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ORDINARY MEETING, APRIL 16, 1883.

REAR-ADMIRAL HENRY D. GRANT, C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed, and the following elections were announced :—

MEMBERS : R. Hills, Esq., New South Wales ; Rev. R. F. Hessey, M.A., Basingstoke.

ASSOCIATES : I. A. Arnold, Esq., United States ; T. W. E. David, B.A., New South Wales ; S. L. Jepson, A.M., M.D., United States ; C. C. Jones, Esq., Jun., United States ; Rev. S. Mitchell, New South Wales ; Christopher Rolleston, Esq., C.M.G., New South Wales ; B. B. Warfield, Esq., United States.

The following Paper was then read by the Author :—

BABYLONIAN CITIES.—By *HORMUZD RASSAM, ESQ.*

IT may be remembered that a little more than three years ago I had the honour of reading a paper before you in connexion with my discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia. Since then I have been out twice to that country, superintending the national researches on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, and I am glad to say that in my several explorations I have been rewarded with new discoveries of monuments and records of those celebrated and ancient kingdoms.

I have already casually noticed before you my fortunate discovery of the City of Sippara or Sepharvaim of the Bible ; but as I did not enter then fully into the way I hit upon it, I

do not think it would be out of place here to give you a short *résumé* of the fact.

The year before last, while on my way to Babylon, from Baghdad, I happened to be spending a night at an Arab's house in a village called Mahmoodia, about fifteen miles to the south-west of Baghdad, where I generally halted on the route to Babylon. As my host knew what I was searching for, especially as I had a number of workmen digging in the mounds in the vicinity, and he had seen some objects on which cuneiform characters were inscribed, he told me that when he was escorting a wedding-party northward, he had picked up a piece of an inscribed brick at a place called Dair, which he brought to show me. I saw that the writing was like that generally found in Babylonia on bricks upon which the name of Nebuchadnezzar is inscribed, and so I lost no time in accompanying him to the spot, as I was anxious to see if I could find any sign of an old city there to dig at. The place was about six miles from the village of Mahmoodia; but as I had to make a detour in order to reach it, on account of the rise of the Euphrates, which inundated the country, we had to pass a large artificial mound called Aboo-habba, which I perceived to be the remains of an old Babylonian city. I thought at first that that was the ruin to which my Arab guide was taking me to, but he soon undeceived me by saying that it was about three miles further. Had there been any workmen with me, I should have placed, then and there, three or four gangs to try it. We then went on to Dair; but though I found I was not deceived by my guide, yet, after seeing Aboo-habba, the other ancient ruin seemed quite unimportant in comparison, as the sequel will show.

The difficulty was the finding of workmen in the neighbourhood, as the Arabs of the place asked more exorbitant wages than I could possibly allow—not that I could not afford to employ a few workmen on a high scale of pay, but was obliged to keep to a certain standard for fear of dissatisfaction in other quarters. When such difficulties arose, I generally brought the required number of workmen from other diggings, by giving them an extra allowance for what was called “special service.” These men did not only work for the time being, but showed new hands how the work was to be carried on. In most instances the old hands served as superior workmen or diggers, receiving, according to rule, better pay. Whenever a new place is opened, I am invariably asked more than double the pay that I am able or willing to allow, as the Arabs have an absurd idea that the English are


made of money, and have the art of turning dust into gold! In this instance I brought two gangs of workmen from Babylon, headed by an Arab overseer; and, as I had first to try two mounds situated on the high road to Hillah, and within half a mile of the village of Mahmoodia, we were able to induce some of the poor wayfarers to accept service under us. The bait was tried with effect in the following manner. Thousands of Moslem devotees, especially the Shea sect, visit the shrine of Hosain at Karbala the whole year round; and, as a large number are very poor, they subsist by begging. Some of these visited the excavations on their way, and as many of them were almost starving, I told the head overseer to offer them food and money on condition they assisted in the digging. Many of them who were Kurds were glad to accept the offer, and before many days were over I had a good number in my employ. No sooner did the neighbouring Arabs see that I was able easily to obtain the workmen required than they consented to work at the rate I first offered them, and, soon after, I could employ as many workmen as were required for less than half the amount they demanded when I first went to the place.

As the site of Abou-habba seemed to me a most promising one for extensive operations, I moved my head-quarters thither to superintend the works in person. At the mound itself there were no Arabs residing, but within a mile of the place there is a mausoleum of the patron saint of the neighbourhood, called Seyid Abdallah, and near which the guardian of the shrine and his near relations dwelt. I had my camp pitched near his, and to make him interested in our work I appointed him an overseer, and offered his brothers and connexions good berths, which they accepted most willingly.

As Dair was also far away from an inhabited place, I had to send workmen to dig there from Seyid Abdallah, but had soon to give that up, as I found scarcely any good sign of ancient remains to warrant the work being carried on in that locality. At Abou-habba, however, I was rewarded, after three days' trial, by one of the gangs coming upon the wall of a chamber, on examining which I could see it belonged to the old Babylonian style of building. This success encouraged me to prosecute the research with uninterrupted perseverance, and before many days were over we came upon other buildings in different parts of the mound. This made me work with redoubled energy, and very soon afterwards we came upon a chamber paved with asphalt, which proved to contain the history of the new city I had discovered. Heretofore all Assyrian and Babylonian structures were found to be

paved generally either with stone or brick; consequently, this novel discovery led me to have the asphalt broken into and examined. On doing so, we found, buried in a corner of the chamber, about three feet below the surface, an inscribed earthenware coffer, inside which was deposited a stone tablet covered with an inscription, on the top of which was represented some deity which has since been identified by Assyrian scholars with the sun-god; also two figures above, holding an emblem of the sun before him, and two priests leading a youth, evidently a prince, to present to him. With this tablet I found two perfect terra-cotta inscribed cylinders, covered minutely with inscription, giving also the history of the place.

In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology of December, 1881, I find the following notice taken of the inscription on the above stone tablet, by the able Assyrian scholar, Mr. Theophilus Pinches, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum:—

“The inscription, which covers the rest of the obverse and the whole of the reverse, begins by mentioning the wrongdoings of the Sutû, ‘a wicked enemy,’ who seem to have carried off the property of the temple of the sun-god, and destroyed the sanctuaries. Simmas-Sîgu, king at that time, asked for the restoration of the property, which was refused. Simmas-Sîgu then began the restoration of the temple, intrusting the work to one Ekur-suma-ibassi, a man bearing the title of  >> in Akkadian: gassu. The work was continued in the reign of Ê-Ulbar-sakin-sumî, but it remained for Nabû-apla-iddin, king of Babylon, ‘the proclaimed of Marduk, the beloved of Anu and Bél, gladdener of the heart of A-edina, the man, the warrior, who attained to the kingdom, the bearer of the strong bow, the destroyer of the wicked Sutû, who had made their sin great,’ &c., &c., to thoroughly restore the temple. Then comes a long description of the repair of, and additions to the shrine and temple, and the confirmation to the seed of Ekur-suma-ibassi, of the guardianship of the sanctuary, now adorned with the image of the sun-god, and with chased gold and bright crystal. Besides this, the king founded a shrine for the sun-god in Bît-kar-zagina, beside the Euphrates, where victims were offered, and honey and wine bestowed. The inscription, which now becomes very difficult, speaks of the services of the temple, and the delivery of the stone, of which a copy was made, into the hands of certain men. The date ‘Babylon, month Nisan, 20th day, and 31st year of Nabû-apla-iddin, king of Babylon,’ is then given, after which come the usual curses on those who

should destroy, and blessings on those who should restore, the monument in question."

I have been puzzled to determine why these relics were buried in asphalt pavement, because, if those who hid them there wished to preserve them from destruction from the enemy, they could not have placed them in a more conspicuous place; for a man who is accustomed to the mode of Assyrian paving could not help noticing the difference. This discovery at the outset was most fortunate, as it proved to us the exact site of the temple and city of Sippara. Different savants and historians supposed it to be in other parts of Babylonia, immediately on the banks of the Euphrates, but now we are certain of the exact spot being on the great historical canal of Babylonia, called Nahr-malka, or the royal river, about six miles from the Euphrates, but its source about twenty miles westward. This canal was the wonder of the age when the Babylonian kingdom was at the zenith of its power, as it must have been about one hundred and fifty miles in length, and bridged over in many places. Xenophon tells us that the Greeks had to cross it on bridges made of palm-trees when they were retreating northwards after the death of Cyrus. It runs from the Euphrates as far as Aboo-habba, when it divides; the main body passes Dair, and runs in an easterly direction as far as Shat-el-hai, passing within a few miles of Seleucia and Ctasephon; the other part takes a more southerly direction nearer the Euphrates, passing through endless cities, one of which is supposed to be Cuthah, known by the Arabs as Tel-Ibraheem. The remains of the former are now called Yosephia, and the latter Habl-Ibraheem. Both these canals are crossed by wayfarers who travel between Baghdad and Hillah, in the vicinity of Babylon, and between the former place and Musayib, on the way to Karbala.

It is most interesting to examine this canal all the way between the Euphrates and the Tigris, because a traveller cannot help being struck with the remains of its former grandeur, when it must have irrigated hundreds of miles of alluvial soil.

On all sides are found remains of innumerable small water-courses, which were fed by these two grand canals; and at different intervals remains of prodigious basins are seen, in which a surplus supply must have been kept for any emergency, when the water in the Euphrates falls low, especially in summer. It is said that there were two Sipparas in Babylonia; the one which I discovered was for the worship of the sun, and the other for the worship of the moon. They were represented as being situated on either side of the river

Euphrates, and as my Sippara is not on the bank of that river, and there is no sign of any important ruin on its western side, I consider that Nahr-malka was meant by the word "Nahr," as it divides Aboo-habba from Dair, which I believe to be the site of the Sippara of the moon-god.*

In the course of last year we discovered, off and on, especially in one room, between forty and fifty thousand inscribed clay tablets; but, unfortunately, they were not baked, as they generally are found in Assyria; and the clay of which they were made was so coarse that as soon as they were exposed to the air they crumbled to pieces. We found that the only way to preserve them was to have them baked, which we did with success. Fortunately, the most important documents were inscribed on terra-cotta cylinders, of which were found a great number of different sizes and shapes.

The style of the architecture of Aboo-habba is quite different from that found in Babylonia or Assyria; and from all I could make out, it seems to me that Sippara of the sun-god was divided into two distinct buildings, one for religious purposes, and the other as a place of habitation for priests and royalty. Each block of building was surrounded by a breastwork, faced in some places with kiln-burnt bricks to make the building more secure. Both the temple and its environs must have been inhabited by two distinct peoples, because the height of the original rooms was twenty-five feet; but the later occupants of the place seem to have had the rooms filled up with *débris* as far as the middle, and then had them paved, making it appear as if the latter was the original height. It was in this manner that I found the room in which was discovered the asphalt pavement.

The mound on which the buildings of Aboo-habba are erected is about 1,300 feet long by 400 feet wide, containing, according to my reckoning, at least 300 chambers and halls. Of these I have only been able to excavate about 130, as our explorations have been put a stop to by the Turkish Government refusing to grant us another firman for the continuation of our researches in Assyria and Babylonia.

I believe when Cyrus the younger marched through Mahmoodia with the Grecian auxiliaries, about four hundred years before the Christian era, to combat his brother, the great King Artaxerxes, Sippara could not have been in existence, because Xenophon does not make any mention of it in his "Anabasis." It is very unlikely that such an important city could have been unnoticed, especially as the troops must have

* Nahr means in Semitic languages both river and canal.

passed through it, or very near it, both before and after the battle of Cunaxa.

This Sippara has now been satisfactorily identified with the city of Sepharvaim, mentioned in the Old Testament in five different places. In the 17th chapter of the 2nd Book of Kings it is said: "And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Iva, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel." Then in the 18th chapter of the same Book, when Rab-shakeh, in his boastful address to the Jews at Jerusalem about the victories gained by his master, Sennacherib, said: "Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Iva?" The city of Sepharvaim has also been famous among the ancients as being the oldest city known, and which the Chaldean and Grecian historians, many centuries before the Christian era, mentioned as being the place where the second father of mankind resided, and where he had buried the Antediluvian records. He was known by the Greek and Chaldean historians by the name of "Xisuthrus," and as there was no affinity in either sound or meaning of that word with that of *Noah*, some doubters considered the whole story of the Chaldean account of the Deluge a mere phantom; but now the buried records of the past come to our assistance, and reveal the truth in explaining what was considered a great mystery and a delusion! The cuneiform inscriptions tell us that God had destroyed all life by a great flood on account of the wickedness of the people, and had saved a good man, whom the Assyrians called "Khasis-adra." The meaning of this "Khasis-adra," is "*he who escaped the flood*"; and it seems that when Abydenus, the Greek historian, chronicled the legend of the Deluge from Berosus, about 268 B.C., he corrupted the word into "Xisuthrus;" and what makes it still very unlike the Semitic sound is the form of the Greek termination. The learned Dr. Friederich Delitzsch, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Leipzig, informs me that he has been able to decipher the cuneiform prototype of Xisuthrus or Noah as Hisi-Sudda; but he has not yet determined to fix upon the exact meaning of the name, though he explains the latter part of the word, "Sudda," as "life." It is the same with the Hebrew words Elijah or Eliyah, and Joshua, which are rendered into Greek and English *Elias* and *Jesus*. Then as regards the meaning of the words "Khasis-adra," or "*he who escaped the flood*," it was a very appropriate nickname or title given to Noah by the Gentiles, the same as that given to Abraham by the Canaanites after he crossed from Mesopotamia. The first time he was called

“the Hebrew,” or passenger, was soon after he crossed the Euphrates to the Land of Promise, as the word “Abar” means to cross or to pass.

With regard to the Deluge, it is an undeniable fact that its story has been believed from mediæval time all over the world—by believers in Revelation or pagans, by civilised or uncivilised peoples, by the descendants of Shem, or those of Japhet and Ham; and whether those nationalities believed in the God of the Hebrews, Christians, Mohammedans, or in any other gods, they all came to the same conclusion, that the Lord of the Universe, on account of the wickedness of man, had caused the earth to be submerged with water, whereby all living creatures were destroyed.

Nicolas of Damascus, who lived about the time of Augustus Cæsar, also makes the following allusion to the Deluge. He says: “There is above Minyas, in the land of Armenia, a very great mountain, which is called Baris, to which it is said that many persons retreated at the time of the flood, and were saved; and that one in particular was carried thither in an ark, and was landed on its summit; and that the remains of the vessel were long preserved upon the mountain. Perhaps this was the same individual of whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews, has made mention.”*

The Hindoos have a tradition that a personage called “Manu” was ordered by a great fish to build a ship secured to the horn of Brahma in a fish form, to escape the Deluge, and was at last landed on a northern mountain, which brings their account identically to that mentioned in Genesis.

A model of Apamea, a heathen coin, evidently struck in the reign of Septimus Severus, about the second century, represented the tradition of the Deluge by a floating ark, two persons within and two leaving it, with two birds, one on the ark, and the other is flying to it with a branch.

Amongst the Chinese the tradition is that the founder of their civilisation, “Faho,” escaped from the flood, and was the first man, with his wife, three sons, and three daughters, who occupied the rehabilitated universe. And in like manner, amongst other uncivilised and savage nationalities in the Western hemisphere, who were not known to the people of Europe or Asia 400 years ago, the same tradition exists as regards the Deluge, which shows the general belief in that visitation of Divine wrath.

Amongst the records I discovered in Nineveh, in 1854,

* Josephus, *Antiquity of the Jews*, Book i. 3.

belonging to the library of Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, commonly known as Sardanapalus, there was found a tablet recording the history of the Deluge, which, though differing somewhat from that given in Genesis, tallies wonderfully with the inspired account. Unfortunately, this record was very much injured, and a large part of it is required to make the Assyrian history of the Flood complete. The hero of the Deluge, Noah, who is named in the cuneiform text Sisit, or Khasis-adra (known to the ancient Grecian historians by the name of Xisuthrus) was warned by the gods to prepare himself an ark, as all living creatures were doomed to be destroyed for their wickedness. The ship was to be of a certain length, width, and depth by the cubit measure, and it was to be launched into the deep. The Divine command was obeyed; and after the ark was built, it was covered over, in and out, with bitumen, to make it water-tight. According to the late George Smith's reading of the text, the words Khasis-adra, or Noah, are rendered thus: "I caused to go up into the ship all my male and female servants,* the beasts, the animals of the field. . . . Shamas spake, I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily. . . . Enter the ship, shut thy door. . . I entered, shut my door. . . 'To guide the ship to Buzursadiribi the pilot I gave. The bright earth to a waste was turned. The flood destroyed all life from the face of the earth. . . . Ishtar, the great goddess, said, the world to sin has turned; six days and nights the storm overwhelmed; on the seventh the storm was calmed; I opened the windows, I sent forth a dove . . . it searched a rest, which it did not find, and returned. I sent forth a swallow, and it returned. I sent forth a raven, and it did not return," &c.

Since the publication of the above translation, however, much progress has been made, and Mr. Pinches now renders this part of the Deluge text as follows:—

"I sent up to the ship the seed of life of every kind; all my family and my slaves, the animals of the field, the beasts of the field (and) the sons of the people all of them I sent up. Samas fixed the time, and there spake a voice (?): 'In the night I will cause it to rain a heavy downpour. Go down to the midst of the ship, and shut thy door. The time is come, said (?) the voice (?).' In the night he caused it to rain a

* I do not believe that this word "servant" has been properly translated. It must either mean followers or suit. Indeed I am still somewhat sceptic as regards the altogether correct rendering of some words of the cuneiform inscription, especially the Deluge record which I quote.

heavy downpour I went down to the midst of the ship and shut my door.

“Mû-sêri-ina-namari arose, a dark mist from the horizon of heaven everything bright turned to darkness brother saw not brother Istar spoke like a mother, the supreme goddess called out with a loud voice: ‘Everything is turned to corruption’ Six days and nights the wind blew the storm destroyed. On the seventh day the storm quieted. I opened my window I sent forth a dove a resting place it did not find, and it returned. I sent forth a swallow; a resting place it found not, and it returned. I sent forth a raven, and it left it did not return. I sent forth the animals,” &c.

According to the account given by Berosus the Chaldean priest of Bel, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, when that monarch possessed Babylon, about four hundred years before the Christian era, it is said that “Xisuthrus, warned by Kronos of a coming flood, wrote a history of the beginning, course, and end of all things, and buried it in the City of the Sun, Sippara; built a vessel five stadia long and two broad, and put on board food, birds, and quadrupeds, wife, children, and friends. After the flood abated Xisuthrus sent out birds which, not finding food or rest, returned. Again he sent and they returned with mud on their feet—the third time they returned no more. The vessel being stranded on a mountain, Nizir, east of the Tigris, he quitted it, built an altar, and sacrificed to the Gods, and disappeared; the rest went to Babylon from Armenia. When part of the vessel remains in the writing at Sippara and built temples and cities, and Babylon became inhabited again.”*

While the excavations were being carried on at Aboo-habba, I had some workmen trying the mound at Tel-Ibraheem, or what the Arabs commonly call Habl-Ibraheem, which means the rope of Abraham, from the shape of the great canal which runs to it from Aboo-habba, a distance of about thirty-five miles. This ruin is supposed to be the site of ancient Cuthah; and although report said that some excavations had been carried on in it before I went there, I could find no traces whatever of such explorations anywhere. I had been trying for two years to go and examine this mound, but the difficulties were the want of water and finding workmen to venture so far away from any inhabited place. I at last managed to in-

* Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, 26-29.

duce some of the Babylonian and Birs Nimroud workmen to accompany me thither for three or four weeks; and most fortunately, when the time came that I could go there to superintend the work in person, the Tigris rose unusually high, and inundated the country to within half-a-mile of the mound, which enabled us to have a regular supply of water as long as we were working there. I of course did not care to drink that water, as it looked anything but tempting, so once a week I sent and got some water for myself from the Mahaweel-Euphrates canal, about six miles to the south-west.

We were very much tried while we were there by the constant sand storms that blew in the day-time. On several occasions the dust was so thick that I could not see the tents of my followers, nor dared to go out of my tent; and once the atmosphere was so thick with it that our water-carriers lost their way, and could not find the mound until the storm subsided. I had for hours to sit still with my eyes closed, without attempting to do anything, much less to open my mouth for the purpose of eating and drinking, as I should have been choked with sand. In the several excavations I found very little of ancient relics to warrant me to remain longer than a month, during which time we discovered a few clay tablets and bowls inscribed, the former with cuneiform, and the latter with Hebrew and Syro-Chaldean characters. In one part of the mound, after having penetrated about twenty feet below the surface, we came upon an ancient edifice, the walls of which seemed as if they had been built a short time ago. As we had to dig in some places about thirty feet before we came to the bottom of the chambers, I was obliged, for the sake of saving time and expense, to work by tunnelling. From the nature of the soil found in these chambers, it seemed to me that this structure was never inhabited; but the owner, whoever he may have been, must have abandoned it before it was roofed, and ordered it to be filled in after it was built. This mound is about two miles in circumference, and about sixty feet high; and although I had no less than twenty tunnels and trenches opened in it, there were no signs discovered in it to make me think it belonged to the early Babylonian period. It is true that we found some kiln-burnt bricks like those usually found in Babylonia, with the name of Nebuchadnezzar on them, yet I do not think this place was of much importance at the time of that monarch. I have no doubt, however, that in later days it must have been a very flourishing place, because unmistakable remains extend for miles around, which indicate that the city and its surroundings were thickly inhabited. Had my firman been renewed, and I could have afforded to spend a hundred pounds upon making

another trial in the same mound, I should certainly have attempted another expedition to it, though I might have been buried in the sand again!

In that part of Babylon called Imjaileeba we have always been finding records of the past; but, the more I dig there, the more puzzled I am what to make of it. With the exception of half-a-dozen rooms I discovered on the borders of what was once a grand palace of the kings of Babylon, where Belshazzar was supposed to have lost his life when the capital of Chaldea was captured by Cyrus, I could find no regular structure to enable me to identify any part of the different buildings which must have existed at the time. The whole place seemed to have been upheaved or overthrown by an earthquake or some other supernatural destruction. In some places objects of antiquity were found almost within a foot of the surface, and in other parts, not more than a few yards further, we come upon Babylonian relics almost as deep as the former foundation. At one time I thought I had hit upon some ancient walls to enable me to penetrate with a definite object into the interior of a regular building, but was soon doomed to be disappointed, because, what I thought at first sight to be a regular Babylonian building, was found afterwards to have belonged to a ruder period, when the Parthians occupied the country.

Every time I returned to that country I did all in my power to trace the original outskirts of the city, but the more I tried to come to any definite result, the more I was confounded: and so with regard to the discussion about the topography of Babylon between Mr. Rich and Major Rennell, which increased my difficulty not a little; and whether I followed the theory of one or the other, I felt that I was driven nowhere.

The only positions which can now be fixed upon with any accuracy are, I think, the palace of the kings of Babylon, called Kasr or Imjaileeba, the temple of Belus, known as Birs Nimroud, and the hanging gardens, which the Arabs call Babel, but which Rich and other travellers erroneously styled Imjaileeba.

A broken terra-cotta cylinder was discovered in my explorations at Babylon which Sir Henry Rawlinson deciphered and found to contain an account of the taking of that city by Cyrus as it is mentioned by Herodotus and Holy Writ; but, unfortunately, a good deal of it is missing. From the reading of this imperfect record we can now not only fix the year in which that memorable impious feast described by the Prophet Daniel took place, but even the month and day of its occurrence. According to the deciphering of this

inscription, we find the last events of the reign of Nabonidus, the father of Belshazzar, very minutely related, verifying the words of the prophet and Grecian history. The difficulty which overwhelmed the brains of some men with reference to the existence of the names of Belshazzar and Darius in the story related by Daniel, and omitted by Herodotus and others, has now been satisfactorily explained. The long-buried ancient records of the past, which have revealed to us from time to time most important facts connected with the Bible, inform us that though Nabonidus was the *de facto* king at the time of the fall of Babylon, yet he was absent at the time, and his son Belshazzar was in command of the Babylonian army, and acting as Regent at the Chaldean capital. With regard to what seems a discrepancy between the account given by Daniel and that related by Herodotus and Xenophon as to the name of the Persian king, it has been proved that, though Cyrus was in command of the Medo-Persian army, he was really not the king, but a mere satrap or viceroy, acting for his grandfather Astyages, who was the real monarch, and was called "Darius Medus."

The Greek historian, Syncellus, who lived in the eighth century, calls this Cyrus of Herodotus and Xenophon "Darius Astyages," which shows that at his time there must have been some record in existence which explained the various appellations of both Cyrus and Darius.

What I wanted to be convinced of more than anything else was the exact time the Euphrates ran through Babylon, as Herodotus makes an allusion to it in the following words:—"Queen Nitocris enclosed herself therefore with these defences by digging, and immediately afterwards made the following addition. As the city consisted of two divisions, which were separated by the river, during the reign of former kings, when any one had occasion to cross from one division to the other, he was obliged to cross in a boat, and this, in my opinion, was very troublesome; she therefore provided for this, for, after she had dug the reservoir for the lake, she left this other monument built by similar toil; she had large blocks of stone cut, and when they were ready, and the place was completely dug out, she turned the whole stream of the river into the place she had dug. While this was filled, and the ancient channel had become dry, in the first place she lined with burnt bricks the banks of the river throughout the city, and the descents that lead from the gates to the river, in the same manner as the walls. In the next place, about the middle of the city, she built a bridge with the stones she had prepared, and bound them together with plates of lead and iron. Upon

these stones she laid during the day square planks of timber, on which the Babylonians might pass over; but at night these planks were removed, to prevent people from coming by night and robbing one another. When the hollow that was dry had become a lake filled by the river, and the bridge was finished, she brought back the river to its ancient channel from the lake. And thus, the excavations having been turned into a marsh, appeared to answer the purpose for which it was made, and a bridge was built for the use of the inhabitants."*

At Birs Nimroud I was fortunate enough to discover the palace where Nabonidus was supposed to have been residing when Cyrus captured Babylon. It is on the same mound upon which the supposed Tower of Babel, or Belus, is built. It contained about eighty chambers and halls, but I found nothing in them, excepting, in four rooms, some remains of Babylonian antiquity, proving that the building was erected by Nebuchadnezzar. In the first hall opened were found broken pillars, capitals, and fragments of enamelled bricks, evidently belonging to the embellishments of the room, with cedar wood, which are now in the British Museum.

Soon after that I had to return to England, and left the overseers to go on with the work, but on going back there after some months, I found that they had nearly finished excavating the whole palace. As soon as I set my foot on the mound, a workman came running to inform me that they had just found some metal object, ornamented on the top, at the entrance of one of the rooms. On going to examine it, I found it placed on the threshold of what seemed to be the grand entrance to the temple. It is quite certain that this object had not been made originally for this purpose, and it must have been placed here in after-time. From its length and shape it looked as if it had been originally a leaf of a bronze gate, like those mentioned by Herodotus.† It must have been formerly double the length it is at present; and for the purpose of fitting it in this position, or for the sake of the value of the metal, those who placed it there had it cut in two, and disposed of the other half. Some gentlemen, however, think that it was originally a doorstep, and the cut at the end served as a socket; while others think it might

* *Clio*, i. 186.

† Book I., chap. 181. It may be that this kind of gate was alluded to in Isaiah xlv., where it was prophesied, "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut."

have been the side of a battering-ram. Nevertheless, I still maintain that, if it was not a leaf of a gate, it could have never been used for either of the above purposes. The most striking fact connected with it is the inscription on the ledge, which Assyrian scholars read as a dedication by Nebuchadnezzar to his god for his restoration to health, which shows that it could not have been intended to be walked upon, as it was dedicated for a sacred object. Moreover, when I examined it before it was removed, I found that it was not built into the original Babylonian doorway, but must have been placed there by less civilised occupiers of the palace, who had the passages narrowed, and fitted this object in the threshold between the stone pavement of the passage and the steps leading downwards towards the tower or temple. On passing out of this entrance towards the tower on which the temple of Belus was supposed to have been erected, we could not see any sign of building; but the whole mass afterwards excavated consisted of *débris* belonging to an ancient structure, evidently wilfully destroyed by a formidable enemy. To make myself sure, I had a large ditch excavated between the palace and the tower so as to be certain that we had got to the end of the building; and as I could not afford to dig the whole remaining space, I penetrated as far as the foundations by means of tunnelling—a distance of about eighty feet. I desisted from going any further from fear of accident, because, the nearer we approached the tower, the more it became dangerous to go on with the excavations, on account of the quantity of loose broken bricks that were mixed up with the earth.

About five hundred yards to the north-east of Birs Nimroud there is another large mound called Ibraheem-el-Khaleel, where the Arabs of that country believe Nimroud tried to throw Abraham into the fiery furnace. There I also carried on extensive explorations, and found a large collection of inscribed clay tablets; but these were found in the outskirts of the mound, and not in the building I discovered in it. This made me think that the *débris* in which they were found was thrown away from an old building which had been in existence before the new structure I discovered was erected, because I found on the western side of the mound, below the sanctum of Ibraheem-el-Khaleel, quite a new building, which could not have been inhabited, resembling very much the building I discovered in Tel-Ibraheem, or the supposed site of Cuthah. It might have been erected when Alexander the Great was trying to remove the rubbish from the temple of Belus, and it was abandoned when that great monarch met with his death.

The vitrified portion of the Tower of Belus has ever been a

great mystery to me, and although I have been trying for the last three years to find out, through scientific gentlemen in this country, the cause of the vitrification, I have as yet found no one who could explain the mystery satisfactorily. Every traveller who visited the place could not help noticing the almost supernatural sight, but not one of them could come to any tangible conclusion as to the cause. Benjamin, of Tudela, goes so far as to assert that the "heavenly fire which struck the tower split it to its very foundation;" and my late friend, Mr. Loftus, gives the opinion of a "talented companion," who originated the idea, when they examined the Birs Nimroud in company, that in order to render their edifices more durable, the Babylonians submitted them, when erected, to the heat of a furnace. The former authority does not tell us whether his assertion was based upon his own conjecture, or that he quoted a tradition which existed then in the country when he visited the town about seven hundred years ago. As for the opinion of the latter, it cannot hold water, because it is against common sense that a huge tower like that of Birs Nimroud could be subjected to artificial heat after it was built. The tower must have been originally at least 200 feet high; and to build a furnace to envelope it would be just like trying to cover a solid mass equal in size to the whole dome of Saint Paul's Cathedral with one huge furnace, and subjecting it to artificial heat for the purpose of vitrifying it! Indeed, there is no visible sign of vitrification on any part of the remaining edifice, but the huge vitrified boulders are scattered about the tower, and look as if they do not belong to the place at all. Some of these must be between ten and fifteen cubic feet square: and the vitrification is so complete throughout, that when I tried to have a large piece broken to bring to the British Museum, I failed to do so until I obtained the services of a competent mason, who managed to break me two pieces, after having blunted half-a-dozen of his iron tools.

It may not be out of place here to touch upon the history of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, mentioned in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, and see what Gentile historians and tradition say upon the subject. Hestæus says:—"The priests who escaped (the Deluge) took with them the implements of the worship of the Euyalion Jove, and came to Senaar, in Babylonia. But they were again driven from thence by the introduction of a diversity of tongues, upon which they founded colonies in various parts, settling in such situations as chance or the direction of God led them to occupy."

Alexander Polyhiston also mentions that "when all men

formerly spoke the same language, some among them undertook to erect a large and lofty tower in order to climb into heaven. But God (or gods) sending forth a whirlwind frustrated their design, and gave to each tribe a particular language of its own, which (confusion of tongues) is the reason that the name is called Babylon."

The most striking proof, in my mind, of the confusion of languages, and the dispersion of mankind after that event, is the widespread affinity existing in different parts of the world of Semitic derivation of words.

The learned Colonel Vallancy says, "that the descendants of Japhet peopled China as well as Tartary, we have no reason to doubt (though when they arrived in that country we cannot pretend to say), and that the language of the Chinese was pretty nearly related to the Hebrew and other tongues, which the learned consider as dialects of it, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary, we own ourselves inclined to believe, Thomasinus, Massonius, Rudbeckius, and Pfefferus seem to have proved almost to demonstration."

Abbé Domenech, who was a missionary in the great deserts of North America, says, after seven years' experience, that "we should not, then, be surprised if the language of the American natives presents the strange phenomenon of a remarkable regularity and richness of expression amidst a great poverty of words. Some of the writers who have treated on this subject assure us that they have found Hebrew and Gaelic names among the idioms of the redskins. We believe the more readily in the accuracy of this statement, as it is a positive fact that many words, syllables, and sounds of these two languages are to be found in those Indian idioms that are most probably of Scythian origin."

Dr. Edwards, another scrutinizer, discovered a remarkable affinity between the Hebrew and the Mohican, one of the native languages of North America, in the use of pronouns as prefixes or affixes to verbs; and Adair, in the *History of the American Indians*, asserts that the natives of the New World are descendants of the Hebrews, and that a vast number of similar words are found among the American Indians and the Hebrews.

Dr. Glass identified many of the words and customs of the Sandwich Friendly Isles with those of Hebrew. Other travellers, Lord Kingsborough and Abbé Clavigero, also found many Hebrew roots and Hebrew customs among the Aborigines of Mexico.

It is supposed that the first language which was spoken

before the confounding of tongues was Aramiac, or what is commonly known as Chaldee, and that the Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, were off-shoots of that language, like Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese as being a corruption of Latin.

I must not trespass on your patience in making further quotations from the opinion of other travellers and writers about this topic; but I shall merely confine myself to giving you a few examples of some words in the English language, which have come to my observation, resembling Semitic meaning. Firstly, I must begin with the Arabic analogy, as follows:

Hand, يد *yad*; eye, عين *ain*; neck, عنق *anek*;
between, بين *ben*; crimson, قرمز *Kirmiz*; to cut, قطع *cuta*;
to drub, ضرب *durub*; house, حوش *housh*.

Next comes the Chaldee—

At, אד *ad*; cornet, כרן *coren*; cry, צעק *cra*; eye, עין *eyn*;
de, de, דה of (French); barn, בר *bar*, a son (old English), &c.

The following are English and Hebrew synonyms:—
Among, עם *am*; and, ו *ad*; cane, קנה *cana*; cumin, כמון *cumon*;
cutup, קצף *cusup*; fig, פה *fig*; fruit, פרי *fri*; and he, הוא *hoa*,
in all the Semitic languages. Also earth, papa, mama, and
a number of the numerals.*

The most quaint resemblance that I have seen between the English and Semitic languages is in the common phrase tally-ho; because לחלל *tally* in Chaldee means fox. When a fox-hunter, therefore, calls out “tally-ho,” it means, in Chaldee, the “fox-ho;” or, if this call was taken originally from the Arabic, it means “come here;” because “تعال *taal*” in the latter language means “come,” and “هون *hon*” † here. Perhaps these two words of taal-hon were corrupted originally to *tally-ho*: but, if this resemblance occurs only as a coincidence, it is certainly a very curious accident.

As regards prophecy and the divine promises made in the Old Testament to Abraham and to his seed in general, they have been wonderfully fulfilled. It is related in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of Genesis that God said to Abraham: “And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee, and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.” In the eighteenth chapter of the same

* The Chaldee and Hebrew words are found in the *Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance*.

† This word is a corruption of هنا *hinna*, as is used amongst some Arabic-speaking people in Mesopotamia.

Book the blessing is repeated, that *all the nations of the earth shall be blessed* in him. Has not this blessing been marvellously fulfilled to the letter in His offspring the Saviour of the world; and has not Christianity, with all the defects existing in the Church from the time of the Apostles until now, been a great blessing to all the world, whether through philanthropy, morality, or the spread of the Gospel? Mohammedanism would have been an utter failure had not its author taken the Bible as the basis of his pretended divine mission. Even the son of Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, was promised, through his father Abraham, great power and national aggrandisement, but that he would be a wild man, "his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him," as his descendants are now; and whether we look to the progeny of Abraham, spiritual as well as temporal, and whether through Isaac, Ishmael, or Esau, we find in the Jew, Christian, and Moslem, God's promised blessing, which can never fail.

That same God who appeared unto Abraham, and even unto Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, in the time of her distress, is still magnified and praised by hundreds of millions of the most prosperous, the most intelligent, and most powerful of the human race; and although some of them do not yet believe in our Saviour, and are still looking for His advent, and others do not acknowledge His divine nature, yet they all look upon the Messiah as a supernatural being.

There is another striking proof of the fulfilment of prophecy in the utter destruction and annihilation of the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies for their rebellion and pride. God, through His omnipotent power, left no remnant of their sovereignty nor a vestige of their grandeur. To the Assyrian the decree from on high went forth: "O King of Assyria, thy nobles shall dwell in the dust; thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them!" Where are those Assyrians now and their prowess? There is not a man living who can really say, I am a descendant of those ancient Assyrians, nor is there a trace of the good they had done on the earth. As for Babylon, it was sentenced to be utterly destroyed, and that awful divine edict was carried out to the letter by the Medo-Persian kings, and made that once great and famous city a duughill and a bye-word, as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah! But the Persians whom God raised to chastise the rebellious nations have held their own up to to-day, because it was divinely decreed that they should conquer and be victorious; and in return for the victories which God bestowed upon them, they ordered the rebuilding of His temple at Jerusalem, and thus Persia has

remained an independent monarchy as it was then, and where God Jehovah is acknowledged as the only Lord and King with the revealed religion of the Jews and Christians as the base of their belief in Mohammed.

What shall I say more? Can we look back on the history of Egypt, of Tyre, and of Jerusalem, and not tremble at the awful denunciation of God against the wickedness of nations and their rulers, and see how all those who forgot their Creator and Divine Benefactor have been punished and forgotten by Him? He said it, and is still saying it: "Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

Amongst some new theories have been mooted that Abraham's native place was in Syria and not in Mesopotamia, and that Babel meant "the Gate of God," instead of what has hitherto been understood to be derived from the word confusion. The former is founded on the discovery of the name of "Ur" on a brick found in a mound called Magayir, on the western side of the Euphrates, about 180 miles below Baghdad; and the latter, because "Bab-el" meant "Gate of God" in the cuneiform writing! Both theories are mere conjecture, because there might have been two or three "Urs," in Chaldea and elsewhere, the same as Cush; and, with regard to the meaning of "Bab-El" in Assyrian, any one who understands Semitic languages would tell you that you might construe the rendering of certain words in quite opposite meaning.* But why should we adopt a new theory when we are plainly told in Holy Writ that Babel was called thus from the confusion of tongues, the derivation of which no one can deny.† As for Abraham having come from Magayir, or from that neighbourhood, it is a mere phantom, as we are plainly told in the Acts of the Apostles that he was called from Mesopotamia.‡ Moreover, we are told by Nicolas of Damascus,

* "Ajooz" عجوز—the common meaning of this word is old woman; but it has besides no less than 100 other significations, amongst which are, young women of delicate constitution, an old man, heaven, earth, sea, road, vanity, a kind of dart, a point of a sword, a kettle, a pot, &c. Then "Kadr," قدر making great, amazing, confusion, opportunity, cooking in a pot, measuring, fate, price, power, affluence, &c. Then the word "Bab," باب or the first word of Bab-el, means really a door, or a gate, also a chapter of a book, an affair, reason, manner, species, &c.

† Genesis xi. 9.

‡ In St. Stephen's apology before the High Priest he said that "the God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall shew thee."

a Gentile historian, on the authority of Josephus, that Abraham came from the land of the Chaldeans, *above Babylon*.* Then, when Abraham commissioned his servant, Eliezar, of Damascus, to go to Mesopotamia to bring a wife unto Isaac, his son, he told him that he was not to take unto his son a wife of the daughters of the Canaanites, but to go to *his country and to his kindred*.† It must be remembered that when Eliezar was sent to the city of Nahor, Abraham's niece, Rebekah, was living with her brother, Laban, in Northern Mesopotamia, about 300 miles above Babylon; and if Abraham had come originally with his family from Southern Babylon, he would not have said to his servant, "go into my country."‡

Mr. Pinches, who, I am sorry to say, has not been able to attend my lecture this evening, coincides with me regarding the country of Abraham, and in support of my view he has supplied me with the following remarks:—

"There is certainly nothing to prove that the city of Uri, now represented by Mugayi, is identical with the *Ur Kasdim* of the Bible. It is well known that Babylonia bears, in the inscriptions, the names of Sumer and Akkad. Although it may not yet be quite proved, nevertheless it is very likely that (as is contended by several scholars) Sumer was the south, and Akkad the north, of Babylonia. Now the Akkadians, as Professor Friederich Delitzsch rightly conjectured some time ago, did not call their country Akkad, but *Ura* or *Uri*, and it is not unlikely that it is this district, and not the city of Uri, that we are to regard as the *Ur-Kasdim* of the Bible. The country called by the Assyrians and Babylonians *Kaldu* (Chaldea), and which is regarded as the same as the *Kasdim* of the Bible, by the common change of *s* into *l* before a dental, seems also to have been a district in the north of Babylonia (probably the country around Babylon itself), afterwards extended to embrace a larger tract. The compound *Ur-Kasdim* would, therefore, be very naturally used to distinguish Abraham's original home both from the northern *Ura* or *Akkad*, part of Armenia, and from the city of *Uri* or *Mugayi* in South Babylonia."

I have no doubt that most of you are aware that a good deal of discussion and disputes have taken place about the mention in the second chapter of Genesis of one of the four rivers of the Garden of Eden, called *Gihon*, wherein it states that it

* Josephus, *Antiquity of the Jews*, i. 7.

† Genesis xxiv. 4.

‡ It is also related in the fifth chapter of *Judith* that on *Holofernes*, the chief captain of the Assyrian army, asking the Moabite and Ammonite chieftains who the Israelites were, he was answered by *Achior*, the captain of all the sons of *Ammon*, that they were descended of the Chaldeans.

“compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia,” or Cush, and which gave a handle to sceptics to doubt the Word of God. As Cush was only known to historians to mean Ethiopia, and that Ethiopia was in Africa, they thought, therefore, that it was beyond a man’s comprehension to understand how a river, supposed to have sprung from the Assyrian or Armenian mountains, could run round Ethiopia, crossing the Arabian desert, passing through Egypt, and ascending mountains two and three thousand feet high! Here, again, scepticism has been defeated by the discovery of a cuneiform terra-cotta tablet, on which another Cush is mentioned as having been known to the ancients to exist in Cappadocia in Asia Minor. This tablet, which is in the British Museum, has been read by Mr. Pinches, and the following is the substance of his remarks upon it:—

“The question of the situation of the land of Kusâa, as well as that of the form of the name when used to denote the country itself, seems to be set at rest by one of the tablets from which the above list of names of towns is taken. This tablet, which is the first published on plate 53 of the work above referred to,* contains, in the second column of the obverse, the names of the cities and countries in the neighbourhood of the Taurus range of mountains, and includes (l. 13) the land of the Kûsu. It is evident, therefore, from the connexion in which it occurs, that we are to understand by this Cappadocia, and not Ethiopia. This identification sheds at once a new light on two important passages in the Book of Genesis, the first of which is in chapter ii., v. 3, where the river Gihon, which ‘encompasseth the whole land of Cush,’ is mentioned; and the other in chapter x., v. 8, where is recorded the fact that Cush begat Nimrod. Now, in both these passages it has been supposed by some scholars that the land of Cush here mentioned is the same as Ethiopia; but it seems to be much better to identify it in both cases with Cappadocia. The question of the position of Paradise is also connected with these identifications, on account of the removal of the river Gihon up thither.

“Another most interesting matter is the double name system thus brought to light: the Musri of the Black Obelisk (a tribe to the north of Assyria), and the Musri in Egypt, the Cush Cappadocia and the Cush Ethiopia, the Makan and Meluhha in Babylonia, and the districts of the same name in Egypt, all pointing to a connexion in the minds of the people

* The second volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*.

of the ancient world, and opening out interesting ethnographical connexions.

“The question of the original home of the Akkadians is also affected thereby. Cappadocia has always been regarded as a country celebrated for its horses, and it is worthy of notice that the Akkadians nearly always call the horse by the name generally translated ‘animal of the east,’ but a more natural translation would be ‘animal of the country’; and as it seems that the country north of Assyria was also called Akkad, as well as the northern part of Babylonia, the neighbourhood of Cappadocia as the home of the Akkadian race may be regarded as a very possible explanation, and the fact of the cuneiform characters being in use there would, therefore, be no mystery.”

For the last two years we did not do much in Assyria in the way of new discoveries, on account of the antagonism of the Ottoman authorities, who have of late shown their unmistakable antipathy to anything touching the interests of England. Some say that this estrangement was caused by the policy the British Government assumed in the matter of Dulcigno and Thessaly; and others declare that some European intriguers have been at work to prevent us obtaining the renewal of our firman. However, let the case be as it may, it is to be hoped that the Sublime Porte will relent, and allow us to complete our researches in the sites we have already discovered, and in some of which we have been allowed to excavate, off and on, under three successive Sultans for the last thirty-eight years.

The CHAIRMAN (Rear-Admiral Henry D. Grant, C.B.).—I am sure I only speak the feeling of the meeting, in saying that we are unanimous in thanking Mr. Rassam for his very interesting paper. We should be glad to hear Dr. Delitzsch if he would kindly give us some of the results of his experience.

Dr. DELITZSCH.—All I can say is that we Assyriologists, and all who take an interest in Biblical research, cannot praise in terms too high the ability displayed by Mr. Rassam, and the results that have accrued to science by his persevering efforts in unravelling the history of mankind. The discoveries he has been enabled to make have been of the highest value to the student of Biblical history. I lay particular stress on his discovery of one of the most important Babylonian towns which we have looked for in vain for many centuries. The site of Babylon being known, it was not necessary to search for it. There were chiefly two Babylonian towns whose discovery was urgently required: they were Ur and Sepharwaim, both mentioned in the Old Testament. Ur was at length discovered, but Sepharwaim seemed to be lost altogether; yet it was a place most eagerly sought after, not only because it was the Sepharwaim of the Old Testament

—the Sepharwaim of the period before the Deluge—but also because some details of the history of Nebuchadnezzar and of Alexander the Great could not be understood without some knowledge as to the site of Sepharwaim. Now, however, Mr. Rassam has discovered it. His further discoveries made in the temple of the Sun-god at Sepharwaim (Aboo Habba) enable us to go back much further into the history of mankind than we could have done before. Mr. Rassam has found an inscription which gives us the date of one of the oldest known kings, Naramsin, son of Sargon the First. The inscription fixes the date of that king at 3,800 years before Christ.* It is remarkable that this is the same date given by Egyptologists to Menes, the first historical king of Egypt. We can now give almost the whole list of kings from that time down to Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander the Great. There are only, perhaps, twenty or thirty names wanting. I can only add on behalf of all my German Assyriological friends that we are greatly indebted to Mr. Rassam for the invaluable service he has rendered to science.

Mr. RASSAM.—Mr. Boscawen, who has not been able to attend this evening, has sent me a paper touching upon some parts of my lecture, but I fear it is too late to read it. It can, however, be added to the discussion.

The CHAIRMAN.—The deep importance of such discoveries as Mr. Rassam has made commends itself to every student of the Bible, because, although the truth itself does not want any light thrown upon it, as far as that truth is concerned; yet there are, nevertheless, passages somewhat obscure, and upon which, doubtless, great light has been thrown to-night. In the East I have frequently met Mahomedans who have tested the question with regard to the truth both of the Koran and the Scriptures, and who have pointed out the similarity of the two, as if the Koran were the older book of the two. I was astonished to find that Mussulman priest, with whom I discussed the respective merits of the two books, took great interest in the Scripture missions, and used especially to catechise the children in the Bible. I asked how it was that he who believed that the direct line of descent came from Ishmael and not from Isaac could look on the Bible as he did? He said he had studied both books, and he believed that Jesus Christ was a great man, but that Mahomet was a greater; but he thought that in the end the White Throne would rest in the Heavens, and that Mahomet would give way to Jesus Christ. This shows what extraordinary notions become established in people's minds without any foundation to build upon.

Dr. J. A. FRASER, I.G.H.—There is one point referred to in the paper which seems to have been felt as a difficulty, as well in these Oriental inquiries as in regard to what we sometimes see in our own land,—and

*This inscription is also referred to by Mr. Boscawen. Dr. Delitzsch did not read his promised paper—see next page—on his theory of the Chronology in question, upon which it is desirable there should be no hasty decision.—ED.

that is the occurrence of the vestiges of burnt buildings. We know that in many parts of Scotland and in Ireland, and, I think, in England also, there are found those well-known towers which bear upon them the undoubted marks of fire. We have had abundant theories as to how they have been produced, and it is curious to find the same thing cropping up in those distant lands. No one can tell how or why these indications have been produced, or whether intentionally or not. They are found abundantly in Scotland, whence I have specimens of perfectly calcined stonework ; not so hard as Mr. Rassam has described, but still showing evident signs of the action of great heat. It seemed to me, from those I examined, that it is generally the portions remaining above ground which most show the evidences of fire, and it is probably this fact which accounts for their preservation.

Mr. RASSAM.—I have communicated on this subject with Professor Symons, who informed me of the vitrifications in Scotland ; but there is no comparison between the two. The vitrifications in Scotland are not more than three-quarters of an inch deep, but those that are existing at Birs Nimroud are about 20 feet deep, and this makes the question the more difficult to solve. Some suppose this vitrification to have been the effect of lightning ; but that has been proved to be quite impossible, and I am supported by the opinion of scientific men in saying it could not have been so produced.

Rev. R. W. KENNION.—I think another difficulty has cropped up this evening. Dr. Delitzsch spoke of the first King of Babylon having lived more than 3,000 years before Christ ; but that differs very much from the ordinary chronology. Would those who are more learned than I in these matters take notice of this ? I know there are different systems of chronology ; but according to our usual chronology the Flood must have been considerably later. I should like to know how this difficulty is to be got over.

The CHAIRMAN.—Would Dr. Delitzsch kindly say a few words in explanation of the system of chronology on which his statement is based ? I think it would be interesting.

Dr. DELITZSCH.—It would take too much time to explain it now ; but I intend to read a paper on Babylonian and Assyrian chronology before another society next week. Perhaps, therefore, you will kindly dispense with my saying more at present.

Mr. D. HOWARD, V.P.I.C.—I consider Mr. Rassam's a most important paper. It is interesting to look back, as I do, to the days of my boyhood, when the early investigations were made of Birs Nimrud, and when we were getting a little doubtful whether there was any truth at all in the old historians, and many people began to doubt whether or not the histories of the Old Testament or of Berosus were like myths. Then were dug up those unpromising old mounds which gave the most minutely accurate confirmation of the truth of the Bible, and of the records since the Bible,

and enabled them to be pieced together and made to fit in as the evidence of two witnesses often does when we can get at the explanation, although we may have previously been puzzled by the divergencies. There are few more interesting studies in this age of unbelief and scepticism than these most wonderful confirmations of the minute accuracy of the histories given in the Old Testament. When Sepharvaim was missing it was left to Mr. Rassam to find out the lost city. Ur, of the Chaldeans, was also a myth, and it was for Mr. Rassam, again, to find out the truth with regard to it. I confess that most of us have felt great perplexity as to how the river could have wandered about in the South of Egypt; but we have the most simple explanation now offered,—so simple that the wonder is that we did not find it out ourselves. Indeed, there is no better test of true discovery than that it should be so very simple when we have it put before us. (Hear, hear.) We cannot, I think, too highly estimate the value of these discoveries, and although Mr. Rassam has said very little about the difficulties he has had to overcome, the more one knows about what he has achieved the more one values the indomitable perseverance which has resulted in the discoveries of which we have heard to-night. (Applause.)

Captain F. PETRIE (Hon. Secretary). The statement that England is not able to get a firman from the Sultan enabling Mr. Rassam to complete his discoveries is one which must have grated upon the ears of all present. Discoveries such as he has made are to be classed amongst the most important of the many of which Englishmen may well be proud; and yet, England, with her power in the East, and after all she has done in past years for the Porte, is unable to get from it the permission necessary to enable her scientific men to continue their investigations in one of the most interesting spots in the world. I venture to think that this Society would not be exceeding the limits of propriety, if, either in its corporate capacity, or through some of its leading members, it were to place before the Prime Minister those wishes which I am certain are felt by all scientific men upon the subject. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. GRIFFITH.—The contribution to Biblical history presented to us this evening is not only one full of interest, but, as we must all admit, it is one of the greatest value. There certainly was great difficulty in connection with the question of where the river Gihon was and what the word *Kashiven* meant; and, while we have received interesting testimony on these points, we have also received testimony as to the integrity of the Old Testament and the integrity of the translators, who have not attempted to veil their ignorance, but have done the best they could to preserve the original text in its entirety; and the more our knowledge throws its light on the text the more it is to be trusted and the better it stands the test of criticism. Mr. Rassam alluded to Noah as the name of the person who escaped the Flood. Any one who knows the history of the names of the East will not only recognise the accuracy of his description, but will admit that the form of name is usually emblematical. If Mr. Rassam could give us any further information about this person and the traditions relating to him, it

would be valuable. One interesting point on which Mr. Rassam has thrown some light is that respecting the names of the monarchs reigning in Babylon and Chaldea. Existing writings do not enable us to complete the list of monarchs of the early Syrian empire who reigned from *Ashur to Sardanapalus* in Nineveh. Diodorus Siculus gives an account of the revolution which deposed Sardanapalus and placed on the throne Pul, who invaded Judæa in the reign of Menahem (2 Kings xv. 19). From that time to the return from the Babylonian Captivity, the Biblical student can himself construct from the sacred books an historical harmony. But afterwards those who have read the Greek historians must have experienced some difficulty in identifying the Old Testament names, in Esther and in Daniel. Some of that difficulty has been removed by the statement of Mr. Rassam which makes Cyrus not the monarch, but the satrap of another monarch. Perhaps he would state whether there is any work in existence containing a catalogue of the monarchs, so that we may be able to identify not only Cyrus but also the others. I believe that Belshazzar's name occurs in the cuneiform writings. (Dr. DELITZSCH. Yes.) In conclusion, I can but say that the statement made by our Secretary must commend itself to all present. There is no doubt that the information given to us by the discoveries which have been made is most valuable, and it is certainly to be deprecated if persons in high power should abstain from using their influence to assist those who are labouring so well in so good a cause. It is to be regretted, when we are likely to make such good progress in the future, that the persons in authority should not do all in their power to help on a cause which is not only doing so much in the way of Biblical antiquity, but which will redound to the credit of the English nation.

The meeting was then adjourned.

APPENDIX BY W. ST. CHAD-BOSCAWEN.

The importance of the discoveries made by Mr. Rassam in the mounds of Abbo-Hubba, Tel-Ibrahim, Birs Nimrūd, and others, cannot be too highly estimated, and each day, as the inscribed records or cylinders yield up their secrets to skilled decipherers, the importance of these discoveries to all students of history, sacred or secular, becomes more and more manifest. In the mound of Abbo-Hubba, the explorer came upon all that remained of a city which can rival Thebes or Memphis in antiquity, and whose traditions extend back beyond the dividing stream of the Deluge. According to the Chaldean historian Berosus, the city had a long existence prior to the Deluge, and it was in the temple of "this city of the Sun" (*πολις ηλιου*) that Xisuthrus, by order of the god Chronos, buried the records of the "beginning, progress, and end of all things."* What actual degree of truth

* Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 30, 31-33.

there may be in the statement of the antediluvian existence of Sippara of the Sun we cannot tell ; but it is clear that its selection by Berosus as the seat of five of the ten antediluvian kings,* and the depository of the earliest chapters of the world's history, make it out as a city of great traditional antiquity in a land of ancient cities. Indeed, the discoveries of Mr. Rassam show that the city fulfilled in every way the requirements of Berosus. It was a city which, according to its own inscribed records, existed 3,750 years before the Christian era.† And it was the seat of government of one of the earliest of the Chaldean kings, Sargon of Agade, the Babylonian Romulus.‡ Its astronomical data, furnished by the inscriptions, point to an even more ancient date. At the remote period prior to B.C. 3750, at a time when Menes, B.C. 3892,§ was laying the foundation-stones of the Temple of Phtah, round which, in after time, grew up the mighty city of Men-nefer or Memphis, the Chaldean builder-king Zabur|| was laying the foundation-stones of the shrine of the Sun-god, which formed the germ of the city of Sippara, the Chaldean Heliopolis.

The ancient Akkadian name of the city was ZIMBIR, which was the pronunciation of the compound group, $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$ - 𒌷 - 𒌷 , which is composed of the characters, 𒌷 UD = Sun + 𒌷 Kip = desert or plain, 𒌷 , NUN = great or wide. So that Zimbir of the Akkadians was "the city of the Sun in the great plain." The plain,—the EDIN of the Akkadians, and the Tseru of the Semites,—is clearly the 𒌷 of Wilstein, and the Dura of the Book of Daniel. It was this plain in the land of Shinar that was the site of the terrestrial paradise, and of the founding of the Tower of Babel. The inscriptions discovered on the spot show that the dual cities of Sippara were places of the highest importance in Babylonian history, and we may expect to find in the record chambers of these cities not the books of Noah, but records extending very far back to the threshold of history. It seems evident the two cities were really two quarters of the same city, as are London and Westminster. The one, and probably the most ancient, was called "Sippara of the Sun-god"; the other, Sippara of Anunituv ; and in each was a great temple to the presiding deity. The temple of the Sun-god was discovered by Mr. Rassam in 1880, and was called $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$ 𒌷 $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$, E-PARRA, "the Sun-house," or "the house of light." It was in this temple that Mr. Rassam found the important tablet giving the account of the restoration of the temple by Nabu-apla-iddin ("Nebo has given a son"), the contemporary of Assurnazirpal, king of Assyria (B.C. 885). It is very interesting to see how

* Almelon, Ammenon, Amegalarus, Daonus, Edorankhus.

† This date is founded on statement in a cylinder of Nabonidus which places Sargon 3,200 years prior to B.C. 550.

‡ See Smith, *Chaldean Genesis* (Sayce's Edition), p. 319 *et seq.*

§ The date, according to Lepsius.

|| In the copy of the cylinder of Sagga-ragtiyas, given by Nabonidus (W.A.I., i., pl. 69, line 29 *et seq.*).

remarkable a resemblance this temple, which was much more ancient than this date, bears to that of Solomon at Jerusalem. It consisted of two chambers,—the outer, the *ekallu* or “house,” the היכל or “holy place” of the Jewish temple; the inner, called *parraku*, the cella or veiled-off portion,—corresponding to the “holy of holies,” the קדש הקדשים of the Jews. In the outer chamber was the altar of sacrifice, which was very large. In the inner was the image of the Sun-god, dedicated by King Nabu-apla-iddin in gratitude for his aid in defeating the Sutu * or northern Elamite tribe. Having granted certain lands to the temple, the king also arranges for the provision of sacrifices in the temple. And from this and other inscriptions from Babylonia we find a very close agreement between the sacrificial codes of Babylonia and Assyria. The important passage in the tablet of Nabu-apla-iddin (Cols. IV. and V.) will become, along with the Phœnician inscriptions of Carthage and Marseilles, a great basis for the criticism of Hebrew Levitical law. The skin, the rump, shoulders, choice portions of the interior, and other portions were selected for the sacrifice, those mingled with wine, milk, honey, and fruits made the code of offerings in this temple. The Hebrew Sepharvaim (ספראים) and the Babylonian Sippara are both dual forms, and indicate the double nature of the city, which is quite borne out by Mr. Rassam’s discoveries. Adjacent to the temple of the Sun-god there were found several chambers decorated in black and white, these were evidently part of the temple of the goddess Anat, whose attribute as Venus, the morning and evening star, would be symbolised by these colours. In one of the astronomical inscriptions, Venus, at the rising Sun, is Anat of Agade; Venus, at the setting Sun, is Anat of Erech. And Nabonidus, in the inscription discovered by Mr. Pinches, invokes the goddess as “she who with the rising and setting sun gladdens the rule of Nabonidus.”

It was this pair of deities, Anat, Anunitiv or Anatis, and Shamas, the Sun-god, that were worshipped by the Samaritans who were transported from Sepharvaim by Sargon (2 Kings xvii. 32). We are there told that the men of Sepharvaim made their children pass through the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech. It is evident that we have here two forms of the goddess Anat, for we are told that she was regarded as both a god and a goddess. At sunrise she was masculine as the god Adar or Ninip, the Adrammelech of the Hebrew writer, while at sunset she was Anat or Anammelech, “the queen of heaven.” It was the very close resemblance between the external rituals of Sippara and those of the Jews that made the Samaritans so soon adopt the Jewish code, and it is possible that we may yet find many inscriptions there which will throw light upon the origin of this people, whose last representatives are to be found in the small congregation at Nablous. It is a most important fact that the two cities described by Mr. Rassam in this paper, as buried beneath the mounds of Abbo Hubba and

* These Sutu, sometimes called Šu, are the Shoa of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. xxiii. 23).

Tel Ibrahim, are to be identified with the cities of Sepharvaim and Kutha from which the Samaritans came.

But, in the discoveries at Abbo Hubba, Mr. Rassam has been the finder, not of one city only but of three, for it now becomes evident that Sippara was also the *Agade* or *Akate*, the capital of the first great North-Babylonian King Sargon (B.C. 3800), and also synonymous with the Akkad founded by Nimrod (Genesis x. 10). In one inscription (WAL, i., pl. 69, lines 29, 33, col. 2), Nabonidus states that Sargon, King of Babylon, and Naram Sin, his son, restored the temple of Agade, called E-ULBAR, "the house of the star," but, in a newly-found cylinder deciphered by Mr. Pinches, this temple is said to be in the city of Sippara. Also, in a remarkable inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I., B.C. 1140, King of Babylon, the goddess is specially invoked as *bilat al Ak-ka-di*, "lady of the city of Akkad," so that now we have the last of the cities of Nimrod restored—Babylon near Hillah, Erech, the mounds of Warka Akkad at Abbo Hubba, and Kul-unu or Calneh, the modern Niffer. Few places have been more important in Babylonian history than the city of Sippara, and in the royal palaces, discovered by Mr. Rassam, some of the greatest sovereigns of the East have resided. Shalmaneser III. (B.C. 859), Sargon (B.C. 721), Sennacherib (B.C. 702), Esarhaddon (B.C. 681), and Assurbanipal (B.C. 668), all entered the city in triumph. Nebuchadnezzar II. (B.C. 605) resided here, restored the temples, and added to the palace, as shown by bricks bearing his inscriptions. In the reign of Nabonidus (B.C. 555) the city became a very important centre of military operations. In an historical inscription of this king (Trans. Bib. Arch., vol. vii., p. 158), we read that:—"In the month Nisan, on the 5th day, the mother of the King Nabonidus was in the fortified camp on the Euphrates, above Sippara, and she died there. The son of the king (Belshazzar) and his soldiers, three days in the ranks weeping made." This *Duru-Karasu* (fortified camp) is probably to be identified with the city called in the inscription, found by Mr. Rassam at Abbo Hubba, *alu* (𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁) DI E-IR *ma-kha-az Il Annu*, "the city of Dier, the fortress of Anu," which was the place where the army gathered for the war against Elam. This fortress of Anu, we are told in the same inscription, has a temple dedicated to Anu, "the great god," the head of the Babylonian pantheon, and also a shrine to the serpent god called 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 = *shu-pu-u* (Hebrew שִׁפּוּץ and שִׁפּוּץ), that is the "crawler," or "gliding one." On the advance of Cyrus, in B.C. 540, the province of Akkad revolted, and Cyrus entered Sippara, while Belshazzar and Nabonidus fled south,—the former to Babylon, the latter to Borsippa. On the 14th day of Tammuz, Cyrus entered Sippara *without fighting*, and halted while Ugbaru or Gobyras, governor of Kurdistan (Gutium), pushed on and entered Babylon on the 16th, two days later. A calendar I discovered in 1875 shows that the 15th day of the month Tammuz was the feast of the marriage of Istar and Tammuz,—the most orgaan of all the Babylonian festivals, and one at which the wives and

concubines of the king and his nobles would be present. It was during this feast that the advance guard of Cyrus, under Gobyras, entered the city *bala zaltuv*, "without fighting," and "Belshazzar was slain" (Daniel v. 30). Nabonidus, when captured, was brought from Borsippa to Babylon, and Cyrus himself entered Babylon in triumph on the 3rd day of the month Marchesvan,—that is, three months after the capture. *Ugbaru*, or Gobyras, who was governor of Gutium, or Kurdistan, chief of the army of Cyrus, was appointed by Cyrus to be *his governor* (pikhati-su)*, and other governors in Babylon he appointed, amongst whom, in all probability, were Daniel and his companions.

Passing now to the explorations carried out by Mr. Rassam on the ruins of Borsippa, in the mounds of the Birs Nimrud, and that of Ibrahim-el-Khaleel, we find that he has restored to us most important remains, and cleared up several obscure points, in sacred and secular history. The excavations carried out by Mr. Rassam in the Birs Nimrud reveal most probably the site of the great temple of Nebo, called Bit Zida (𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪), "the house of Life," which was, however, distinct from the Birs Nimrud, which is evidently the "Temple of the Seven Spheres of Heaven and Earth,"—the ancient Tower of Babel. The ruined building found in excavating at Ibrahim-el-Khaleel is probably the palace of Borsippa destroyed when Nabonidus was captured, and partly rebuilt at a later period.

The identity of Borsippa, or Birs Nimrud, the tower of Nimrod, with the "Tower of Babel," seems now to be established on as firm a basis as we can ever expect it will.

The inscriptions show that "BAD-SIABA," the City or Fortress with the horned Tower, or BAR-SIBA, the "Altar of the Prince," was also called by Akkadians 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 + Babilu II., "Babylon the Second," thus showing how the classical writers came to include it in Babylon, and to make the Euphrates pass through the city. The tower of Borsippa was therefore also the tower of Babel or Babylon, and the inscription on the Ballawat Gates (Trans. Bib. Arch., vol. vii., pp. 106-7), show that it was distinct from the Eternal House or Temple of Life, E-ZIDA, the Shrine of Nebo; for the king, Shalmaneser, says, "He went also to E-ZIDA, and the house of his oracle firmly he fixed." A few lines on we read, "the house of the gods, the tower of Borsippa, and E-ZIDA." This great tower, we are told by Nebuchadnezzar (W.A.I., vol. i., pl. 51, col. 1, 27), was called 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 — "Bit uru Sibbite Samie u irziti," "the house of the Seven Spheres of Heaven and Earth,"—the stage-tower (*Zikurat*) of

* Upon this evidence we must certainly identify Ugbaru or Gobyras, who was a Mede, with the Darius, the Mede, of Daniel (v. 31), who ruled in Babylon while Cyrus resided at Susa and Ecbatana. See Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. vii., part i., p. 166.

† W.A.I., vol. iv., pl. XX. 10, and vol. iii., pl. 4.

Borsippa. It had, according to Nebuehadnezzar, fallen into decay, and he thus speaks of it, "Concerning this temple of the Seven Spheres of Heaven and Earth, which a former king had made, and *forty-two cubits* had erected but had not completed its summit." From ancient days (*Yumi rekute*) it had decayed, and there was no exit for the waters (with) which the rain and storms had filled its interior. The brickwork of its casing had cracked, and the interior of its mass had poured out in heaps.* It is evident that this tower was regarded by Nebuchadnezzar as most ancient and long neglected, and fallen into decay. If we compare this statement with the fragmentary legend of the confusion of Babel, found on a tablet (K 3,657), we shall see that the identification of the Birs Nimroud with this tower is possible. From this tablet it appears that an ancient king, probably ETANNA—the Titan of the Greeks—caused the Babylonians to sin against "the father of the gods," by leading them to build a great tower. Small and great he mingled (*uballu*) on the mound. As they built by day the offended god threw down the work at night. At last as they persisted in the evil work, we are told that the great god "in his anger" poured out a secret decree; "to confuse their speech he set his face," and "to make hostility in their counsel." This important phrase, "to confuse their speech," *bällu tamaslie*, בלל תמשלי, is almost an exact counterpart of the Hebrew in Genesis xi. 7, "Come, we will go down and there confound their speech"; that is in Hebrew, שפחה שם שפחה. In Assyrian *maslu*, Hebrew שפט, *siptu*, the Hebrew שפחה, have both the meaning of "speech," "sentence," or "repetition by lip." The gods then destroy the "tower by a whirlwind and storm," and "this sin of the Babylonians was to last like heaven and earth." It is evident from the fact that Merodach is entrusted with the punishment of the Babylonians who do this, that the tower was built outside Babylon proper, and most probably in Babylon the Second or Borsippa. The God of Heaven, Anu, is here called "the King of the Holy Mountain," this is the mountain of the gods on which the ark rested, and whose summit was the Olympus of Chaldean mythology. Like the Indian mountain of Meru, all the Babylonian stage-towers were built in imitation of it. The name given to it was "the Temple of the Seven Spheres of Heaven and Earth," as the Babylonians taught that there were seven cycles of Heaven and seven of the under world,—as the Mexicans taught there were nine such cycles, and each built their stage-towers according to this symbolism.

With regard to Ur of the Chaldees being identical with the ruins of Mughier, I think there can be very little doubt when we

* This passage was translated by Dr. Oppert in Smith's "Bible Dictionary" (p. 1,554), as "A former king built it, they reckon, 42 *ages*, but he did not complete its head. Since a remote time people abandoned it, without order expressing their words." As this fanciful translation is so often quoted, it is as well to correct it, and thus avoid a second Babel confusion.

examine the incidents in the Abramic migration. The city of Uru or Ur, the 𒌦 of the Hebrews, was distinctly a Moon city, its name, 𒌦𒊩𒌦𒊩𒌦𒊩𒌦𒊩𒌦𒊩𒌦𒊩𒌦𒊩𒌦𒊩 being composed of moon and city, and its temple was dedicated to the "Moon-god, the illuminator of heaven and earth." In a hymn to this deity we read, *Abu Nannar bel Urie ebilli ilani*, "Father illuminator, prince of Ur, ruling the gods." From this city Terah migrated, and went to dwell in Haran, also a great seat of the Moon-god. For we find Nabonidus in a recently-discovered inscription commanded to restore this temple by Merodach. And the passage is remarkable. He caused his army to come from Khazzate (Gaza), on the borders of Egypt, from the upper sea (Mediterranean) across the Euphrates,* to restore the temple of E KHUL-KHUL—"the house of the Moon-god, my lord, which is within Harran." Assurbanipal speaks of the temple of the Moon-god which is within Harran, as the place in which he was crowned. The family of Abram were idol-worshippers certainly prior to the call, and so, when they moved from Ur, in South Mesopotamia or Chaldea, to Kharran, in the land of the Nairi or Aram Naharaim, they went to a city of similar worship. It is also important to note without going the fanciful extent of Dr. Goldziher that the names of the family of Terah are similar to those of the Moon-god and goddess in Babylonia, thus indicating in all probability that it was this god that the "fathers worshipped on the other side of the flood" or river. Sarai, "the Princess," and Milcah "the Queen," both correspond to *Sarrat* and *Milkat* the Queen, both names of Gula the Moon-goddess, as was also Laban, in Assyrian Labanu, of the Moon-god. Ur was, moreover, one of the first cities in which Semitic names and inscriptions occur, so that its identity with the Biblical Ur of the Chaldees is supported on a strong basis. The use of the name Ura or Gura for Babylonian Akkad was at so remote a period, and afterwards entirely replaced by the later names of Akkad and Kaldu, that it is doubtful if the name had not become extinct long before the Hebrews separated from their Babylonian Semitic friends.

* This entirely refutes Dr. Beke's theory of Kharran being near Damascus.