

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 Yezeedis 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 campames 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 désagrémens 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.

Yezeedis 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 Nimus fils de Balos, (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 dévotion. 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-Toubé, 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

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 muls. 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. **YACCOUBITES.**—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 Hamed, 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 "Matsul," 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 degees de la latitude sur le bord du Tiere 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-Rakhmân, 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 Jahoabites ; 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 accomode 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 Mòsul 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 bouillir 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 résine 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 Dioflorus 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:—"Seniramis," 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 Cathecah	...	...	...	...	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 Makloube, also in Koordistan					from N. N. E. to E. by N. 10 miles.
Tomb and Village of Nebbe 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.) *αγεῖος 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.

* *ὁ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη*, Deo magna civitas, πόλις 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 Makloube, 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

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 reproofing 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 *κογχυλιώτης*, "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 ὑπο Μηδων καταλυθηναι. Assyriorum imperium a Medis eversum iri contigit. Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 2. sect. 2. p. 435.—Μηδους και τους Βαβυλωνιους, οἱ την Ασσυριων κατελυσαν αρχην. Medos et Babylonios, qui Assyriorum everterant imperium. Ibid. cap. v. sect. 1. p. 441. Edit. Hudson.

† και την τε Νινον εἰλον, και τους Ασσυριους ὑποχειριους εποιησαντο, ὡλην 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.

|| ὁ δ' οὖν Αῤῃακες τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχθεὶς, αὐτοὺς μὲν κατὰ κομὰς διέκισε, —τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἰς εἶδος κατεσκαφεν. ἐπεὶ τὸν τε ἀργύρον καὶ χρυσόν, —πολλῶν οὐτὰ τάλαντων, ἀπεκομίσε της Μηδίας εἰς Ἐκβατὰνα. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονία των Ασσυριων—ὑπο Μηδῶν κατελύθη τον ἀπορρημενον τροπον. Simili quoque lenitate 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 Hermbosh, 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 Moham-medans. 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 Agasi," 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 Mosul, 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 étendue 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 condescerat—Macedones eum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt, nam et tutior planities 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 Medgenoun, 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'Amalia. 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-djenoun,’ ce qui signifie, ‘Eau furieuse.’ Le nom de Zerbis, sous lequel le Grand Zab paroît dans Pliny, (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 Sîdetes, 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 Sinjâr, 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

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.

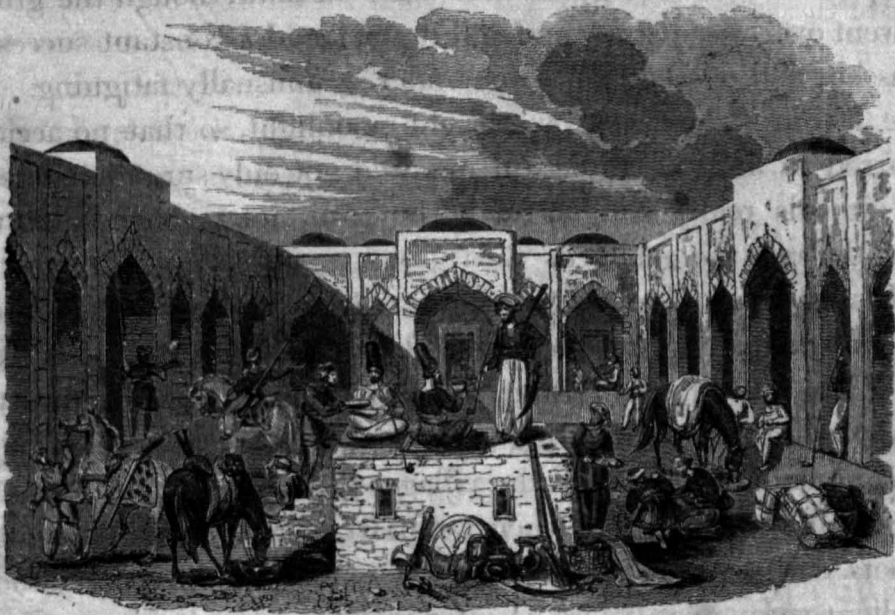
When the rage of this angry Turk had spent itself in imprecations, and the necessary payment was made to the Yezeedi chief of the pass of Kellek, we set forward on our journey together, Jonas having himself the best horse, and now taking the lead, as if to

* 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.

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

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.

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 laden 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 זַבָּ, Chaldaic, and זָבִי, 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 Sinjār, 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 **raçes** 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'Ancville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 96. 

to interpret the expression of *Yezdem domus*, as the habitations of the Yezedis, 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 Yezedis, 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 Yezedis, 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.