to a hundred feet thick at the base, the spread of which is considerably extended by the fallen rubbish, and from twelve to fifteen feet at the summit, where the thickness is considerably reduced by the bricks having fallen, and being broken away on each side. These dimensions (allowing for some error in an estimate taken in haste by the eye, as this of Al Hheimar necessarily was) correspond, therefore, with as much accuracy as can be expected at this remote period.

With regard to the manner in which these walls were constructed, we learn, from the historian, that the bricks were square and furnace-baked: nothing is said of the common cement employed between every layer, but it is stated that, at every thirtieth course, a composition of heated bitumen mixed with the tops of reeds was used. Although this is first said expressly of the ditch, it is added, that, when this was finished, they proceeded to construct the wall in the same manner.

It is easy to admit the possibility of an error in stating the number of the layers between each course of the bituminous cement; but the fact of there being *several* courses of bricks, at least from fifteen to twenty, between the layers of the singular white substance used as a cement in this ruined pile, is a strong feature of resemblance. It is this substance which is undoubtedly "*the composition of heated bitumen mixed with the tops of reeds*," so particularly mentioned by the historian; and nothing but a "heated" medium could reduce the tops of reeds or straw to the state of apparent filaments, but actual powder, in which I found this cement when separating two of the bricks between which it had been placed, as already described in the account of the mound of Al Hheimar.

Among all the authorities cited, and the quotations made, to illustrate the mode of building in ancient Babylon, this of Herodotus is the only one present to my memory, in which such a composition as "heated bitumen" is mentioned. Whenever the substance is elsewhere spoken of, it is called simply "bitumen;" wherever reeds are described, they are said to be used in layers, in

their pure form; and the coarser cements of lime, or clay are also alluded to as used separately and alone.

The general state of the remains described in the mounds of the Mujellibé, the Kassr, and the mound of Amran, are found to correspond strictly with these distinctions. In the first of these ruins, unburnt bricks have, between every course, a layer of whole reeds, or rather rushes, for some are very large, and all are perfectly fresh; having, apparently, undergone no change since the day of their being first placed there. Very little bitumen is seen, excepting in the fragments found scattered on the surface of the ruined heaps; and I concur entirely in the opinion of Mr. Rich, that its use as a cement could never have been so general as has been imagined: first, from the comparatively few portions of the ruins in which it is now found; and next, from the Babylonians having, in the lime and clay of their own soil, a more abundant, a cheaper, and more effectual cement than bitumen in any state could afford. It was, perhaps, the singularity of its use here, and its rarity in other countries as a material for building, that caused it to be noted at all; which would be the case now, in describing a new city, if any new cement, not common elsewhere, was used in its construction. In the Kassr, where the masonry is of the best kind, the cement is of lime, in very thin layers; and in the Birs Nimrood, on the western side of the Euphrates, the same substance appears to be used, and is described by all who have seen it to be of an extraordinary degree of tenacity.

While it is insisted that the instance here quoted is the only one remembered, among all the ancient writers who are cited as authorities on Babylon, in which "heated bitumen" is mentioned, it must not be forgotten, that it is in the *ditch* and *walls* only that this is said to have been used at all. In such of the general masses of the ruined city as are already described, nothing like this mixture appears; nor should we expect, from any passage of the ancients, to find it in the ordinary buildings: while here, at Al Hheimar, in a portion of wall, the dimensions of which correspond

with those given of the wall that encompassed the city, and found at the very eastern extremity of the ruins, in the precise situation in which such wall would be sought for, where it now forms the line of demarcation between the scattered heaps of ruins within the town and the bare Desert beyond them, a similar composition is found, in layers of wide intervals apart from each other; a fact which must be regarded as almost conclusive as to their identity.

Dr. Hine, the physician to the Residency at Bagdad, and Capt. Lockett, of the Royal Army, who first visited this ruin, were particularly struck with the singularity of this cement, and both of them, as I had already learnt from the former gentleman, thought it to have contained originally small pieces of fine straw; though this does not appear to have suggested to them an idea of its being the composition described by Herodotus, nor consequently of the ruin being a portion of the city-wall. Mr. Rich, in his Memoir, speaking of Al Hheimar, says, "The base is a heap of rubbish, on the top of which is a mass of red brick-work, between each layer of which is a curious white substance which pulverizes with the least touch." He adds, "I have not yet visited Al Hheimar: but those who have examined it, have conjectured, from the grain of the white substance or powder seemingly lying in filaments, that it must have originally been layers of reeds."

It is remarked, by the same writer, that throughout the rest of the ruins, reeds are never found in buildings composed, as this is, of burnt brick; and the city-wall is, indeed, the only part of the ancient works in which such materials are said to be used together, where the brick is distinctly stated to have been "baked in a furnace," and the composition of "heated bitumen, mixed with the tops of reeds," used as a cement. The appearance of these reeds are fresh and perfect, when examined on the spot, and have been unequivocal to all who have first seen them there; but the cement cannot, without great difficulty, be brought away undisturbed, as the least touch reduces the whole mass to powder. While the reeds at Akkerkoof and the Mujellibé are long, thick, and of a large size, being

the produce of the neighbouring marshes, these at Al Hheimar appear to be short, thin, and of the smallest size, just indeed as "the *tops* of reeds" would be, and from the distinct way in which they are characterized, these *tops* were no doubt cut off, and their smallest and finest parts only mixed with the composition mentioned.

Of what precise nature this composition was, it would be useless to hazard a conjecture, before analysing the substance itself. We have this prominent fact, however, that it was "a composition of *heated* bitumen," which was "mixed with the tops of reeds." The order, in which these separate materials are mentioned, would seem to imply that the tops of reeds was the principal, and the heated composition the subordinate, part, as this last is said merely to have been *mixed* with the former. This might account for the substance bearing no closer resemblance to common bitumen than it now does, and would also make it more easy to comprehend, how a *heated* composition of it, mixed with the reeds, perhaps chiefly to form them into a sort of paste for use, without destroying the form of the filaments, might, united with pressure and the effects of time through a long series of ages, become reduced to its present state of a white substance, appearing in filaments, like fine pieces of straw, yet pulverizing at the least touch, as the white ashes of any highly-burnt grass would do, if pressed ever so firmly between solid substances.*

In anticipating the objections which might be made to the conclusion, that this mass of Al Hheimar was a part of the ancient city-wall, notwithstanding the striking coincidences in form, dimensions, situation, and mode of construction already enumerated, the absence of the ditch, as far as our examination goes, may be first considered. As the earth, which was taken out from it, when it was first excavated, is positively stated to have been consumed, for making the bricks of which its lining and the wall were built, no mound of rubbish could have been accumulated by it, and therefore no traces of such mound could be now expected to be found.

The ditch itself would however become liable, from the first moment of the walls being neglected, to be gradually filled up. At the period of the walls being reduced, by Darius Hystaspes, from their original height, the ditch would offer itself as the nearest, the most capacious, and in every sense the most effectual receptacle for the portion of them that had been levelled; and nothing is more probable, than that it became so. Every subsequent dilapidation of the remaining portion would add to the mass below; and, as it stood immediately on the edge of a sandy Desert, every storm from that quarter would help to complete its filling-up, as such winds have continually done to the half-buried monuments of Egypt, when near the outer line of the cultivated land.

The disappearance of every trace of the ancient ditch can scarcely be regarded therefore as a powerful objection; when almost every trace of the wall itself is gone. After a lapse of so many ages, as have passed away even since Babylon has been deserted and in ruins, it is rather to be wondered at, that so many vestiges of its former greatness can be traced, than that any fragment of its walls should have hitherto eluded the most diligent search. In all the operations against the city by hostile forces, this would be the part most likely to suffer the destroying vengeance of the enemy; and when, from the general decline of wealth, population, and importance of the city, it ceased to become an object of public care to keep these walls in repair, their gradual dilapidation, by the mere effects of time, would be likely to be hastened by the depredations of the very inhabitants who still remained within their enclosure.

From the great scarcity of fuel, and its consequent dearth, as well as from the appearance of many of the mounds of ruins which exist, there is reason to believe, that the great mass of the common dwellings were built of unburnt bricks, which, except in such enormous piles as the palace and the hanging gardens, would be always more liable to decay than the burnt kind, independently of their being of inferior cost in the formation.

On such dwellings falling into ruins, or on the occasion of any

of the people wishing, from other motives, to erect new ones, the ruined walls would be, as Major Rennel says of a deserted city, "a quarry above ground, in which the materials are shaped to every one's hands;" and as long as any buildings continued to be erected within the area of Babylon, after its original walls were found to be too extensive to be kept in repair, there can be little doubt but that such a quarry would be resorted to. The ease with which the burnt bricks could here be separated, would be one powerful reason for preferring such a storehouse to any other; as, whether this mound of Al Hheimar, where the bricks are more easily taken away whole than at any other place, be admitted to be part of the wall or not, bitumen and reeds are the only component parts of its cement that are named by the historian, and wherever these are found, the bricks are separated almost without an effort.

The prodigious extent of these walls would be another reason for their affording more convenient supplies than any separate edifice; since, by their circuit round the city, a portion of them was near to every quarter of it; and for the same reason that the great wall of China was more speedily built, because every district through which it passed constructed its own portion, so the walls of Babylon would be the more rapidly destroyed, and their materials consumed, because a part of them was open to the depredations of builders and repairers in every quarter of the city.

The same causes would continue to operate, after its being finally abandoned, when applied to other cities constructed out of its ruins; and when it is considered that the present city of Bagdad, the large town of Hillah, and probably those of Mesjid Ali and Mesjid Hussein, with innumerable khans and villages scattered around in every direction, have been almost wholly built out of these walls alone, the wonder at their total disappearance at this distant period will be perhaps lessened.

I have said "*these walls alone,*" because the burnt bricks, (the only ones sought after,) which are found in the Mujellibé, the Kassr, and the Birs Nimrood, the only three great monuments in which

there are any traces of their having been used, are so difficult, in the two last indeed so impossible, to be extracted whole, from the tenacity of the cement in which they are laid, that they could never have been resorted to, while any considerable portion of the walls existed to furnish an easier supply: even now, though some portions of the great mounds on the eastern bank of the river are occasionally dug into for bricks, they are not extracted without a comparatively great expense, and very few of them whole, in proportion to the great number of fragments that come up with them. The total absence of stone for building, and the scarcity of fuel to burn the new bricks that might still be made in the country, are perhaps the only reasons why the heaps of Babylon are any longer resorted to for materials, not easy to be had from any other quarter.

It is not improbable, but that the walls, which are stated by Saint Jerome to have served, in his time, as an enclosure for a park, and which, as being only on one side of the river, might then have been thought, without due consideration, to be the ancient walls of Babylon, were merely the boundary of enclosure to the hanging gardens and the palace, whose remaining semicircular *debris* is given in the mound (A) of Mr. Rich's plan. This, which comprises an area of two miles or more in length and breadth, would be at all times more fitted for a park than a square of fifteen miles on each face, the extent of the ancient city, according to the testimony of Herodotus; besides which, it could hardly have happened, that after the final ruin of the town, in which the walls could not but have suffered, they should have remained, to the time of that writer, in so perfect a state as to serve the purpose he describes.

This wall of enclosure to the palace and the hanging gardens was originally of the same height with the reduced standard of the city-walls themselves; so that, from the summit of the gardens, the queen could overlook them. The distance of these gardens from the *city*-walls would render any view over them useless, and even if nearer, a bare Desert would be an uninteresting prospect; and if the gardens themselves were but fifty cubits high, and the walls the

same, there would be an equality of level. It is probably meant, that the elevated parts of these hanging gardens commanded a view over their own walls; and that either these, or the level of the gardens themselves, were fifty cubits high; the command of such a prospect over the interior of the whole city on both sides, and across the river in the centre, was an object worth attaining.

Another reason why the enclosing wall of the palace and hanging gardens continued longer than those of the city itself, might be, that the latter, being intended merely as a security from intrusion, and not as a wall of military defence, was probably constructed of unburnt brick, more particularly as that is the kind found in the very exterior facing of the supposed castellated palace. This therefore being a material unsought after for building, and more easily made on the spot than transported from afar, a wall composed of it would be left undisturbed, until some sufficient motive urged its demolition, while the great outer wall of the city would be as constantly diminishing, for the reasons before enumerated.

The difference in the materials of which these boundaries were constructed, would account satisfactorily for the disappearance of every vestige of the one, while the other, though of later destruction, would leave a very considerable mound behind it. The burnt bricks, as soon as discovered, would be fit for use; and there is no authority for believing that any thing but such bricks, and their cement, was used in the city-wall; so that, as their separation was easy, the fragments occasioned by their disjointing, and the dust of the cement left behind, might easily be dispersed with the winds, and mingled with the Desert sands.* The unburnt bricks, on the contrary,

* "Berosus in Josephus† saith, that when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, because the city appeared to him very factious and difficult to be taken. And Xenophon‡ informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to

† Κυρος δε Βαβυλωνα καταλαβομενος, και συνταξας τα εξω της πολεως τειχη κατασκαψαι, δια το λιαν αυτω πραγματικην και δυσαλωτον φαινηαι την πολιν.——Cyrus autem Babylone capta, constitutoque exteriora ejus munimenta diruere, quod civitatem videret ad res novas mobilem, urbem vero expugnatu difficilem. Contra Apion. lib. i. Sect. 22. p. 1344. Edit. Hudson.

‡ Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vii. p. 114 et 117. Edit. Steph.

would constantly crumble in their fall; so that a wall of them, beginning to loosen at the top, would, by the falling down of the rubbish on each side, soon become a mound of apparently pure earth, strewed with fragments of such materials as might have been near, and be afterwards sprinkled over with scanty weeds growing out of the surface, which is the case with many of the mounds at Nineveh, at Memphis, and other Egyptian cities, and even at Babylon itself.

To return from this digression to a consideration of the arguments used against the enormous circuit of the walls. Their prodigious extent appears to have been doubted only from the disproportionate size which they bore to the enclosures of more modern cities: since London and Paris are cited in the comparison, and an estimate is made of Babylon being, by the highest standard, eight times as large as the former in the area of its walls; and, by the lowest standard, in the proportion of five to two larger than the latter.

When it is said, however, that Nineveh was "an exceeding great city of three days' journey in length," and that Jonah did not begin to preach its destruction "until he had entered into it one day's journey," its extent is not objected to, because it is on the authority of a Prophet.* This city is, indeed, said by Strabo to have been larger than Babylon;† and Diodorus describes it to be an oblong figure of ninety stadia in breadth, and one hundred and fifty stadia in length,‡ extending a front of nearly nineteen miles along the eastern bank of the Tigris, and a breadth of about eleven miles from the river to the mountains on one side only, which was, indeed, nearly as large as the largest dimensions assumed for Babylon.

"Taking the extent of Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, at the most reasonable calculation," says Major Rennel, "it was not

deliver up all their arms upon pain of death, distributed their best houses among his officers, imposed a tribute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the charge, being desirous to keep them poor, as the best means of keeping them obedient."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 168, 169.

* Jonah, chap. iii. v. 3, 4. † p. 737. ‡ Lib. ii. c. 11.

less than fifteen miles in length, extending along the old bank of the Ganges, and from two to three in breadth." The Ayeen Akbaree states, according to the same author, that the wall of Mahmoodabad, in Guzerat, was a square of seven cosses, which are equal to about thirteen miles; and the distance between the most remote of the ruined edifices of the Egyptian Thebes, both of which are temples, and therefore not likely to have been situated in the very opposite extremities of the town, is upwards of nine miles, as a diameter only.

While the extent of such cities is admitted in some, and known by actual measurement in other, instances; there seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting the testimony of Herodotus, when he gives to Babylon an extent of a square of fifteen miles on each side, taking his four hundred and eighty stadia at their highest standard of eight to a mile.

In reasoning on this point, by which, as Major Rennel says, the public belief has been led, the principal objection is resolved at last into the improbability of so vast a contiguous space having ever been built on. But, says the same writer, "that the wall might have been continued to the extent given, does not appear so improbable; for we cannot suppose that so many of the eminent writers could have been misled concerning this point. The Macedonians and others had viewed it, and both Strabo and Diodorus appear to have written from documents furnished by them, and might also have conversed with persons who had seen Babylon, and they all speak of it as of a city whose circuit was of wonderful extent; therefore, we ought to be prepared for something very much out of the common way."

The writers who, after Herodotus and Pliny, give about the number of three hundred and sixty-five stadia for the extent, seem, from the reason assigned by Clitarchus and others, to have shaped this as a favourite number, from its corresponding to the days of the year, as is still done in estimating the number of windows in large cathedrals, the number of doors in the Palace of Alhambra in Spain, the minarets in some of the large Oriental cities, and the

ruined towns in the deserted districts of the Haurān. It is true, that in some cases, as Rennel has observed, the very act of connecting the number with that of the days contained in the year, seems to prove that it approached nearly to it. But in these countries, sufficient instances could be cited, to shew that this number is used indiscriminately to express an amount as frequently above as beneath the truth, and often, indeed, very far from it in either case. It would be underrating the general veracity of the authorities cited, however, to suppose that some slight regard was not had to an approximation at least of the reported and the real number.

When Pliny and Solinus give their statement at sixty Roman miles, which, at eight stadia to a mile, agrees with Herodotus, it is said that they merely *follow* him. But though Strabo (whose number of three hundred and eighty-five is thought, by Rennel, to have been corrupted from three hundred and sixty-five), Diodorus from Ctesias, Clitarchus who accompanied Alexander, and, lastly, Quintus Curtius, all hang round the number of the days in the year, with a tale affixed as a reason for that choice which itself would awake suspicion, it is no where suggested that this tale becoming current after the standard was first fixed by it, the others merely followed its authority, without correcting it by actual measurement. The remark of Mr. Rich on this subject includes all that need be said on the comparative value of these testimonies at such different periods of time. "Of all the ancient writers who have described Babylon," says that gentleman, "Herodotus and Diodorus are the most detailed, and much weight ought certainly to be placed on the accounts of the former of these historians, who was an eye-witness of what he himself relates, notwithstanding the exaggeration and credulity which may, in many instances, be laid to his charge, when he reports from the information of others. The accounts of late writers (he continues) are of comparatively small value; for though Strabo's general accuracy and personal experience render his description of great interest, as far as it goes, yet he could have seen Babylon only at a period when its public buildings had already

become heaps of rubbish; and, consequently, must have depended upon more ancient authorities for particular accounts of most of them."

In short, the city, of which so extensive a traveller as Herodotus, who had seen all the great monuments of the age in which he lived, had said, "Its extent, its beauty, and its magnificence, surpass all that has come within my knowledge;" the city, which is characterized in a hundred places throughout the Scriptures, from the denunciations of judgment by the Prophets, to the dreamer of dreams in the Revelations, as emphatically and peculiarly "the *Great;*" the city, which is expressly called "The Glory of Kingdoms, and the Beauty of the Chaldees' excellency," must be thought to have been at least *as* great as most of the large cities coeval with it in the East, whose enormous dominions are undisputed, admitting even that a considerable portion of its celebrity arose out of the conspicuous part which it bore in the wars and revolutions of the Eastern world.*

"It is a question," says Rennel, "which no one can positively answer, what proportion of the space within the walls of Babylon

* In a Memoir on some points of Ancient Geography, and a Dissertation on the Ancient Stadium, by M. de la Nauze, the author says, "On objecte qu'Herodote donne à Babylone quatre cents quatre vingts stades de circuit (Herodote, chap. i. p. 178,) ce qui seroit, ajoute-t-on, prodigieux et incroyable, si l'on ne reduisoit le stade à une courte mesure:—comme si Babylone avoit été une ville ordinaire; comme si Aristote n'assuroit pas que le titre de ville ne lui convenoit pas plus qu'il conviendroit au Peloponèsse, en cas qu'on l'entourat de murailles; comme si Diodore n'avertissoit pas que Babylone renfermait de terres labourables, et d'autres lieux inhabités; comme si l'enceinte de Nanquin à la Chine n'egaloit pas, à peu près, aujourd'hui, non compris même l'immensité des fauxbourgs, ce que les stades d'Herodote, pris pour des stades de dix au mille, donnent à l'enceinte de Babylone.—Quant à la hauteur et à la largeur de mur de la ville, qui faisoit alors toute la sureté d'un empire, en mettant l'ennemi dans l'impossibilité de le franchir; ces murs de Babylone auroient-ils été une des sept merveilles, s'ils n'eussent pas offert le spectacle le plus extraordinaire et le plus frappant? Ainsi les dimensions d'une telle ville, étant données comme étonnantes par ceux-là même qui en étoient les témoins oculaires, s'accordent beaucoup mieux avec un stade de soixante seize toises qu'avec un stade beaucoup plus court."—*Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tome xxvi. p. 369.

were occupied by buildings?" Nor would the appearance of the ruins, at this now distant period, justify any hasty conclusion thereon; first, because many of the heaps appearing as mounds formed by ruined buildings may have been caused in some other way; and next, because places not now having a vestige for building material apparent on them, may once have borne edifices which have totally disappeared; either of which data would give false results. If one were to judge from such present appearances of the ground, the conclusion, I think, would be, that not more than one third of the space at the most had been built on, and that two thirds thus remained open for cultivated land.

Quintus Curtius positively says, that the buildings were not contiguous to the walls, but that some considerable space was left all around, nor was the enclosed space entirely occupied by buildings, nor more than eighty stadia of it; neither do the houses join, (continues he,) perhaps from motives of safety. The remainder of the space is cultivated, so that, in the event of a siege, the inhabitants might not be compelled to depend on supplies from without.*

Major Rennel was in doubt whether a square of eighty stadia, or eighty square stadia, was meant by the expression of Curtius, though he adopts the former as more conformable to the idea of the space requisite for the supposed population. This is between a third and a half of a square of four hundred and twenty stadia, assigned by Herodotus to the whole, and gives us some positive data of proportion; and when it is considered, that the inhabitants really did subsist, through a long siege, on the produce of their own lands within the walls, as affirmed by Herodotus; and that, when the city was taken by Cyrus at night, the inhabitants of the opposite quarter of it did not know the fact, until three hours after sun-rise on the following morning, as reported by Xenophon;† the proportion of

* Book v. p. 4.

† "The §city was taken in the night of a great annual festival, while the inha-

§ Herod. lib. i. cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib vii. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

open space may be thought by no means exaggerated, and consequently the extent of the circuit of the walls, however enormous it may appear when given at its highest standard, ought not to be considered as at all beyond the truth.

The conclusion then would be, as Mr. Rich suggests, that, great as the actual size of Babylon was, the number of its inhabitants bore no proportion to this, compared with the relative size and population of the capitals of our own times; and that its streets, which are said to have led from gate to gate across the area, through cultivated land, over which buildings were distributed in groups and patches, would convey, to a modern, the idea of roads through an enclosed district, rather than the division and avenues of a regular city.

If the reasonings on these numerous facts and authorities be thought to have any weight in removing the few objections which might have been urged against the extent of the walls of Babylon, and the original standard of Herodotus be admitted, then this ruined wall at Al Hheimar, which is assumed to be a portion of the enclosure of the city, will be found to be in the exact place where such fragment, if any existed, might be expected to be found.

Had the city been a perfect square, facing the cardinal points, at right angles with the river, and had that river divided it exactly in the centre, the distance of Al Hheimar, from the mound of the Mujellibé or Makloobe, would then, indeed, be greater than half

bitants were dancing, drinking, and reveling; and as †Aristotle reports, it had been taken three days, before some part of the city perceived it; but ‡Herodotus's account is more modest and probable, that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy, before they who dwelt in the middle of it knew any thing of their danger."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 166.

† Arist. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 3. ἠν γε φασιν εαλωκυιας τριτην ἡμεραν ουκ αισθεσθαι τι μερος της πολεως. qua tertium jam diem capta, partem quandam urbis non sensisse dicunt. p. 341. vol. ii. Edit. Du Val.

‡ Herod. ibid. ὑπο δε μεγαθεος της πολιος, ὡς λεγεται ὑπο των ταυτῃ οικημενων, των περι τα εσχατα της πολιος εαλωκοτων, τους το μεσον οικεοντας των Βαβυλωνιων, ου μανθανειν εαλωκοτας. Tantaque urbis erat magnitudo, ut (quemadmodum narrant accolæ) quum capti essent qui extremas urbis partes incolebant, ii qui mediam urbem incolerent id nescirent.

the extent assumed for its area; as it is at least ten miles, and this on one side of the river only. But, as Rennel observes, we are not told, in positive terms, whether the four sides of Babylon fronted the four cardinal points of the heavens, or not. The only notice concerning it is, where Diodorus says, "The Euphrates runs to the *south*, through the *midst* of Babylon," which may be meant only in a general sense. Some of the early fanciful plans of that city, where it is not only made to face the cardinal points, but the river is led through it in so straight a line as to divide it into two *equal* parts, may therefore be justly disregarded. Herodotus merely says, "The great river Euphrates divides Babylon in two parts, and the walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town;" without specifying either *equal* parts or *right* angles in either case.

Judging from the general course of the stream, which is now about north-east and south-west, and supposing the judicious arrangement of giving the principal streets an oblique direction to the sun, for the sake of greater shade, it is probable, that the form and direction of the city-walls were nearly those which Rennel has assumed for them, in the excellent map of the positions and environs of ancient Babylon, which accompanies his Memoir. If the stream then entered the city nearer to its north-west than its north-east angle, as there delineated, the distance of ten miles on a course of west by north half north, between the wall at Al Hheimar, would not be greater than could be admitted within the square of fifteen miles, though both these objects are on the same side of the river; supposing the former of these to have been near the Cissian or Susian gate, in the south-east extremity of the town, and the latter to have been near the centre of the eastern division, with regard to its length, and close upon the river's bank, as it is both described and found to be.

Before we descended from the ruined wall, which had given rise to all this train of argument and speculation, we dug away some of the accumulated rubbish, to extract some fresh bricks with their

white cement, in the hope that we might be able to carry with us a more perfect specimen as far as Bagdad, for the satisfaction of Mr. Rich, whose previous valuable labours, and constant interest in all that regarded the ruins of Babylon, gave him a claim to the gratitude of every one who might visit this interesting site, the ruins of which lay so many ages in darkness, and which he was the first to render at all intelligible.

It was about one o'clock when we remounted our horses at the foot of Al Hheimar, to return to our companions, whom we had left in the Sheikh's tomb. The heat was now intense, at least five degrees above that shewn by the thermometer on our coming out, when it stood at 135° in the sun; but I was too impatient, to lose even a moment in the examination of it.

We had the sun now beating on our foreheads, and the wind blowing directly in our teeth, with a glare reflected from the yellow soil, that made the eyes ache to look upon it. My Koord guide, who was one of the bravest of men on all other occasions, was dismayed and terrified at this, for he talked of nothing but the Simoom wind, and its sudden and fatal effects. We muffled up our faces with the ends of the keffeeah and turban which we each wore, poised our lances across the saddle, to admit of our stooping forward sufficiently to avoid the sun beating on our brows, and rode slowly on, without uttering a syllable; and even when a hotter and a stronger blast than usual of the north-west wind came upon us, we turned together to receive it on our backs, without exchanging a word, while our horses sidled together for safety, as if partaking of our own sensations.

We reached the Sheikh's tomb in about half an hour, our clothes filled with sand; our nostrils, ears, and mouth with finer dust; our skin dried up to cracking; and both of us parched and fainting with thirst. Our companions, whom we had left behind, had neither of them slept, on account of the extreme heat, as they expressed it, though they were reposing under the shelter of a thick walled building. As there remained only about a pint of water in the

dregs of the leathern bottle, and our companions declared that none had been drank by them in our absence, this small portion was in justice divided among us all. It served, indeed, but barely to wash out the dust from our mouths, without swallowing a drop, which having done, we mounted again, and set out together on our way to Hillah.

The nature of our situation having made us all equal, our guide and servant gave their opinions on the steps best to be taken, with as much freedom as ourselves. It was thus that both of them insisted on our having taken a track too much to the southward, and pointed out a course, of about north-north-west, as leading direct to Hillah. The fact is, that as neither of them had ever been at this spot before, they recollected none of the few leading objects which were to be seen; and, therefore, had the most confused idea of the relative points of bearing. They seemed like ships adrift in a boundless ocean, without a compass to steer by; and, had they been alone, would probably neither have reached Hillah, nor even the banks of the Euphrates, for the night. Mr. Bellino was half inclined to follow their suggestions, and give the casting vote in the case; urging, that their local experience, and knowledge of the country generally, gave them a decided claim to be heard.

On this, as on a thousand similar occasions, perseverance was the only virtue to oppose to wavering opinions. I had taken bearings of the great heaps near the river, previous to our quitting Al Hheimar; and having again looked at my compass, when those heaps were less distinctly visible from the plain, silently pursued a steady course. The two advisers of a more northern route actually drew off, so that we gradually receded from each other; while Mr. Bellino, being at first undecided which to follow, kept a middle course: so that, in an hour after setting out, we were all as widely separated, as if we had belonged to different parties or tribes.

At length a point of union offered itself: after going over long mounds, lying in parallel ranges of two and three beside each other,

and passing heaps of brick and pottery, such as was described on coming out, we discovered an enclosed spot of verdure, with date and other trees, to which we all, as if by common consent, hastened in search of water and shade. On reaching this garden, we found an old Dervish, who called himself the Imaum of a sanctuary here, sacred to Suliman ibn Daoud el Nebbé, or Solomon the son of David the Prophet. We alighted and threw ourselves along the ground, beneath the shade of some overspreading trees; and having satisfied our first want, by drinking immoderately of some brackish water, with which we filled our leathern bottle from an earthen jar, we all fell insensibly asleep, without even fastening our horses; these, being seemingly as much oppressed by the heat as ourselves, crept under the branches of the trees to seek a cooler air, and, lying down on the grass, remained perfectly still, while we lay on and near them, as if we were all members of the same weary family.

It was nearly five o'clock when we awoke, by which time the old Imaum, or Sheikh of the garden, had procured for us a melon, which we devoured greedily, with some dried and hard bread that still remained in our sack. This done, we set out again on our way, and, about an hour before sun-set, came into the great public road from Bagdad to Hillah, a mile or two to the south of the ruined heaps of Babylon, by which we had latterly directed our course.

Our approach to the bank of the Euphrates was through a broad road, lined on each side by a high wall of mud, built, like those of the gardens of Damascus, of large masses of earth, of an oblong form, placed on their edges instead of their flat parts, and enclosing thick and extensive forests of tall and full-leaved date-trees, now laden with clusters of fruit.

At sun-set we entered the eastern division of Hillah, or that part of it which lies on the eastern side of the Euphrates. It appeared to consist chiefly of one good street, leading directly to the river, and used as a bazār, with a number of smaller ones branching off from it on each side. It is closed at its western end by a large door, through which we now passed, and came immediately on the

bridge of boats, which here forms the passage of communication across the river. The boats composing this bridge, as well as the road formed over them, are both inferior to those of the bridge across the Tigris at Bagdad, and render it dangerous to pass on horseback among a crowd.

We happened to be here at an hour when this bridge was particularly thronged, and as every person's attention was arrested by the sight of Mr. Bellino in an European dress, the crowd pressed closer and closer together, by the successive halting of the curious to stare with open mouths of inquiry on the stranger. Our Koord guide, who forced his way before us, rode a very fiery horse, which every now and then reared back on his heels, and made the boat over which he happened to be, roll from side to side, which, giving a corresponding motion to the planks of the bridge, never failed to be followed by a shriek from that part of the crowd who were near. My companion, who rode next in order, necessarily partook of the general alarm; and being naturally impatient, gave vent to the feelings of the moment, in language, which, though no one understood, every one interpreted to be expressive of anger; while I, who rode behind, in quality of his attendant or escort, had enough to do to keep off with my lance the train of insolent boys, who had gathered round to cry out "Frinjee! Gaiour! Kafr!" (Frank! Unbeliever! Infidel!) and purposely to jump on the elastic planks of the bridge, in order to increase the general confusion and alarm.

It was in the midst of this scene of mirth to some, of fear to others, and of vexation and annoyance to myself, that two Bedouins passing by, halted to address me, calling out very gravely, "Ya Arab, ibn Arab," (You Arab, the son of an Arab,) as a man of pure descent among the Israelites was usually called "a Hebrew of the Hebrews." I thought their inquiry frivolous, when they asked me if the horseman before the stranger whom I escorted was a Koord. I replied in the affirmative, as the shortest answer I could give, and which I thought would prevent any farther questions. But I was mistaken. They first asked what business I could have to be tra-

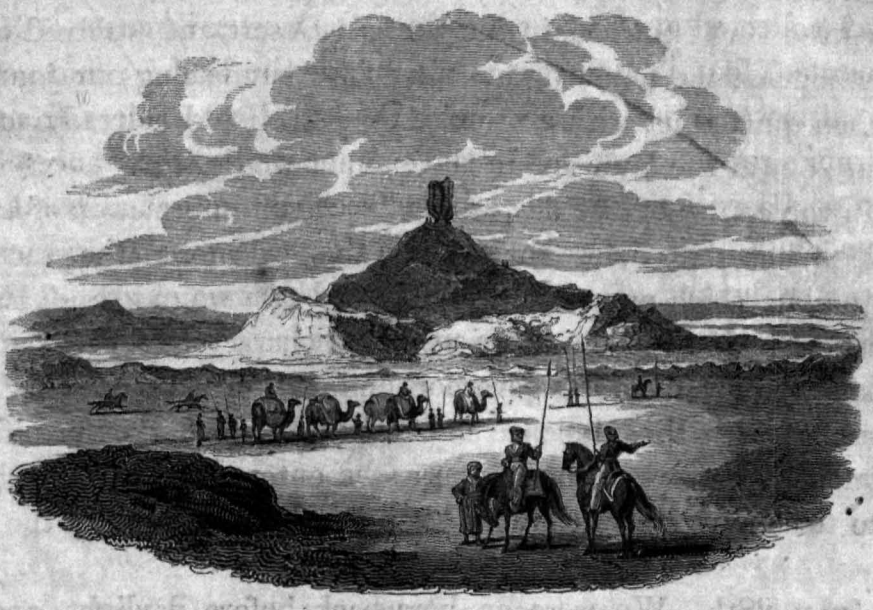
velling with a Koord; and, before I could answer, abused me for associating with a people whom the Arabs of these parts seem to hate most cordially. This was neither a moment nor a place for explanation, so that I left them undisturbed in their impression of my being an Arab, who had not a proper regard to the honour of his race; for though the being an escort to a Frank and a Christian seemed by no means objectionable to them, yet partaking that office with a Koord was talked of as if it were an indelible stain upon the Arab character.

"El humd ul Illah!"—"Praise be to God!"—was heard from twenty tongues at once, as we made our last step from the bridge, upon a firmer footing, and "Mash Allah!" and "Sult Salāmee!" (cries of wonder and self-congratulation on arriving at the other side of the stream in safety,) followed, as if we had escaped from the horrors of a storm at sea, rather than from the dangers of a floating bridge in a calm and not a rapid river.

As well as the confusion of our passage across it would admit, I observed the length of the bridge to measure a hundred and ninety-five horse-paces, which would not be far short of the stadium assigned by Strabo to the breadth of the Euphrates at Babylon, particularly as the bridge is in the narrowest part. Mr. Niebuhr makes the stream here four hundred Danish feet; Mr. Rich, by a graduated line, seventy-five fathoms, or four hundred and fifty English feet; and its average breadth, through the site of the whole ruins, may be taken as from four hundred and fifty to five hundred and fifty, the greatest breadth being thus one-fifth less than the stadium assigned. This is narrower than the Tigris at the bridge of Bagdad, by ninety-two horse-paces, or nearly one-third, according to my measurement of it in going across. Its depth here was found by Mr. Rich, in the month of May, to be two and a half fathoms, erroneously printed "twenty-one fathoms" in the Memoir in "Les Mines de l'Orient." Notwithstanding, however, that the stream is thus narrow, its current appeared to run at a rate of less than two miles per hour; while the Tigris at Bagdad, at the moment of our crossing

it, ran certainly at the full rate of three, and sometimes rushes at the rate of six or seven miles an hour.

We forced our way with considerable difficulty through the crowds collected at the door by which the western quarter of Hillah is guarded, like its eastern one, towards the bridge; and getting soon afterwards to the khan, the discharge of artillery from the governor's residence in the town announced the appearance of the moon of Ramazān. As all without seemed noise and bustle and riotous exultation, we confined ourselves within the caravanserai, sufficiently happy, after our fatiguing and burning excursion, to find a place of shelter, refreshment, and repose.



CHAPTER XXIV.

VISIT TO THE TOWER OF BABEL AND TEMPLE OF BELUS, OR THE BIRS NIMROOD.

JULY 27th.—Our first duty was to send the letters, with which Mr. Rich had kindly furnished us, to the governor of Hillah, and to a powerful Arab of the same town, named Esau Bek. The former was inaccessible, being with his Harem; but the latter had no sooner received our letter, than he sent to announce his intention of visiting us.

It was about noon when he arrived at the caravanserai, accompanied by a younger brother, and a large train of servants. During the interview, after he had assured us that he was the slave of our wishes, and that the execution of our orders and the safety of our persons were on his head, both for the high respect he bore towards

our nation, and his personal esteem for its able representative at Bagdad, we repeated to him what had been already stated in the letter, that the object of our coming thus far was to visit the ruin called the Birs Nimrood, in the western Desert, and we fixed on an early hour on the following morning for commencing our journey: he then quitted us, with a promise that all should be ready for our setting out at the hour and in the manner we desired.

In the course of the day, we had received information of a riot having taken place before the house of the governor on the preceding evening, in which one man was killed and two wounded. This circumstance, added to the notoriously bad character of the people of Hillah, who murder their governors and assassinate each other with impunity, with the insolence and contempt which they manifested towards my European companion as we entered the town, induced us to remain quietly within the khan for the remainder of the day.

JULY 28th—We were on horseback before daylight, and repaired to the house of Esau Bek, to receive our escort for the visit to the temple of Belus, or Birs Nimrood. We were here joined by the younger brother of this chief, and six horsemen, all well mounted and armed, under whose protection we left the town.

The dawn had just began to break as we went out of the miserable mud-walls which encompass Hillah on the west. These are built on an inclined slope, turretted along the top, and barely serve the purpose of a check against the intrusion of the Desert Arabs. Within these walls is a large and high mound of rubbish, the surface of which is covered with fragments of broken pottery, burnt bricks, and other remains of antiquity, which I at first conceived to be the ruin of some large mass of Babylonian building; but on a closer inspection, it appeared to have been gradually accumulated from the rejected materials of which the town itself is built, and which were apparently all brought from the ruins of Babylon.

We went out from the town in nearly a westerly direction,

keeping close to the southern edge of long and high mounds, which appear to have formed the banks of the canal leading from the Euphrates into this western plain. In less than an hour we left this, and going off more southerly, directed our course straight towards the ruined monument of which we had come in search, and whose towering height began to shew itself from the moment of the day-light being broadly opened. Its appearance, as we approached it, was that of a fallen and decayed pyramid, with the portion of a tower remaining on its summit; and every step that we drew nearer to it, impressed us more and more with a conviction, that this was by far the most conspicuous of all the monuments of Babylon, of which any remains are now to be traced, and gradually strengthened the opinion that it was the celebrated Tower or Temple of Jupiter Belus, which had been sought for, and as the explorers considered even recognised, among the ruined heaps on the other side of the Euphrates.

We had no sooner reached the spot, than we ascended hastily on its western side, over a very steep hill, formed of the broken fragments accumulated round its base, and all evidently fallen from the top. When we had gained its summit, and recovered breath by resting for a few minutes among the rock-like masses of the ruin there, our first duty was to note the bearings of surrounding objects, for the purpose of fixing more accurately the relative position of this monument;* since, from the loose description of Père Emanuel, it had been admitted, by Rennel, to be within the site of Babylon, and from the hasty account of Niebuhr, it had been

* Bearings, taken by compass from the summit of the Birs Nimrood:—

Mound of Mujellibé, or Makloube	N. E. by N. 10 miles.
Mesjid el Shems, at Hellah	N. E. by E. 5 miles.
Kiff el Yahooda, the Tomb of Ezekiel	S. 7 miles.
Khan Dubbey	S. W. by S. 8 miles.
Khan Ghaneiza	W. by S. ½ S. 3 miles.
First Lake, or Marsh	S. W. to W. S. W. 2 miles.
Second Lake, or Marsh	from W. 2½ miles, to N. N. W. 8 miles.
Third Lake, or Marsh	N. W. to N. E. by N. 2 to 3 miles.

thrown without that site, for at least two or three miles beyond the walls, though both of these travellers described the same identical ruin.

The direction of Kerbela, or Mesjid Hussein, was pointed out to us in a north-west direction, and of Mesjid Ali in a southern one; but though the morning was beautifully clear, and the hour favourable for seeing to a great distance, neither the one nor the other were at this moment visible. It was called a day's journey from hence to each, without any one being able to specify the number of hours; and the khans mentioned in the bearings were said to be on the direct road from Mesjid Ali to Mesjid Hussein, a road so notoriously infested by the Desert Arabs to the westward of it, that not a year passed without a number of Persian pilgrims being stripped and plundered, whether in strong parties or alone.

I inquired particularly after the ruined site called Brousa, or Boursa, by the natives, and supposed to mark the place of the ancient Borasippa of Strabo, the Barsita of Ptolemy, and the Byrsia of Justin,* the place to which Alexander retired when he was warned by the Chaldeans not to enter Babylon by the east. Near as this place was to us, however, and commonly as it was thought to be known among the people of the country, there was but one of all our party who did not absolutely deny its existence, contending that Boursa, or Birs, were but different ways of pronouncing the same word, which was no other than the name of the place on which we stood. The Arab, who admitted the existence of this disputed spot, under the name given, pointed it out in a south-east direction, but said it was not visible from hence. He knew not the accurate distance from this spot, but supposed it to be four hours' brisk journey. This also he said was about its distance from Hillah, adding, that it was fully an hour's ride from the west of the bank of

* Alexander, being influenced by the advice of the soothsayers not to enter this city, turned aside to Byrsia, a city heretofore unpeopled, on the other side of the Euphrates; but, being importuned by Anaxarchus, the philosopher, to despise the presages of magicians as false and uncertain, he afterwards returned to the city.—*Justin*, chap. xii.

the Euphrates, and therefore could not be visited without a large escort, on account of the character of the Arabs who encamp near the spot.

The view from hence, in every direction, was most dreary: a few distant lines of date-groves was all that relieved the eastern waste, marking the course of the river through the plain; and to the westward all was one yellow Desert, seemingly as destitute of animal as of vegetable life. Between us and the edge of these sandy wilds, was a line of marshes, lakes, and morasses—for at different periods of the year they deserved the name of either—so that the state of the country here at least had seemingly undergone very little alteration since the time of Babylon's foundation or decay.*

We could trace no vestige of a wall in this direction, either in the shape of mounds, or otherwise, throughout all the range of our view. It is true, that the situation of a wall near marshes and loose sands would be unfavourable to its remaining visible for any length of time after it had been once broken down; and it is not, perhaps, improbable, but that it might have been more neglected in this quarter than elsewhere from the first decline of Babylon, as the local features of the situation in its marshes, morasses, and loose sand, offered a permanent obstacle to invasion on that side.†

In reasoning on the positions of the great gates of the city,

* "It is somewhat remarkable, that one of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Babylon is entitled (xxi. 1.) 'The burden of the desert of the sea,' or rather, 'of the plain of the sea,' for Babylon was seated in a plain, and surrounded by water. The propriety of the expression consists in this, not only that any large collection of waters in the oriental style is called 'a sea,' but also that the places about Babylon, as §Abydenus informs us out of Megasthenes, are said from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called 'the sea.'"—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 161.

† The Chaldean soothsayers entreated Alexander not to enter this city at all at that particular time of his being about to do so, which was on his return from Ecbatana, and upon his expedition against the Cosseans: and he ridiculed this advice by repeating a

§ λεγεται δε παντα μεν εξ αρχης ὑδωρ ειναι, θαλασσαν καλεομενην. Ferunt, inquit, loca hæc omnia jam inde ab initio aquis obruta fuisse, marisque nomine appellata. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 41, p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

Major Rennel says, "It may indeed be concluded, that there were fewer gates and communications with the country on the west than elsewhere, for it is said, that Alexander wished to enter the city by the west after his return from India, in order to avoid the evil foretold by the soothsayers, but he was compelled to give up the attempt by reason of the marshes and morasses on that side."* We are told also by Diodorus Siculus,† that the number and depth of the morasses round about Babylon made a smaller number of towers in the nature of bastions necessary for the defence of the walls. Such is exactly the state of the country at the present moment, and the eastern limit of these marshes seem to occupy nearly the same place as anciently, or to press close upon what might be supposed to have been the western boundary of the Babylonian wall.

In turning from the surrounding objects to examine, for a moment, the more striking one on which we stood, we found it to be a steep pyramidal heap, rising to the height of two hundred feet above the level of the surrounding soil, and having the western side of a brick building on its summit, rising to the height of fifty feet more. The western face of the heap is the most destroyed, being worn down into a deep furrow in the loose rubbish, probably by the operation of the strong Desert winds from that quarter. The eastern and southern faces are in different degrees of greater perfection, and the southern is the most perfect of all. At the foot of the mound may be traced a step, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent, by several feet, the true base of the building. Within

satirical line against divines, from the Greek poet Euripides. They then desired him at last not to enter it with his face westward, but to go round *on the other side* of the city, and enter it with his face towards the east. This he was resolved to comply with, but the difficulty of the road, *which was both watery and marshy*, forced him to change that resolution. He even made the attempt to bring his whole army round here, and enter the city at their head, from the west: for which purpose he crossed the Euphrates, and marched along its western bank to the northward, having that river on his right, but from the ground thereabout being *all an impassable morass*, he was obliged to abandon his design as impracticable.—*Arrian*, b. vii. c. 16, 17.

* See Arrian, b. vii. † Book ii. chap. 1.

this, the edifice commences rising in high and distinct stages, receding one within another, in a proportion of width about equal to their respective elevations.

The first, or lowermost of these, shews only some of its interior work, where a pit has been formed near the outer edge of the base, by the apparent clearing away of the rubbish there, perhaps in search after bricks. It is remarkable, that the bricks, though large and firmly made, are merely sun-dried, and cemented either by bitumen or mortar, but without reeds. The lower part of the structure was composed of sun-dried bricks within, and a facing of furnace-baked bricks without, corresponding with the upper parts of the building as they now exist, and with the appearance of all the vestiges around the base. This is exactly consistent with the first feature of the tower of Belus, as noted by Major Rennel, where he says—"It may be concluded that the uppermost stories consisted more of masonry than of earth; but the lower chiefly of earth, which was retained in its place by a vast wall of sun-dried bricks, the outer part or facing of which was composed of such as had undergone the operation of fire." Strabo says, "that the *sides* of the tower were of *burnt* bricks."

The second stage of this heap, which recedes within the first in about the proportion of the height of this from the base, shows the north-east angle of its exterior front most distinctly. This is faithfully delineated in the view of the eastern face of this monument, as drawn by Mr. Rich, and engraved to accompany his Memoir on Babylon; but from the drawings having been reduced by the editors of the "Mines de l'Orient," in which they were originally inserted, to so small a scale, the effect of this appearance is less striking.* It is nevertheless sufficiently visible, even on that scale, to be referred to as a corroboration of the assertion here made.

* See the relative positions and present aspect of the principal Babylonian edifices spoken of in this Work, in the lithographic copies of the Plan and Views of Mr. Rich, taken, by permission, from the plate accompanying his original Memoir in "Les Mines de l'Orient," and inserted among the Illustrations of the present Volume.

The whole of this angle, as far as it can be traced, is of burnt brick, though sun-dried bricks and loose earth may occupy the interior of the mass, as not more than a few feet in thickness are seen jutting out beyond the general surface of the rubbish.

Still above this, is a third stage, a fragment of which may be perceived in Mr. Rich's view of the western front of the heap; this recedes within the second, in the same proportion as the second within the first; and, like it, is apparently formed of furnace-baked bricks, for the exterior surface which now projects beyond the loose fragments of the general ruin.

Above them all, rises the fourth and last existing stage, which is delineated in the apparent tower that crowns the summit of the whole. The standing part of this upper stage is a solid wall of brick, about fifty feet in height, from the lowest part of its base visible on the east, thirty feet in breadth, and fifteen in thickness, though both these last dimensions seem to lessen gradually on approaching the summit. The upper edge of this wall is so broken and irregular, as to prove, beyond a doubt, that it did not terminate the pile; but that above this there were other stages, now destroyed. The wall of this ruin is now rent by a large fissure, which extends through nearly half its height, and is, no doubt, the effect of some violent agent, rather than the gradual operation of time.

The summit of the pile, as it now stands, at an elevation of two hundred and fifty feet from its own base, covers apparently an area of nearly a hundred feet. The whole of this appears to have been occupied by a square building, forming the fourth stage of this great pyramidal tower; only one side of which now remains erect. This presents a wall of brick work, about fifty feet in extreme height, by thirty in breadth, and fifteen in thickness, pierced both longitudinally and transversely with small channels, running all through the building, as if to give a free passage to the air. It is the western side of the tower that remains standing, though occupying only a portion of its original breadth on that front, as both its side edges have been evidently broken away. On the north and

south, the walls are broken down, and their materials dispersed, though the place of both can still be traced. But on the east, the fallen masses which composed the wall of that quarter still remain on the spot.

The bricks used in the masonry of this pile are furnace-baked, and of the ordinary kind, resembling those at Al Hheimar, more than the finer ones at the Kassr, and the whole is thus faithfully characterized by Mr. Rich. "The fine burnt bricks, of which the ruin at the summit of the Birs was built, have inscriptions on them, and so admirable is the cement, which appears to be lime-mortar, that though the layers are so close together, that it is difficult to discern what substance is between them, it is nearly impossible to extract one of the bricks whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together, and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the action of the present fire, or been blown up with gunpowder, yet the layers of the bricks are perfectly discernible."*

The appearance of these masses, and the fissure in the portion of the wall which still remains erect, furnish reasons to believe that fire was used as an agent of destruction in this edifice,† to effect

Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."

† "We learn farther, from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valerius, and quoted from him by §Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his peers, surpassing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no sort of punishment, but sent many of the Babylonians, and for trifling causes, into slavery, and burnt the forum and some of the temples of Babylon, and demolished the best parts of the city. This happened about a hundred and thirty years before Christ."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 172.

§ Vitring. Com. in Iesaiam. cap. xiii. p. 421. vol. 1. Ενημερος ὁ των Παρθων βασιλευς κ. τ. λ. Evemerus, Parthorum rex (docuit Valesius clarissime quod eruditi viri lubenter admiserunt, legendum esse Himerum, Parthorum regis satrapam, ex circumstantiis temporis historiæ, et collatis locis Justini ac Athenæi) patria Hyrcanus, cunctos tyrannos acerbitate vincens, nullum sævitiæ genus prætermisit. Plurimos enim Babylonios levibus de caussis servituti addictos, cum omni familia in Mediam distrahendos misit. Forum quoque et nonnulla delubra Babylonis igni tradidit, ac pulcherrima quæque urbis loca evertit. Accidit casus stante regno Seleucidarum, annis admodum CXXX ante Æ. V. nati Domini.

which almost every other means would have been ineffectual, from the astonishing firmness of its masonry, which rendered the whole fabric in strength like one solid block. Had this been the original summit of the building, and the fire used here been that of sacrifice or adoration, as might be suggested by those who would infer, from the visible effects of this element, that the Birs Nimrood was an ancient fire-temple, the vitrified appearance would have been seen as well in the standing part of the wall, as in that which is fallen, and in both only on the interior surface of the enclosure, which the fire might be supposed to have occupied. Here, however, the fallen masses bear evident proof of the operation of fire having been continued on them, as well after they were broken down as before, since every part of their surface has been so equally exposed to it, that many of them have acquired a rounded form, and in none can the place of separation from its adjoining one be traced by any appearance of superior freshness, or any exemption from the influence of the destroying flame.*

It seems probable, therefore, that all other means of destruction having been found ineffectual, from the solidity of the brick-work of which the upper part was composed, the aid of fire was called in for that purpose; and this element, when well fed in a closed building, would produce nearly the effects which we see, namely, the splitting of one portion of the wall in a deep fissure; the breaking down of the other into large masses, still preserving its layers of brick distinct and inseparable from the tenacity of their cement; the vitrification of such masses after they had thus fallen into the body of the fire, by its enveloping them all around as long as any heat continued; and lastly, the entire fall of some of the disjointed portions of the wall, thus violently separated from the rest. This would be the natural effect of the application of fire within any of the stages, even the uppermost, and if applied to any of the lower ones, would,

* "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be *burnt with fire*."—*Jeremiah*, chap. li. v. 58.

in addition to the same effects, produce the undermining and overthrowing every part of the structure above.*

From the summit of this ruin, we could discover plainly the vestiges of a quadrangular enclosure round the whole pile, as noted also by Mr. Rich. It is most visible on the west and north, its angle of meeting bearing from us about west-north-west, and its general distance from the base of the great heap appearing to be about a hundred yards, or its whole square something more than three hundred yards on each side. In an eastern direction from this ruined pile, and separated from its foot by a clear space, from which it might be inferred that it never joined the pile itself, is a mound of ruins, equal in elevation to those assumed for the palace and the hanging gardens on the other side of the river; this is of an oblong form, extending about a quarter of a mile in length, and a furlong in breadth, of unequal surface, and strewed over with pottery, bricks, and coloured tiles, but having no actual remains of ancient buildings, the two sepulchres now erected on it being recent Mohammedan works.

As this pile of the Birs Nimrood is here assumed to be the remains of the celebrated Tower of Belus, the place of which has been long disputed; and as mature consideration, added to a close personal inspection of the monument, has only strengthened and confirmed the original impression of its identity, it may be well to enumerate such features of resemblance between the present ruin and the ancient temple, as are considered to justify the decision of their being one and the same edifice.

* It would appear that Alexander himself had sacrificed to the god Belus, and most probably in this very temple; but what was the nature of the sacrifice is not mentioned. "On Alexander's marching from Arbela, after the defeat of Darius, straight to Babylon, the gates of that vast city were thrown open to him, and processions of the priests and chiefs of the people went out to meet him, offering him great gifts, and delivering the city, the tower, and the royal treasure, into his hands. Alexander, entering the city, commanded the Babylonians to rebuild the temples which Xerxes had destroyed, *and especially the temple of Belus*, whom the Babylonians worshipped as their chief god, and to whom he himself, by the advice of the Chaldean priests, offered sacrifice."—Justin, book iii. chap. 16.

In recurring to the ancient descriptions of this celebrated monument, Major Rennel justly observes, that "all these are very brief, and Strabo is the only one who pretends to give the positive elevation of the tower, though all agree in stating it to be very great. The *square* of the temple, says Herodotus, was *two* stadia, (one thousand feet,) and the tower itself *one* stadium, in which Strabo agrees. The former adds, 'In the midst, a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one stadium, upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower, and, in the middle of the whole structure, there is a convenient resting-place.'* Strabo says, that the sepulchre of Belus was a *pyramid*, of one *stadium* in height, whose base was a square of like dimensions, and that it was ruined by Xerxes. Arrian agrees in this particular, and Diodorus adds, that on the top was a statue of Belus, forty feet in height, in an upright posture; from which Major Rennel has inferred, by an unobjectionable rule, that the tower must have been about five hundred feet in height, corresponding to the dimensions assigned by the others. Its destruction by Xerxes must have taken place before any of the writers, whose descriptions are cited, could have seen it, and that destruction must no doubt have been an unusually devastating one, since the Persian monarch is said to have forcibly stripped it of all its treasures, statues, and ornaments, and even to have put its priests to death. Both Strabo and Arrian indeed say, that Alexander wished to restore it; the former asserting that he found it too great a labour, for it was said that ten thousand men were not able to remove the rubbish, in the course of two months; and the latter stating that it had been begun, but that the workmen made less progress in it than Alexander expected.†

Clio. 181.

† "The temple of Belus is situated in the heart of that city, (Babylon,) a most magnificent and stupendous fabric, built with brick, and cemented together with a bituminous substance instead of mortar. This, with all the rest of the Babylonian temples, was subverted by Xerxes, at his return from his Grecian expedition; whereupon

Here then we collect the following leading facts; first, that the tower of Belus was a pyramid, composed of eight separate stages successively rising above, and retiring within, each other; second, that its whole dimensions were a square of one stadium, or five hundred feet at its base, and its height exactly the same; third, that it had around it a square enclosure, of two stadia, or one thousand feet for each of its sides; and, fourthly, that attached to this was a temple, the relative position and dimensions of which are not specified, but the ruins of which were very considerable.

To all these features, the remains of the monument called the Birs Nimrood perfectly correspond. The form of its ascent is pyramidal, and four of the eight stages of which its whole height was composed are to be distinctly traced, on the north and east sides, projecting through the general rubbish of its face. Its dimensions at the base, as accurately measured by Mr. Rich, give a circumference of seven hundred and sixty-two yards, or two thousand two hundred and eighty-six feet, exceeding the square of a stadium, or two thousand feet, by no more than might be expected from the accumulation of the rubbish around it on all sides. The height of the four existing stages is equal to about half that of the original building, or two hundred and fifty feet; which, as the eight stages are said to have risen above each other in regular succession, may be fairly supposed to represent the four lowermost of them. The square enclosure to be traced around the whole appears, from the summit of the building, to occupy a line of more than three hundred yards for each of its sides, which may be thought to correspond accurately

Alexander determined to repair it, or, as some say, rebuild it upon the old foundations; for which reason he had ordered the Babylonians to clear away the rubbish, for he designed to build it in a more august and stately manner than before. But, whereas they had made a much less progress in the work than he expected during his absence, he had some thoughts of employing his whole army about it. Much land had been consecrated and set apart by the Assyrian monarchs for the god Belus, and much gold had been offered to him; from these the temple was formerly rebuilt, and sacrifices to the god provided."—*Arrian's Hist. of Alex.* b. vii. c. 17.

enough with the enclosure of two stadia, or one thousand feet, assigned by the historian.*

The great mound to the eastward of the tower is such as must have been left by the destruction of some spacious but less elevated building attached to it, and is of sufficient magnitude for any temple;

* In a Second Memoir on Babylon, published subsequently to my visit to its ruins, in answer to some remarks of Major Rennel, on Mr. Rich's First Memoir, and which I have only seen since my return to England, this gentleman, to whom I had freely communicated all the results of my researches there, thus alludes to this portion of them:—"The whole height of the Birs Nemroud, above the plain to the summit of the brick wall, is two hundred and thirty-five feet. The brick wall itself, which stands on the edge of the summit, and was undoubtedly the face of another stage, is thirty-seven feet high. In the side of the pile, a little below the summit, is very clearly to be seen part of another brick wall precisely resembling the fragment which crowns the summit, but which still encases and supports its part of the mound. This is clearly indicative of another stage of greater extent. The masonry is infinitely superior to any thing of the kind I have ever seen; and, leaving out of the question any conjecture relative to the original destination of this ruin, the impression made by a sight of it is, that it was a solid pile, composed in the interior of unburnt bricks, and perhaps earth or rubbish; that it was constructed in receding stages, and faced with fine burnt bricks, having inscriptions on them, laid in a very thin layer of lime cement; and that it was reduced by violence to its present ruinous condition. The upper stories have been forcibly broken down, and fire has been employed as an instrument of destruction, though it is not easy to say precisely how or why. The facing of fine bricks has partly been removed, and partly covered by the falling down of the mass which it supported and kept together. I speak with the greater confidence of the different stages of this pile, from my own observations having been recently confirmed and extended by an intelligent traveller, who is of opinion that the traces of four stages are clearly discernible. As I believe it is his intention to lay the account of his travels before the world, I am unwilling to forestall any of his observations; but I must not omit to notice a remarkable result arising out of them. The Tower of Belus was a stadium in height; therefore, if we suppose the eight towers, or stages, which composed the pyramid of Belus, to have been of equal height, according to Major Rennel's idea, which is preferable to that of the Count de Caylus,† we ought to find traces of four of them in the fragment which remains, whose elevation is two hundred and thirty-five feet; and this is precisely the number which Mr. Buckingham believes he has discovered. This result is the more worthy of attention, as it did not occur to Mr. B. himself."—*Rich's Second Memoir on Babylon*, p. 32.

† See Mem. de l'Academie, vol. xxxi.

while the rubbish formed by the destruction of the whole, including both the tower and the temple which Alexander is said to have wished to restore, is greater than the whole solid contents of the Mujellibé, or Makloube, and would certainly occupy a body of ten thousand men nearly two months in effectually removing.

To this may be added a suggestion, of little weight perhaps when standing alone, but worthy of mention when supporting other facts, namely, the probability of the name of *Birs*, at present applied to this monument, being a corruption of *Belus*, its original name.* *El Birs* is the epithet by which it is exclusively called by some; and whenever *Nimrood* is added, it is merely because the inhabitants of this country are as fond of attributing every thing to this "mighty hunter before the Lord," as the inhabitants of Egypt are to Pharaoh, or those of Syria to Solomon. Mr. Rich, whose authority on a point of oriental philology is of great value, says, "The etymology of the word *Birs* (برس) would furnish a curious subject for those who are fond of such discussions. It appears not to be Arabic, as it has no meaning which relates to this subject in that language, nor can the most learned persons here assign any reason for its being applied to this ruin." The change from *Belus* to *Berus*, which requires only the change of a constantly permutable letter, would be less extraordinary than a thousand others which have been insisted on as decisive; and the difference between *Berus* and *Birs* is nothing in any of the Semmetic languages, or those written without vowels, since both would be expressed by the same characters, without addition or diminution, and both consequently be the same in sound.

Pliny says, the Temple of Jupiter Belus was so called from Belus, a prince, the first inventor of astronomy. The city was however gone to decay, and lying waste in Pliny's time, from the vicinity of Seleucia, which had drawn off all its population.—*Nat. Hist.* b. 6. c. 26.

The Belus of the Assyrians is thought to be the Mahabali of the Hindoos, and the Shah Mahbool of the Persians, the last of the third dynasty of the ancient kings mentioned in the Dabistan.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 248.

The objections which might be urged against the identity of the ruin at the Birs with the Temple and Tower of Jupiter Belus, deserve a moment's consideration. The first may be found in the apparent novelty of the theory, and in the fact that no one who has hitherto visited, described, or written on this ruin, with the single exception of Mr. Rich, has yet assumed it to be the temple in question. This, however, may be easily accounted for. "All travellers," says Mr. Rich, "since the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who first revived the remembrance of the ruins, whenever they fancied themselves near the site of Babylon, universally fixed upon the *most conspicuous* eminence to represent the Tower of Belus. Benjamin of Tudela, Rauwolff, and some others, saw it among the ruins of the old Felugiah; and, fully bent upon verifying the words of Scripture, fancied it infested by every species of venomous reptile." Pietro della Valle seems to have been the first who selected the Makloube as the remains of this celebrated structure, for the reason assigned above, because it was the most conspicuous eminence among those which he had seen, and his opinion naturally remained authority, until some better was produced. Père Emanuel indeed *saw* the Birs, but, as has been said with great truth, "from the account he has given, or the clearness of the idea which he appears to have formed of it, he might, with equal advantage to the world and himself, have never seen it at all.*

Niebuhr appears to have seen it first from a distance, when he took it for a watch-tower; and subsequently to have been upon the ruin itself, as he describes the little hole in the wall, which cannot be seen from below. After describing the ruin very briefly, he says, "Mais en relisant ensuite ce que Herodote dit (l. i. s. 170.) au Temple de Belus, et de sa forte Tour, il m'a paru très vraisemblable que j'en avois retrouvé là des restes; et c'est pourquoi j'espère, qu'un des mes successeurs dans ce voyage, en fera de plus exactes recherches, et nous en donnera la description."†

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."

† Vol. ii. p. 236. 4to.

This was the impression made on M. Niebuhr, in merely snatching a hasty view of the ruin. This was my own impression at the first moment of approaching it, without any recollection at the time of what Niebuhr had written, and this also was the effect produced on Mr. Rich. "Previous to visiting the Birs," says that gentleman, "I had not the slightest idea of the possibility of its being the Tower of Belus; indeed its situation was a strong argument against such a supposition; but the moment I had examined it, I could not help exclaiming, 'Had this been on the other side of the river, and nearer the ruins, no one could doubt of its being the remains of the Tower.'"*

The next objection to the identity of the Birs with the temple of Belus, may be in its situation; as it has been the commonly received opinion, that this temple stood on the eastern side of the Euphrates. The only ground upon which this was assumed by Major Rennel, is a presumption that the Belidian gate, which was known to be on the east side, was so named from its vicinity to the Temple of Belus. This has been so satisfactorily answered by Mr. Rich, as to leave nothing to add to his remarks on this subject.†

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient," p. 155.

† The passage, in which Major Rennel's objection and Mr. Rich's reply to it is contained, is worth extracting entire. It is this:—

"I believe it is nowhere positively asserted, that the Tower of Belus stood in the eastern corner of Babylon. Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and Quintus Curtius, do not affirm this, but it is certainly the generally received opinion; and Major Rennel says, 'It may be pretty clearly collected from Diodorus, that the temple stood on the east side and the palace on the west. A presumptive proof of the supposed position of the temple, should the words of Diodorus be regarded as ambiguous, is, that the gate of the city named Belidian, and which we must conclude to be denominated from the Temple, appears pretty clearly to have been situated on the east side. When Darius Hystaspes besieged Babylon, the Belidian and Cissian gates were opened to him by Zopyrus; and the Babylonians fled to the Temple of Belus, as we may suppose the nearest place of refuge. The Cissian or Susian gate must surely have been in the eastern part of the city, as Susa lay to the east; and by circumstances, the Belidian gate was near it.'§ Now, I do not think these premises altogether warrant the conclusion. In these

§ Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, pp. 355—357.

The difficulty is then reduced to its distance from the river, which is thought so great as to exclude it from the site of the city according to the generally received extent of its area, and its not apparently occupying that central situation in its own division which has been assigned to it by the ancient writers already quoted.

If, however, the area of Babylon, as given by Herodotus, be admitted to be correct, then, taking the ruin at Al Hheimar for its eastern, and the ruin of El Birs for its western extreme, the latter will be just included within the great square of four hundred and eighty stadia, or fifteen miles on each side. It would be indeed an obstinate bending of facts to support a previously advanced theory, to suppose that so conspicuous an edifice as this of the Birs, still retaining, even to this late period, its pre-eminence over all the other Babylonian ruins, should have been situated just without the walls, on the side which could not be approached, and which had scarcely any gates, on account of the morasses pressing in that direction close on the borders of the city; and yet, that it should not be noticed by any of the writers, describing the ancient Babylon, as occupying so singular a position.

Admitting it to be within the walls, and the adoption of the area of Herodotus completely effects this, its central situation is the

countries, as has before been remarked,* gates take the name of the places *to*, and not *from*, which they lead. The gates of Babylon are instances of this; and the very gate next the Belidian was called Susian, from the town *to* which the road it opens upon leads; so that, if the Belidian gate really derived its appellation from the temple, it would have been a singular instance, not only in Babylon, but in the whole East, at any period. It is, consequently, much easier to suppose there may have been a town, village, or other remarkable place without the city, the tradition of which is now lost, which gave its name to the gate, than that such an irregularity existed. As to the inhabitants, in their distress, taking refuge within the precincts of the temple, it is probable they were induced to it, not from its proximity to the point of attack, but as the grand sanctuary, and, from its holiness and great celebrity, the one most likely to be respected by the enemy."—*Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."*

Vide, also, Rennel.

only difficulty to be removed to reconcile the identity of this ruin with the monument of which it is assumed to be the remains. It may be remarked, first, that we have presumptive proof of Herodotus intending this expression of its being "in the centre" in a very general way; for he places the palace and the hanging gardens in the centre of their respective divisions also: while Diodorus is most explicit as to the fact of the palace having been near to the bridge, and consequently to the bank of the river, which could not have been the centre of the eastern division of the city; and he is borne out in this description by the statements of Strabo and Quintus Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to have been very near the river, and all agree that they were within or adjacent to the square of the fortified palace.

Since, then, this expression of the topographer, "in the centre," is found to be a general one, when confronted with the testimony of other writers, and with the appearance of the ruins, both of the palace and the hanging gardens, to which it is applied, it cannot be unfair to suppose the application of it to the Temple of Belus to be equally general, when opposed to the testimony of other writers, and the appearance of remains still less equivocal than the former ones. Major Rennel himself says, indeed, "It is proper to remark, that there is this specific difference between the descriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus; the first says, that the *centres* of the two divisions were occupied respectively by the *palace* and the *temple:* but Diodorus, by *two palaces;* and although he speaks of the temple also, yet he does not point out its place."

But, after all, the ruins themselves, from their magnitude and general correspondence of detail with the tower, or temple, or pyramid, of Belus, may be safely admitted to contain more convincing proofs of their identity, than any thing that could be said on its positive or relative situation with respect to other edifices; and while so generally careful and accurate an investigator as Rennel could feel justified in fixing the position of this temple on such scanty materials as were presented to his choice; and, by a reference

to this position so fixed, as a standard, could venture to determine the place of all the other edifices of Babylon; it may be allowed, to draw the contrary conclusions here detailed, supported as they are by ancient authorities at least as numerous, and modern appearances by far more satisfactory.

I cannot close these observations, which were all noted on the ruins themselves, and written out at length, during the evening of the same day at Hillah, while fresh from the spot, without saying, that when I first set my foot upon the ruins of Babylon, I did not expect that any thing new would offer itself to my notice. I came most certainly without any previously-formed opinions, as to positions of particular edifices at least, having with me, in addition to the written extracts made from ancient authors, Major Rennel's and Mr. Rich's Dissertations, which, though they present different and in many cases directly opposite views, I had read with equal attention at Bagdad, and again at Hillah, amidst the very ruins themselves. I came with no previous prejudices to confirm—no established theory to support; and I can say with great truth, in the frank and modest confession of Mr. Rich, that "I would rather incur the imputation of being an ignorant and superficial observer, than mislead by forming rash decisions upon subjects so difficult to be discussed." It is for this reason, that, in the greater part of the descriptions of particular portions of these ruins, on which certain arguments are grounded, I have preferred the quotation of those from others, when they have accorded with my own impression, rather than assert the same thing in other words, as from myself; since, having devoted a shorter period than I could have desired, to the investigation of these extensive and interesting ruins, the accuracy of my details might, on that ground alone, be supposed liable to be called in question.*

* We saw nothing of the insects mentioned in the following passage of Rauwolff, and of which, after describing them, he doubts the existence, as well he might:—"Behind it, pretty near to it, did stand the Tower of Babylon, which the children of Noah (who first inhabited these countries after the deluge) began to build up unto

It was about nine o'clock, when we descended from the summit of the Birs, bringing with us some written bricks, and fragments of the vitrified masses there. We remounted our horses at the base of the monument, and after traversing the great eastern mound without observing any thing new, pursued our return to Hillah by the same route over which we had come out across the plain.

Our escort of horsemen here exercised themselves in pursuit and flight, which, with their flowing dresses and long elastic lances, produced the most picturesque effect. We learnt, in our way, that during the rains of winter, nearly the whole tract between Hillah and the Birs is converted into a marsh.

On our re-entering the town, we noticed two buildings, with high conic domes, like that of the Tomb of Zobeida, near Bagdad. One of these within the town was still used as a mosque; the other, in the gardens without the town, is called Mesjid el Shems, or the Mosque of the Sun, a name given to it from a tradition of its being built on the spot where Ali performed his devotions, when the sun was "polite enough (as Niebuhr expresses it) to rise a couple of hours later than usual for the accommodation of the Imaum, who, having overslept himself, would have lost the usual hour of prayer, but for the obliging disposition of this luminary to retard his appearance."

We passed through a long line of narrow streets and bazārs, and

Heaven; this we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but it is so mightily ruined, and low, and so full of vermin that hath bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter, when they come not out of their holes. Among these insects, there are chiefly some, in the Persian language called Eglo by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous; they are (as others told me) bigger than our lizards, and have * three heads, and on their back several spots of several colours, which have not only taken possession of the tower, but also of the castle, (which is not very high,) and the spring-well, that is just underneath it, so that they cannot live upon the hill, nor dare not drink of the water, (which is wholesome for the lambs.)—This is romance."—p. 138.

* Rauwolff was here too credulous and facile to suffer himself to be abused and imposed upon by these relaters; for that there neither are, nor ever were, any animals with more heads than one naturally, I do confidently affirm.—*Ray, Translator and Editor of Rauwolff.*

alighted at the khan, where we remained until the heat of the day had subsided, without further extending our inquiries regarding Hillah itself, already so often and so well described. It is seated on both banks of the Euphrates, the stream of the river running through its centre. Its two divisions are connected by a bridge of boats, close to each end of which is a door, terminating a long street of communication. The eastern division is inconsiderable in extent and population, but the western contains from eight to ten thousand inhabitants, chiefly Arab traders. There are some Jewish dealers, who have a synagogue for their worship, but there are no resident Christians; and the only Turks here are such as fill the immediate offices dependent on the Governor, who is generally a Georgian appointed from Bagdad.

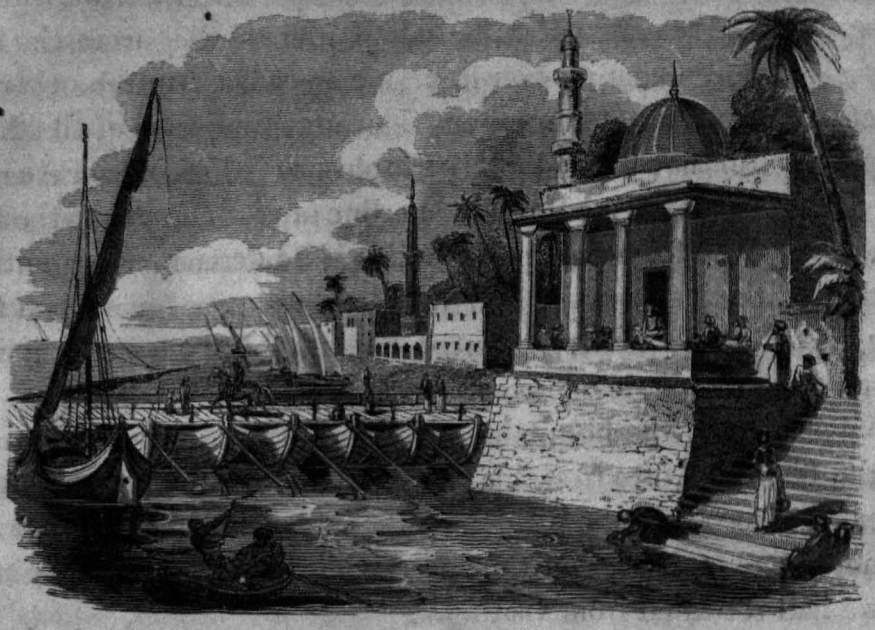
About six o'clock we mounted our horses at the khan, and went over the bridge of boats on our return, when it was as much crowded as before. Just beyond the eastern division of the town, while yet among the gardens and date-groves, we met an Arab lad, with no covering but a shirt, his hair flying loosely in the wind, a naked dagger or yambeeah in his hand, his neck and breast covered with blood, and himself running almost breathless along the road. He made no replies to our questions, and seemed as if flying from some murderous affray.

As we approached the mounds on the eastern division of the ruined Babylon, the Koord guide and an Arab of our party expressed great alarm, from the evil spirits, both of the living and dead, whom they firmly believe to haunt these heaps at night. We passed, however, unmolested by both, which they attributed to some favourable influence possessed by Mr. Bellino, as an European and a man of necromantic learning, and slept at the khan of Mohāwil in safety.

JULY 28th.—The rest of our way to Bagdad was marked by no peculiar occurrence, as we travelled chiefly by night, and halted during the heat of the day, on the same road by which we had come down.

On the morning of the 30th, as we approached Bagdad, we met a caravan of Persian corpses, conveying to Imaum Hûssein for interment. Near the bend of the Tigris, about two hours below Bagdad, we were shewn the marks of an inundation all the way from the Euphrates, rafts even coming over from one river close to the other by its waters. This is greater in extent than any inundation of the Nile, and proves also that the bed of the Euphrates is higher at Felugiah than that of the Tigris at Bagdad, in a line of east and west; though the course of the former river is slow, as if its descent were gentler, and that of the latter rapid, as if its descent were steeper, than the other; a difference to be accounted for only by the more winding course of the Euphrates.

We arrived at the hospitable residence of Mr. Rich, in time to join the family at breakfast, and passed some hours of the day together, in recounting the incidents of our journey, and comparing our notes and opinions on the interesting remains of the ruined city we had returned from visiting.



CHAPTER XXV.

OBSERVATIONS MADE AT BAGDAD.

On the day after our return from Hillah, I had been seized with a severe fever, an effect of the heat and fatigue of the journey. This confined me for some time to my bed, during which period my companion also suffered from the same cause. I was again recovering my strength, however, until about a fortnight after my first attack, when, exposing myself to the sun at noon-day, in order to fix the latitude of Bagdad by a meridian altitude, at the request of Mr. Rich, I experienced a *coup de soleil*, which threw me into a relapse, and occasioned a longer and more severe illness than the first attack.*

* The observation of the sun's meridian altitude, taken on the 4th of August, 1816, for ascertaining the latitude of Bagdad, gave the following result :—

During this confinement, I had the benefit of the best medical advice, from the physician of the establishment, Dr. Hine, and every comfort which Mr. Rich's house, and the kind attentions of himself and family, could afford. But the state of the weather was itself a sufficient obstacle to rapid recovery; as, from the close of July until the middle of August, the thermometer stood at an average between 119° and 122° of Fahrenheit, in the shade at noon, with calms, now and then broken by the Simoom or Desert wind. Those who had long resided in the country had known nothing like this heat for any great number of days in succession before; and its effects were universally felt among all classes. Here, in the midst of every convenience that money could procure to ameliorate it, we fled to the terrace for air at night, and to the subterraneous cells for shelter during the day; in both cases, going nearly without garments, and finding it a sufficient penance to dress even in the lightest robes for an hour at breakfast, which was never later than seven o'clock in the morning, and again for dinner, which was always an hour after sun-set.

By a Tartar who had recently arrived from Constantinople, we heard the most distressing accounts of the state of the country, which was parched and burnt up, in the immediate neighbourhood of Bagdad and Mousul, by the excessive heat; and accidents of death from the same cause were daily reported to us. We learnt, at the same time, the fact of a kellek or raft, coming from Mousul to Bagdad by the Tigris, having been attacked by Arabs in a narrow part of the river, and every creature on board it murdered.

Observed altitude of ⊙'s lower limb	73	41
⊙'s semidiameter		16
Altitude of ⊙'s centre	73	57
Polar distance	90	00
Zenith distance	16	3 N.
⊙'s declination, reduced to the meridian	17	18 N.
Latitude	33	21 N.

The continuance of the Fast of Ramazān, added to my yet weak state of health, and the oppressive heat of the weather, were sufficient reasons for my postponing the further prosecution of my journey towards India, until more favourable combinations might allow me to do so without great risk.

During this period of my recent illness, two vessels had arrived at Bussorah from India, one of them the East-India Company's cruiser Aurora, which brought despatches, and then sailed again directly, in order to take round the Bishop of Calcutta from Bombay to Bengal; the other, his Majesty's ship Favourite, the Honourable Captain Maude, who had taken an English vessel from Muskat, laden with slaves, and departed from Bussorah again so soon, that there was no hope of my reaching her in time.

The tedium of my confinement was considerably relieved by the number and variety of excellent books which Mr. Rich's library contained, and which were accompanied also by the most unreserved communication from that gentleman himself, of every thing calculated to increase the interest of my future journey eastward. In his extensive and valuable collection of antiques, I found also a source of amusement and information. These were chiefly Babylonian, and consisted of cylinders, amulets, idols, and intaglios, of the most curious kind. Among these I was more particularly struck with some cylinders, drilled through with holes, as if to be worn round the neck, the ornaments on which were purely Egyptian; the winged globe, wavy lines of water, the lotus, the moon, a globe in a boat, sacrifices of gazelles, rams' heads; a lunated female divinity, like Isis; priests in the same attitudes, and divinities on similar thrones to those of Egypt, with a mixture of Persepolitan figures and symbols on the same objects, and most of them accompanied by inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, such as has been found at the ruins of Persepolis, Babylon, and Nineveh. Besides these, were a fine ram's head in agate, as of Jupiter Ammon; a cow, or bull, in copper, as of Apis or Mnevis; a male figure in a sitting attitude, but unsupported by a seat, bearing an open scroll on his knees, the whole

of copper, and in the most decidedly Egyptian style; a porcelain or opaque stone scarabeus, bored through with a longitudinal hole, covered with small inscriptions; and many other smaller articles, which, if presented to me as Egyptian, I should have received as such, where the Babylonian writing did not prove them to have had a more eastern origin.

Among the coins were a number of silver ones that had been dug up in an urn on the banks of the Tigris, which were obtained with difficulty by Mr. Rich, as the Pasha wished to conceal the fact of treasure having been found in his dominions, from a fear that its amount would be exaggerated by the time the news reached Constantinople, and a demand of restitution from the Sultan might follow, as all treasure found in this way is his legal right. These coins included Athenian, Samian, and Corinthian, with several of Alexander and Antiochus. There were also others of silver, bearing on one side a turretted fortress, with two lions underneath it, and on the reverse, a figure about to stab the unicorn, so frequently represented in the Persepolitan sculptures; so that these coins were most probably of that place. Besides these, were gold and silver medals of the Sassanides, of Sapor, and Ardeschir, collected at different periods, and many Cufic rings, seals, and talismans, with holy sentences engraven on them.

It may be noted as a singular fact regarding these Babylonian cylinders, which appear to have been worn around the neck, as the amulets of Egypt, that one of them was found by Baron Haller, a German traveller, well known in Greece, on the Plain of Marathon, no doubt left there by one of the Persian army, on that memorable day, and perhaps worn by one of the Babylonian legion, the destruction of whose corpse it had so long survived.

The larger antiques comprehended a figure in brass, embracing a large lingam between its knees, precisely in the style of the Hindoo representation of that emblem; a block of black basalt, much injured, but on which was still seen, well sculptured, a fine ram, fronting a monolithic temple, like that before which the cat is

seen sitting in the temple of Hermonthis, in Egypt, the shape of the monolith, as well as the attitude of the animals, being, in both cases, exactly the same; this stone was covered with inscriptions, in the arrow-headed character, very neatly cut. On another large block of stone was seen the figure of a priest, leaning on a staff, well preserved, and terminating in a flower on the top. This was no doubt a Babylonian relic, as Diodorus Siculus says, that the Babylonians all bore in their hands a well-fashioned stick, at the extremity of which was a rose, or some other ornament; for, he adds, it was not permitted for them to carry these sticks without their having some distinctive sign. Such staffs are often seen in the hands of Egyptian priests, and other figures, on their temples, and when borne by Isis, it is generally terminated by a lotus.*

Among the smaller intaglios, was a singular figure, altogether composed of globes of large diameter for the body, and smaller ones for the head, the legs, and the arms,—probably having some astronomical allusions. One of the agate cylinders was found at Nineveh, and seemed to have some of the constellations designed on it; with spirited figures of animals and men, in action, well cut. The cylinders were in general, however, of a composition not unlike plumbago, but finer and harder.

The silver coins, found buried on the banks of the Tigris, included some which had, on one side, a sea-horse in the water, and over it, as if on the surface of the sea, an old Greek galley, filled with armed men, with helmets and shields; the design of the reverse was quite unintelligible. On others were, on one side, an owl, with hawk's legs; and, on the other, a bearded figure, driving a pair of horses in the sea, as if emblematic of Minerva and Neptune. Others, again, had on one side a castle; and, on the other, a beautiful chariot and pair of horses, with two figures, a warrior and charioteer, as in the sculptures at the cave of Beit el Waali, above the cataracts of the Nile, in Nubia.

* See Memoires de l'Acad. Royale, tome xxix. p. 146.

Among these curiosities, there was also a supposed seal of one of the Khalifs, dug up at Old Bagdad, and containing the words "Ya Allah!" O God! in large Kufic characters, deeply cut, on a substance resembling that of the ancient cylinders. A crystal seal, with Hebrew characters on it, easy to be deciphered, but making nothing intelligible in its combinations, was pretended, by those who found it, to have been the seal of Solomon; but it was most probably a cabalistic impress, used by some of the old Jews of Babylonia, among whom that science was in high repute.*

Added to the Indian figure of a man with a pointed bonnet

* Among the Talismans of the East, the most powerful were *Mohur Solimani*, the seal or ring of Soliman Jared, fifth monarch of the world, after Adam. These, it was held, had the power to control even the arms and magic of the Dives, or giants: and their possessors enjoyed the entire command over the elements, the Demons, and all created beings. See D'Herbelot, "Bibliothèque Orientale," and Richardson's "Dissertation." Much curious learning might be thrown together on the subject of talismans, amulets, &c.; but a note is not, of course, the proper place to enter into such researches: the reader may not, however, be displeased to find the following particulars. The ancient Pagans of Greece and Rome, no less than those of the East, were strongly addicted to repose confidence in gems, with talismanic characters engraven on them, or steeped in astrological influences. From a passage of Trebellius Pollio, one of the Augustine historians, we learn, (at least, according to the interpretation of the erudite M. Baudelot,) that the Roman generals of Gallienus's time were accustomed to wear, both in peace and war, certain magical bauldricks,—"constellatos baltheos,"—which were supposed to ensure them from danger or envy. The use of these charms may be traced to the remotest antiquity, for it was encouraged by the genius of polytheism. Their inventor, according to obscure tradition, was a certain man, named Jacchis, whom Suidas supposes to have lived under the reign of Sennyes, King of Egypt. He must have carried on a large business, for, besides the common talismans, περίαπτοι, he manufactured secret remedies against all pains and aches, against the burning rays of the sun, and the influence of the dog-star. Others confer the honour of this priestly quackery on Necepsos, a king of Egypt, who lived about two hundred years before the time of Solomon, but subsequent to Jacchis. To him Ausonius attributes the initiation of the Magi in these vain mysteries: "Quique Magos docuit mysteria vana Necepsos."

Tertullian, a superstitious writer, talks of the emeralds which the ancients wore, it is conjectured, for magical purposes, in their girdles; and Pliny and Marcellus Empiricus also speak of these same emeralds, which, when sculptured into the form of an eagle or scarabæus, were supposed to possess wonderful virtues. Among other things, it was thought that the steady contemplation of a scarabæus,

and beard, embracing the lingam, I saw also, in the possession of an Armenian, a demi-transparent stone, like a brown agate, with a fine triad on it, the heads and full-length figures apparently all female, judging from the features as well as the drapery. This had three distinct faces and six arms, each extended, with a little bending at all the elbows; in the upper pair of arms, were a lighted candle in each; in the second pair, a naked dagger in each; and in the third pair, a sort of whip in each; so that the right and left hand of each pair bore the same emblem, and all wore the exact appearance of a deity of Hindoostan. This was also found at Babylon; and on its reverse were some Greek letters, in cabalistic combinations, more recently cut than the original figure, and of a very imperfect form.

This collection of antiques contained, besides its written bricks,

of the colour of an emerald, tended to strengthen the sight in a very wonderful manner. Pliny observes, that, throughout the East, a certain greenish jasper was worn as an amulet; and that it was to the wearing of something of the kind, that the Crotonian Milo, the celebrated athleta, owed, according to report, his many glorious victories. The soldiers of ancient Egypt always carried about their persons the figure of a scarabæus, which they firmly believed had the power to shield them from the accidents and dangers of war. But let not the reader despise them on this account: British mariners of the nineteenth century exhibit a superstition no less gross and stupid, when, on undertaking long voyages, they purchase a child's caul, to protect them from the fury of oceans and tempests, and nail a horse-shoe at the heel of the bowsprit, to protect the ship from ghosts and witches. The Egyptians beheld in the scarabæus a sacred image, for it was one of their gods. And a colossal deity of this species, cut out of black granite, may be seen in the British Museum, in what, I suppose, is meant for the pronaos of the *Elgin* Parthenon.

If we may rely on the testimony of Trebellius Pollio, the Macrii, a Roman family, entertained so profound a veneration for Alexander the Great, that both the males and females of this family always wore his image engraven on their rings, bracelets, and other ornaments. The *bullæ*, too, which the children of Rome suspended on their breasts,—nay, which the very consuls and senators wore in their triumphs, as charms, to avert envy, were nothing but amulets, or talismans. See Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tome ii. pp. 378—386. It should be remarked, however, that what M. Baudelot here says, after Macrobius, of the *bullæ* being worn by great men during their triumphs, is controverted, and I think successfully, by Middleton, "Germane quædam Antiquitatis," &c. pp. 43, 44.

and other things purely Babylonian, so many curious affinities to Egyptian symbols on the one side, and to Indian on the other, that there seemed every reason to believe the central situation of this great city of Babylon, between these two teeming sources of superstition, had occasioned it to receive many of the deities and doctrines of each into its own peculiar system of mythology and mystery.

The heat of the weather had prevented the usual fête on the birth-day of the Prince Regent, (the 12th of August,) but the Resident's body-guard of Indian sepoys was paraded, and the visits of the usual attendants of the Divan were received with the formality of full dresses on the occasion. Among these were only two Franks, the one a young surgeon from Damascus, who had come here to seek employment in his profession among the Turks; the other the secretary of the French Consul, M. Vigoroux being himself ill at the time; an old friar, vicar apostolic of Babylonia, and head of the Catholics of Bagdad; and a Persian, who was so old as to remember the siege of Bagdad by Nadir Shah, being born at Ispahan in 1720, and educated at Rome, from whence he had come here to reside, as head of the Armenian church at this city. Besides these, were Christians, Jews, Turks, and some entertaining Dervishes, as well as all those in dependence on the establishment, forming altogether a very numerous train.

The Christians of Bagdad are but few in number; but the Jews are said to amount to ten thousand at least, in this city alone. It appears, that ever since the two great captivities of Nineveh and Babylon, in which the ancestors of this people were carried away from Palestine, they have abounded in these parts, more than in any other portion of the globe; having generally observed with rigour the law of marrying only in their own race, and having had no destructive wars to carry them off, as they seldom or ever engage in the contests and disputes of their masters.

In the examination of Benjamin de Tudela's early and interesting Travels in the East, it appeared to me, that his general accuracy has

been very unjustly impeached; and as his work, the original of which was written in Hebrew, is but very imperfectly known to the general readers of Travels, a few observations on its account of Bagdad at least may not be misplaced. The geography and local descriptions of his book prove that this enterprising Jew really went over most of the ground he describes, to which his claim to accuracy must be confined; for, like Herodotus, and indeed many more modern travellers, whenever he quits the boundaries of his own observation, all is fable and exaggeration. At this moment, however, there are, in many of the places that he names, by far more Jews than there were even in his day; and this being the case, it is but fair to admit the possibility of their having been more in some others at the date of his writing, than are to be found now, since change in this respect is so likely, from a thousand causes, to happen.

I have followed the footsteps of this early traveller, with great interest, through Syria and Mesopotamia; and his description of the ancient Bagdad excites but a continuation of the same feeling of respect for his general veracity. As he set out on his travels so early as the year 1173 of the Christian era, and the oldest dates of the inscriptions at Bagdad are 1221, for the foundation of the walls and construction of the towers by the Khalif Nassr, in the year of the Hejira 618, and 1232 for the foundation of the celebrated Medrassee or College for the learned, by the Khalif Mostanser, in the year of the Hejira 630, it follows that it must have been the *ancient* Bagdad, the ruins of which are supposed to be still visible on the west of the Tigris, and not the present city, which Benjamin of Tudela describes. He calls it a large city, where commences the Empire of the Caliph of the Abassides, chief of the family of their Prophet, and held in veneration by all the kings of the Desert Arabs, as a sort of sovereign pontiff among them. The palace of the Caliph is said to have been three miles in circumference, with a forest of fruit and other trees, a multitude of animals and birds, and in the midst of it, a lake formed by the waters of the Tigris, which were let in there, so that hunting and fishing could be

commanded as constant diversions. This space was as large as that occupied by the castellated palace and hanging gardens of Babylon, and laid out nearly in the same way, having been used, in the time of its perfection, for a park, for which purpose the other is said to have served in the progress of its decline.

The name of the Caliph, in Benjamin's time, was Abassidas Ahmed; he was a great friend to the Israelites, understood the Hebrew, which he read and wrote with perfection, and was deeply learned in the law of Moses. In the present day, during the residence at Bagdad of Dr. Hine, physician of the English establishment, there has been a similar instance of a Kiahya, or Lieutenant of the Pasha, who was more learned in the Hebrew than any of the Jews, and spoke it with facility, which the Jews of Bagdad generally do not, Turkish and Arabic being the languages in which they ordinarily communicate. This Caliph, it appears, like the one who then reigned at Cairo, never shewed himself throughout the year, but at the Fast of Ramadān, except when the Pilgrims returned from Mecca at any other portion of the year, in which case they alone had the privilege of kissing the hem of his garment, after which they each retired to his country in peace, having nearly as high a respect for this representative of the Prophet as for the Prophet himself. This is easy of belief, as happening among early Mohammedans, when we know how far a reverence for the Pontiff of the West, and the Vicar of Christ upon earth, is even now carried among the Catholics of Italy and Spain.

From an attempt having been once made on the life of the Caliph, by the intrigues of men ambitious to reign in his stead, all his officers had their apartments within the walls of his palace; and every individual of his family or race, who might have had pretensions to share his power, were bound with chains of iron. Aspirers to forbidden honours are now generally destroyed, by the reigning Sultan of the Turks, whose unwillingness "to bear a brother near the throne," has become proverbial. Here, however, in Benjamin's time, they were suffered to live, and have each their

separate court, the splendour of which was maintained by the tribute of particular villages, districts, and lands, collected by their own treasurers, and applied exclusively to their own use. On the going out of the Caliph from his palace, at the fast of Ramadān, to the Great Mosque for prayer, he is said to have ridden on a mule, dressed in his robes of sovereignty, but bearing at the same time, over a rich turban, a black veil, as a mark of humility, and to suggest to beholders, that all the sumptuous magnificence with which he was then surrounded, would one day be covered with the shadows of death. He was followed by all the chiefs of the Arabs, magnificently dressed, and mounted on the most beautiful horses; and the road from the palace to the mosque was lined with a crowded populace, among whom were dancers, singers, and musicians, to greet the passage of the Chief. All these saluted him by saying, "Peace be upon thee, O! our Lord and King!" which, on his part, he returned by lifting his hand to his mouth and forehead, so as to touch it with the sleeve of his own garment, and signifying to the multitude, by extending his hand, that he gave to them the same salute, "On you be peace!" in which manner these mutual interchanges of respect and condescension continued all the way to the door of the mosque.*

All this is, no doubt, a faithful picture of the manners of Bagdad in the Rabbi's time, as it resembled, in almost every particular, the entrance of the present Pasha of Bagdad, which I myself witnessed on the morning of my first arrival at the city-gate. He was preceded by his troops, with a band of music and drums, on horseback, and followed by the principal chiefs of his court, on the most beautiful animals, richly caparisoned. All operations were suspended as he passed, and not a pipe was lighted, nor even a cup of coffee served, until he had gone by; every one from among the spectators made

* In an account of the first Tartar conquests of Mousul and Bagdad, there is a description of the state dress and ceremonies of the Caliph, Ul Kain, which resembles that described by Benjamin of Tudela, in the account here given.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 355.

the most respectful salutes of "Salām Alaikom," with a rising and inclination of the body at the same time; and to the humblest this was returned by the Pasha, with the answer of "Alaikom Salām," and either a laying of the hand on the heart, or an elevation of it to the mouth and forehead, in the universal manner of the country; this sort of reciprocal politeness continuing all the way from the city-gates to the palace.

Arrived at the mosque, the Caliph himself, it appears, delivered, in Benjamin's day, a sermon on some portion of the Koran, and received the benedictions and praises of the faithful; after which, a camel was sacrificed, as now a lamb is killed at the feast of the Kourban Bairām. The Khalif then returned to his palace, from which he never again went out during the rest of the year; and so great was the veneration for his person, that even the ground on which he had trodden was henceforward held sacred.* This pontiff appears to have been even more pious than those who usually filled that office. Among other things, he had made a solemn vow, neither to eat, drink, nor wear any articles of food and apparel except such as could be paid for by the labour of his own hands. For this purpose, he employed his leisure in making small mats of a curious kind, probably used as carpets now are for prayer, which, being marked with his own seal, were sent by his officers to be sold in the public market. These never wanted purchasers among the chiefs of the people, so that the money furnished by them served amply for the purpose to

* The dominion of Malik Shah, one of the Seljooke, or Tartar, dynasty, was so extensive, that it reached from the shores of the Mediterranean almost to the walls of China, and prayers were daily offered up for him in the cities of Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Bagdad, Ispahan, Rhe, Bokhara, Samarcand, Ourgungè, and Kashgar. In the year 481 of the Hejira, he made a pompous pilgrimage to Mecca, built many caravanserais on the way, and abolished the duties exacted from pilgrims. D'Herbelot tells an anecdote of his crossing the Oxus, when the boatmen complained to him that they were paid by a bill on the revenues of Antioch; but the minister of finance replying that this was not to defer their payment, but to manifest the glory of their sovereign, and the wide extent of his dominion, they were satisfied, since they could negotiate it.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 366.

which it was applied. Had this been the only trait of his piety, it might have seemed frivolous enough; though no one could deny it the merit of being a good example of industry to the people at large, and an excellent mode of evincing his approbation of the doctrine, that man should live by useful labours. But this was not all; the Rabbi Benjamin, a stranger of a different faith, and one who, being forbidden to enter the temples of their Prophet, and held to be impure, was not likely to be seduced into too favourable an opinion of an unbeliever, describes this Caliph of Bagdad as being a man of probity, respecting his word, attached to the duties of his religion, of the most affable manners, and addressing himself with condescension and familiarity to men of every class; leading, it is said, a life of purity and equity, his chief aim being to do good.

On the borders of the Tigris were erected by him a hospital for the sick, and another for the insane; in the first of which, besides every possible convenience for the unfortunate sufferers, were sixty apothecaries, well supplied with all kinds of medicines and drugs then known and used, as well as every necessary and comfort of food and nourishment, all at the expense of the Caliph, by whose orders every care continued to be exercised towards the patients, until their perfect recovery or death. The hospital of insanity was called "Dar al Marapther," or, "Dar al Marhhammas," the House of Mercy; and the establishment for the treatment and recovery of the patients seems to have been as well regulated as the former, under the inspection of proper persons engaged for that purpose.

This Jewish traveller concludes by saying, "The king did this with the intention of exercising mercy generally towards all those who, during their stay in Bagdad, were afflicted with any malady, whether it affected their bodies or their minds. And this proves what we had before said, that he was a man full of humanity and upright intentions.* The Mosque of Flowers, as it is

* See the "Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle," in Bergeron's Collection, in French, pp. 34, 35. 4to.

called, or the Hospital for the Blind, is an institution of a similar kind, founded by one of the early Arabian Caliphs, and still existing at Cairo.

Notwithstanding the great size and celebrity of Bagdad as the metropolis of the Mohammedan world, and the residence of the chief among the Jews, it is said, when Benjamin wrote, to have contained only a tenth part of its present number of Hebrew inhabitants, or about a thousand; an estimate which, coupled with that of two thousand for Cairo, and the low numbers given to many large towns in Syria, must exonerate this observing traveller from the large common charge of exaggeration, raised against him on this subject particularly. When speaking of such places as he had himself seen, his accuracy is, I think, unquestionable; though, in giving an account of countries beyond the limits of his own personal observation, he was, no doubt, liable to the same errors as all those who describe things on the authority of others.

It is curious to observe, that among the chiefs of the assemblies then resident at Bagdad, there was one Eliezer Ben Isamah, president of the fifth class, who traced his descent from the Prophet Samuel, and who, being a great proficient on the harp, played, accompanied by his brothers, on the sacred instrument of the royal David, in the exact manner which was in use in those early times, when the House of the Sanctuary still existed. The Chief of the next class was called "the Flower of his Companions," and the names of all the others are given in detail.

The principal officer of all, however, was Daniel, the son of Hhasdai, who was called "the Conductor of the Captivity," and preserved a book of his genealogy, in direct descent from David. His authority, being derived from the Caliph himself, was great in all the assemblies of the Israelites; and a decree of the Mohammedan Pontiff had ordered that Moslems, as well as the followers of every other religion, should pay this Chief of the Captives all due respect, by rising in his presence to salute him, in default of which, a hundred strokes of the bastinado was the punishment to be given.

When Daniel went to visit the Caliph, he was accompanied by a number of horsemen, Jews as well as Gentiles, at whose head was one, who, like the Baptist before the Messiah, crying, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight," exclaimed also on this occasion, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, the son of David, who is just." The manner of his receiving authority from the Caliph, was by the laying on of hands; on the day of which ceremony, he rode in the second chariot of the realm, with all its dependent ornaments, wearing robes of silk, with Phrygian embroidery, a noble tiara on the head, encircled by a white veil, similar to those, perhaps, now used in the service of the synagogue at Jerusalem, and round this veil a rich chain of gold, so that he appeared in as high splendour as the Prophet Daniel himself at the court of the great Belshazzer, in Susa. The city of Bagdad, the rulers and chief people of which Benjamin of Tudela thus minutely describes, was then, to use his own words, seated in the most fertile part of the land of Senaar, or Shinar, abounding in fine gardens, producing excellent fruits, and being the rendezvous of merchants and traders from all parts of the world, as well as the focus of wisdom and science, and the school of philosophers and men learned in the mathematics, in astrology, and the doctrines of the Cabala.

In following the route of this early Jew's wanderings from hence, Gehiaga, which he reached in two days from Bagdad, would seem to be the Felugia of the present maps. He did not, however, conceive this to be Babylon, as has been supposed, but took it for the *Resen* of the Scriptures, which is said to have been a great city, and there are still extensive ruins here to bear out the supposition. It was a day's journey from hence to the ancient Babel; and if the passage were made by boats, and on the stream of the Euphrates, on whose banks both these places stand, the distance might be easily accomplished in that space of time. He here vaguely alludes to the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, which could not be entered on account of its being the abode of dragons and wild beasts; but, as he speaks only of a palace, and fixes it at a place which the people of the

country still make the abode of demons and evil spirits, as well as numerous reptiles of all kinds, he no doubt alluded to the mounds of the Mujellibé, where the palace and hanging gardens appear to have been, and which is the only part of the whole territory that is called "Babel," even to the present day.

He clearly distinguishes this from from the Tower of Babel, which he describes as being four miles beyond Hhilan, meaning Hillah, from which it is actually distant about six, though there seems to be some corruption of numbers in the distance from Babel to Hhilan, which is made fifteen miles in figures, and may probably have been written five. There were then ten thousand Jews there, the number at present at Bagdad; and the number of one thousand, given as the amount then residing at Bagdad, is about that of those at present at Hillah, so that there seems to have been only a change of place, without an augmentation or diminution of actual numbers in both.

The local features of the "Birs" are well detailed by Benjamin; for, besides its tolerably accurate distance of four miles from Hillah, he says, it was constructed of that sort of brick called, in Arabic, "Lagzar," which, a marginal note adds, was of the dimensions of eight inches broad, six thick, and twelve long, which is near the truth. The foundations, he says, were two miles long, perhaps rather in circuit, and intended to include the ruined temple and its mounds of rubbish, &c. He speaks of spiral passages up its sides, of ten cubits wide, which are not now apparent, and might have been imagined by him to exist beneath the outer rubbish of the ruins, as corresponding with the oldest drawings of the edifice, attached to copies of the sacred writings. He says, indeed, that there *were* such passages, without positively stating them to be visible at the time of his visit.

Being mounted on the summit, he continues, the view is extended to the distance of twenty miles round, more particularly as the country there is an extensive and perfect level, all which is strictly accurate. He says also, in the language of the traditions