. In this place and thereabout, stood formerly the Potent Townn of Nineve (built by Ashur) which was the Metropolis of Assyria, under the Monarch of the first Monarchy to the time of Sennacherib and his Sons, and was about three Days' Journey in length."[1]

According to Tavernier (born 1605, died 1689), Môṣul was not worth visiting, and when he was there it had lost most of its importance.[2] He says: "Moussul is a City that makes a great show without, the Walls being of Free-stone; but within it is almost all ruin'd, having only two blind Market-places, with a little Castle upon the Tigris, where the Basha lives. In a word, there is nothing worth a Man's sight in Moussul, the place being

[1] *Travels*, Ray's *Collection*, p. 204.

[2] But compare Thévenot's description of Môṣul, which was printed in 1674. (*Suite du Voyage*, p. 95.)



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only considerable for the great concourse of Merchants, especially the Arabians and Curds, which are the inhabitants of the great Assyria, now called Curdistan, where there grows great plenty of Galls, and for which there is a great Trade. There are in it four sorts of Christians—Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians and Maronites. The Capuchins had a pretty Dwelling upon the Tigris; but the Basha laying a Fine upon them, because they were about to enlarge it, they were forc'd to quit it. The City is governed by a Basha, that has under him, part Janizaries, part Spahi's, about three thousand men. There are only two scurvy Inns in Moussul. . . . But now let us cross the Tigris, over a Bridge of Boats, to view the sad Ruines of a city that has made such a noise in the World; though there be now scarce any appearance of its ancient splendour. Nineveh was built upon the left Shoar of the Tigris, upon Assyria-side, being now only a heap of Rubbish extending almost a League along the River. There are abundance of Vaults and Caverns uninhabited; nor could a man well conjecture whether they were the ancient Habitations of the people, or whether any houses had been built upon them in former times;. for most of the houses in Turkie are like Cellars, or else but one Story high. Half a League from Tigris stands a little hill encompass'd with Houses, on the top whereof is built a Mosquée. The people of the Country say 'twas the place where Jonas was bury'd; and for that place they have so great a veneration that no Christians are suffer'd to enter into it, but privately, and for Money. By that means I got in with two Capuchin Fryars; but we were forc'd to put off our Shooes first. In the middle of the Mosquée stood a Sepulchre, cover'd with a Persian carpet of Silk and Silver, and at the four corners great Copper Candlesticks with Wax Tapers, besides several Lamps and Ostridge Shells that hung down from the Roof. We saw a great number of Moores without, and within sat two Dervi's reading the Alcoran."[1]

[1] *Travels*, London, 1684, p. 71.

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In spite of all the attempts I made to get into the Mosque of Nabi Yûnis, I found it impossible to do so. The guardians and keepers of the various parts of it watched me with more than ordinary care, for they knew that I was collecting antiquities and Syriac and Arabic manuscripts, and they seemed to be afraid that I would carry off the building itself to London. The Wâlî told me that no Christian had ever entered the mosque, and he hoped that I would not try to do so, because the mullahs would make complaints against him in Stambûl if I succeeded. From what I could see of the outside of the mosque, very few portions of it seemed to be older than the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but portions inside must be many centuries older. According to Layard the tomb of Jonah is in a dark inner room. The sarcophagus, which is made of wood or plaster, stands in the centre of the room, upon a common European carpet, and is covered with a green cloth embroidered with extracts from the Ḳur'ân. Ostrich eggs and coloured tassels, such as are found in all Arab sanctuaries, hang from the ceiling. A staircase leads into the holy chamber.[1] Miss Badger, who through the Pâshâ's influence succeeded in gaining admission to the tomb some ten years before Layard, gives a somewhat different description. Passing through a spacious courtyard and along a fine open terrace, she descended into the mosque, which is a square building, lighted by several windows of stained glass. The eastern end is separated from the nave by a row of noble arches, which probably formed a part of the old church dedicated to Jonah. The pulpit (*mimbar*) stands at the south end, and the floor is covered with rich carpets. A passage, with locked doors, about thirty feet long, leads down into a square room with a vaulted roof, and in the middle of this, raised about five feet from the ground, stands the coffin, which measures ten feet by five feet. On the south end of this is an enormous turban made of costly silks, and shawls,

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, p. xxii; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 596.



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and the coffin itself is covered with rich stuffs. A railing with large silver knobs runs round the coffin, and on it hang embroidered towels and bathing cloths. The walls of the room are decorated with mirrors, coloured tiles, and texts from the Ḳur'ân. In one corner of it are placed a gilt ewer and basin, a ball of French soap, a comb, and a pair of scissors, for the use of the Prophet Jonah, who leaves his tomb at the times appointed for prayer daily, and performs his ablutions according to the strict ceremonial law of the Muslims.[1] Very few of the faithful ever approach the tomb, for it is considered to be most holy, and many men are content to look at it through the grated window in the mosque. The inhabitants of Nabi Yûnis, and the people around it for miles, would tolerate no interference with the mosque, or the tomb, or the cemetery; and the ruins of the palaces of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, which lie beneath them, have never been excavated.

There appears to be no evidence that Jonah was buried at Nineveh. Many Jews in Môṣul believe with Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Asher, p. 92) that the "province of Ashshûr"[2] contains the synagogues of Obadiah, Jonah and Nahum, the prophets, and at least respect the tradition which makes Nabi Yûnis the burial place of Jonah. The Christians do not accept the tradition, and believe that Jonah was buried in Palestine, but have no facts to support them.[3] Yet it is clear that in some way or

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[1] Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. i, p. 85.

[2] מְדִינַת אַשּׁוּר (Heb. text, p. 53).

[3] According to Solomon of Baṣrah (see my *Book of the Bee*, pp. 70, 71) Jonah came from Gath-hepher (2 Kings xiv, 25), or from Kûryath Âdâmôs, which is near Ascalon and Gaza and the seacoast. He prophesied in the reign of Sardânâ (Esarhaddon), and then because the Jews hated him, he took his mother and went with her to Assyria and lived there. He rebuked Ahab, and called down a famine on the land. The widow of Elijah received him, and he returned to Judæa; his mother died on the way, and he buried her by Deborah's grave. He lived in the land of Sarîdâ, and died two years after the people had returned from Babylon (*sic*), and was buried in the cave of Ḳainân. Epiphanius has Καὶ κατοικήσας ἐν γῇ Σαὰρ, ἐκεῖ ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ Καινεζεοῦ.

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The Tomb of the patriarch Seth at Môṣul.

**The Mosque of Nabi Yûnis and modern cemetery.**

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other the mound became associated with Jonah's name, and it is probable that a church was built on the mound in the early centuries of the Christian era, and when the "Fortress of Nineveh," *i.e.*, Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and Môṣul were captured by the Arabs about A.D. 640, the followers of the Prophet respected the church and the tradition, and absorbed both of them by building a mosque. Whether this be so or not, the mound of Nabi Yûnis has enjoyed great fame as a most holy place for centuries, and large numbers of Arabs, Kurds and Persians, many having been brought considerable distances, are buried not only on the hill itself, but in the ground about it. No Wâlî of Môṣul or of Baghdâd has ever succeeded in wholly overcoming public opinion against the excavation of the mound, and no European ambassador has been able to persuade the Porte to agree to it. But the villagers of Nabi Yûnis have managed to excavate secretly small parts of it during the last hundred and twenty years, not so much with the object of finding antiquities, as of finding alabaster bas-reliefs to burn into lime for the repair of the mosque of Jonah and their own houses.

F. Vincenzo Maria, who also visited Môṣul in the seventeenth century, describes the town as "picciola, ristretta, e povera d'habitazioni." Vincenzo went across the river to look at the ruins of Nineveh, but they did not interest him, and he saw only great heaps of earth and masses of "burnt stones" scattered about. "Fui un giorno per vederla (*i.e.*, l' antica Ninive), mà come non discernevo, che confusi montoni di terra, con un' infinità di pietre cotte disordinate, sparse per ogni parte senza trovar cosa degna di memoria, me ne tornai, pensando à che segno giongino le cose più grandi e più celebrate dal Mondo." (*Il Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, Venice, 1683, p. 80.) On the other hand, about half a century later, Otter[1] says: "Les kiervanserais, les palais, et les autres édifices, bâtis de pierres dures, sont assez beaux. . . . La ville est riche, et les habitans sont braves."

In 1743 Môṣul was bombarded for forty-one days by

[1] I, 136. He was born 1707, and died 1748.

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Nadîr Shâh, and was only saved from capture and pillage by the breaking out of a rebellion in Persia, which made it necessary for him to return to his own country. The wonder is that anything was left of the town after the bombardment, for it was said that forty thousand cannon shot were fired into it. The Pâshâ and the people of the town all behaved with great bravery, and as fast as the walls were knocked down they built them up. It is said that Nadîr Shâh planted his guns among the ruins of Ḳuyûnjiḳ, and for several days shelled the northern end of Môṣul, where there were no houses at all. The general appearance of the town in the latter half of the eighteenth century is indicated by the plan published by C. Niebuhr.[1] Parts of the walls were in ruins, and many of the flanking towers also. There were seven gates, not including the Bâb al-Amadi, which was walled up when Nadîr Shâh was bombarding the town. The arrangement of the streets, which are all very narrow, was in 1889 substantially what it was in Niebuhr's time.

Between 1820 and 1835 Môṣul suffered from a series of calamities, caused by famine, plague and flood. The scarcity of food which afflicted Northern Mesopotamia in 1824 was hardly felt in Môṣul that year, but in 1825 a drought set in which was spoken of with awe and horror in 1889. The wheat crop failed almost entirely, and all the vegetable gardens along the Tigris and about the villages inland produced very little, but a fairly good crop of olives came from the mountain villages in the north, which helped to mitigate the general scarcity of food. In 1826 the heavens became like brass and the earth like burnt brick, and all vegetable life disappeared. The flocks and herds were killed to save them from perishing by hunger, and after their emaciated carcases were eaten the people starved, and famished folk died in the streets and by the way-side, and lay unburied. In 1827 the sufferings of the people of Môṣul became more acute still, and but for the forethought of some of the Christian priests the town would have become depopulated. In the year 1824,

[1] *Reisebeschreibung*, tome ii, p. 360 (pl. 46).

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