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## MESOPOTAMIAN GARDENS

By D. J. WISEMAN

Tribute must be paid to Richard Barnett for his contributions, *inter alia*, to the interpretation of many of the scenes on the Assyrian sculptures. His studies have drawn attention to the detailed information which may be drawn from this important source. In many conversations with me as a colleague in the British Museum he showed particular interest in the Assyrian landscape and representation of nature. Thus he identified the Assyrian garden in the reliefs of Ashurbanipal's N. Palace at Nineveh (Plate XXXIIIa).<sup>1</sup> In this the garden is drawn as planned around a hill, or high feature, on top of which is a garden house. Watering was by aqueduct and channels arranged so that in the downhill flow no material part was inaccessible to irrigation. Trees which provided some shade, also served as supports for vines planted between them. In the Assyrian tradition temples also had similar gardens associated with them.

The building set in the garden may well, as Oppenheim has suggested, be a *bītānu*, a “pavilion, kiosk or summerhouse”, a term perhaps to be distinguished from the homonym used for “inner quarter”.<sup>2</sup> Those built by Sennacherib at Nineveh for his son Aššur-nādin-šumi and at Assur appear to have been in the form of “a small palace” (É.GAL.TUR.RA.).<sup>3</sup> Esarhaddon seems to have followed this practice incorporating a *bītānu* in his new palace complex (*ekallāte rabbâte*). This was surrounded by a garden (*kirimāhu*), the building itself being used as part of the defences. It was related to the palace by an access ramp to the palace terrace and provided with water supplies.<sup>4</sup> Oppenheim suggests that the unique feature in Esarhaddon’s claim to have done “what no king before me had done” lay in the dimensions of this *bītānu* (95 x 31 large cubits = 48 x 16 m.).<sup>5</sup> The scale is marked by the introduction of a term *kirimāhu* first used by Sargon II, which then came to mean a “pleasure garden” attached to the palace, as opposed to the earlier tradition of a primarily botanical garden (*kirū*)<sup>6</sup> outside the capital city. The garden, like the *bīt hilāni* type building, Oppenheim considered an innovation from the West.<sup>7</sup>

It must, however, be noted that Sargon II had commented on “the gardens which were the pleasant feature of the city, and loaded with fruit and bunches of grapes . . .” in Ursā’s capital city of Ulhu in Urartu in 714 B.C.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the *kirimāhu* appears to be used as the title of a city quarter of Uruk.<sup>9</sup>; perhaps reflected in the description of the place as “1 SAR city, 1 SAR garden and 1 SAR pits”.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the continuing tradition of similar palace-gardens and parkland

<sup>1</sup> R. D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh* (1976), p. 14, pl. XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. Oppenheim, “On Royal Gardens in Mesopotamia,” *JNES* 24 (1965), p. 330; cf. 2 Kings 9:27.

<sup>3</sup> D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (1924), 151, No. XV; cf. No. XI.

<sup>4</sup> R. Borger, *Dic Inschriften Asarhaddons* (1956), § 27, p. 61 f., Ep. 22 ll. 1–34.

<sup>5</sup> Oppenheim, loc. cit., 329.

<sup>6</sup> GIŠ.SAR, Sum *kiri*<sub>6</sub>, and for the reading *kiri*<sub>x</sub> for SAR see M. Powell, *ZA* 62 (1972), 189 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Oppenheim, loc. cit., 331.

<sup>8</sup> *TCL* III, 223.

<sup>9</sup> *TCL* XIII, 235:2; 240:3.

<sup>10</sup> Gilgamesh XI, 306.

arrangements in Persia at Pasargadae,<sup>11</sup> Persepolis,<sup>12</sup> and possibly Susa, following what appears to be a long tradition, makes a late innovation from the West unlikely. In Susa the *bītānu* was near the sleeping quarters of the royal palace and was used for major public feasting as well as private affairs (Esther 1:5; 7:7–8). In Babylon palace gardens (*kirī ekallim*) are mentioned as early as the reign of Adad-šuma-uṣur (c. 1200–1180 B.C.).<sup>13</sup> and are possibly referred to in Old Babylonian times.<sup>14</sup> They are further attested in the time of Nabū-apla-iddina (*kirū erṣet ālu-eṣṣu ša qirib DIN.TIR.KI*).<sup>15</sup> “Gardens enhance the pride of the city” according to a hymn to Ezida<sup>16</sup> and in Neo-Babylonian times Babylonian gardens were renowned.<sup>17</sup> Temple gardens, as in Middle Assyrian Assur<sup>18</sup> are attested in Kassite Dūr-Kurigalzu (*bīt?/iš?kirāti ša ekurri*).<sup>19</sup> Nabopolassar named the official in charge of the *bītānu* of his palace in his seventh year.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Location of Royal Gardens*

Sennacherib at Nineveh claims to have created a *kirimāhu tamšil šadhamānim*, usually translated “a great park like unto Mt. Amanus”,<sup>21</sup> beside his great palace. The royal garden was also near a raised threshing floor.<sup>22</sup> This was additional to the plots of land in the area irrigated by the R. Khosr brought into a higher level channel and allotted to the citizens.<sup>23</sup> These lay to the North by the Sin gate near the R. Tigris, the gate being also called *abūl kirāte*.<sup>24</sup> The royal garden itself was devoted to all kinds of aromatic trees and fruit trees “such as grow in the mountains and in Babylonia (*māt kaldi*)” as well as “trees bearing wool” (cotton plants?).<sup>25</sup> In the royal gardens were “fruit-bearing trees of the hills and all lands, all the aromatics of Syria (Hatti)”; also large numbers of “every type of wild vine and exotic fruit tree, aromatics and olive trees, on the (newly) broken land which is beside the game park (*ambassi*)”.<sup>26</sup> The game park itself lay outside the Adad Gate.<sup>27</sup> In the field below (i.e. S.E.) of the city near the dam (Aqeila?) made to hold back the R. Khosr in flood further parks included cypress and sissoo (*?musukkannu*) trees,<sup>28</sup> tall reeds and swamp-plants developed rapidly, sheltering migrating birds and wild-boars, and aquatic animals brought forth their young.<sup>29</sup> The wood was sufficient to be cut down for building purposes.<sup>30</sup> This area

<sup>11</sup> C. Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae* (1970), p. 114.

<sup>12</sup> E. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pls. 21, 24, fig. 3.

<sup>13</sup> A. K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical–Literary Texts* (1975), p. 64, i 13, 17.

<sup>14</sup> *BIN* II, 71:9; *MDP* 23 167:7; *PBS* 1/2 28:7, royal official in charge of gardens at Opis.

<sup>15</sup> *BBSt* no. 36. ii. 11.

<sup>16</sup> *ZA* 53 (1959), 238:4.

<sup>17</sup> *BIN* I 70:14 (NB letter).

<sup>18</sup> *AOB* I: XVII. 1.21; XX. 7.5; 23.4; cf. *ABL* 140, 142.

<sup>19</sup> *Iraq* 11 (1949), p. 131 No. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *GCCI* II, 64:15.

<sup>21</sup> It could equally refer to the Elamite region of KUR Hamāni; cf. Barnett, op. cit., pls. XVI–XIX.

<sup>22</sup> *ABL* 65:17; 375 r. 8.

<sup>23</sup> D. D. Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib* (1924), p. 101, ll. 57–60; p. 111, vii, 53–7.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 153, l. 23.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p. 116, viii 64.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p. 114, viii 17–21.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* p. 112, vii 88; *STT* 372, 11 (*JNES* 26, 198).

<sup>28</sup> *BSOAS* 19 (1959), 317–18.

<sup>29</sup> Luckenbill, op. cit., p. 115, ll. 53–63.

<sup>30</sup> *ABL* 995.

appears to be adjacent to another large game park near the Shamash gate. There is no sure support for Oppenheim's suggestion that the palace garden itself was a small-scale imitation of the out-of-town *ambassu*.<sup>31</sup> Rather the one was adjacent to the other.

The location of the game-park by the Adad Gate was near the royal garden below the fill in Nineveh's north wall as shown by *ABL* 427. Another access to the gardens was along the quay-wall as in the time of Tiglath-pileser I.<sup>32</sup> It is possible that the garden said to have surrounded the *akītu* house was part of the same complex since certain rituals in which the king participated were by the river and "in the garden".<sup>33</sup> Sennacherib describes the *akītu* gardens as luxurious (*kirā nuhši*) with *sasa*-fruit orchards (*sippat ša sasa*).<sup>34</sup>

It is to be noted that at Jerusalem the King's Garden included an open space near the gate between the double city walls (2 Kings 25:4; Jeremiah 39:4; 52:7). It was close to water (Neh. 3:1) and sufficiently concealed to be used as a means of escape during siege (2 Kings 25:4). The king's gardens appear to have been watered also by the overflow from the slopes leading down to the Kidron Valley through sills or spill-ways included in the Silwan tunnel scheme.<sup>35</sup>

In the light of this earlier garden planning it is reasonable to interpret the gardens at Babylon developed by Nebuchadrezzar as continuing a similar tradition. These are best known in the tradition of the "hanging gardens" which was recorded in the late fourth century B.C. in the history of Alexander written by Cleitarchus of Alexandria.<sup>36</sup> His description could have been derived from participants in Alexander the Great's military expedition to Babylon itself. Diodorus Siculus incorporated this together with information derived from the writings of Ctesias, a Greek physician at the Persian court c. 400 B.C.,<sup>37</sup> as did Quintus Curtius in his history of Alexander.<sup>38</sup>

Berossus (c. 280 B.C.) in the *Babyloniaca* ascribed the creation of the "hanging gardens" to Nebuchadrezzar who "in this palace built and arranged the so called hanging garden by setting up high stone terraces which he made appear very similar to mountains planted with all kinds of trees. He did this because his wife who had been raised in Media longed for mountainous surroundings."<sup>39</sup> This same source, when interpreted by Josephus and translated by Whiston reads: "Now in the palace he erected very high walls, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a *pensile paradise* and replenishing it with all kinds of trees, he rendered the prospect of an exact resemblance of mountainous country. This he did to please his queen because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."<sup>40</sup> The pertinent passage is better translated "At his palace he had knolls made of stone which he shaped

<sup>31</sup> *JNES* 24 (1965), 33.

<sup>32</sup> *ARI* II (1976), 41.

<sup>33</sup> *ABL* 427.

<sup>34</sup> Luckenbill, op. cit., p. 137, ll. 33–35. Possibly to be translated "orchards of joy" (Heb. *šōš*).

<sup>35</sup> *Biblical Archaeologist*, 42 (1979), 168–70.

<sup>36</sup> For the ascription of these passages to Cleitarchus see L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander* (1960), pp. 230–1; and for the dating E. Badian, "The Date of Cleitarchus", *Proceedings of the African Classical Associations*, 8 (1965), pp. 5–11.

<sup>37</sup> W. Nagel, "Where were the 'Hanging Gardens' located in Babylon?", *Sumer* 35 (1979), 241–2.

<sup>38</sup> *MDOG* 110 (1978), 19–28.

<sup>39</sup> S. M. Burstein, *The Babylonian Berossus* (SANE 1/5 1978), p. 27.

<sup>40</sup> F. Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I. 19 (Whiston p. 613); *Antiq. Jud.* X. 11.

like mountains and planted with all kinds of trees. Furthermore he had a so-called garden planted because his wife, who came from Media, longed for such, which were a custom in her homeland.”<sup>41</sup> Strabo, who includes the hanging gardens as one of the traditional seven wonders of the world and may be dependent on Onesicritus who wrote during the reign of Alexander the Great, writes: “The uppermost floor had step-like entrances close to which lay screw-pumps (*κοχλίας*), by means of which people employed for the job continually lifted water from the Euphrates up to the garden, since the river of one *stadium* width runs through the town and the garden is situated by the river.”<sup>42</sup>

Koldewey interpreted the vaulted or arched building at the north-east corner of the Southern Palace by the Ishtar Gate as the seatings of a range of 10–11 ft. span vaults and thus the foundations of the “Hanging Gardens”,<sup>43</sup> and on this basis several reconstructions have been proposed.<sup>44</sup> Recent excavation of this building shows that the structure was a support to the raised Procession Way used perhaps also as a storehouse.<sup>45</sup> Here Koldewey found ration tablets dated to Nebuchadrezzar’s tenth to thirty-fifth years (595–569 B.C.)<sup>46</sup> Moreover, this location so far from the water supplies and the river, would have required anyone entering the gardens to traverse the administrative courts and apartments to reach it from Nebuchadrezzar’s palace.<sup>47</sup> A more obvious situation for the gardens would be near the river and with direct access both to the royal apartments and outside to the parklands which stretched as far as the *akītu* house. The location for the royal gardens in Babylon proposed here is to the north of the massive “Western Outwork” (*halsi rabīti*) the river (west) side of which was strengthened by Nebuchadrezzar as a protection against water erosion both of the platform on which the royal palaces were built and of the Etemenanki-Esagila temple complex to the south. Such a safeguard would not have been effective if the river was simultaneously allowed to lap the northern face of the same building. Koldewey’s plan shows that it could not have done so, as remains of substantial walls from the outwork jut out northwards into what would have had to be the river bed.<sup>48</sup> His excavations also show that there remained a ditch running along the line of the earlier river bed between the Western Outwork and the newly extended palace platform which would have flooded and undermined the palace since no barrier was traced between it and the area outside the walls to the north. The gap formed by this ditch outside the earlier Imgur-Enlil wall was bridged by three or more cross-walls pierced with ducts.<sup>49</sup> These indicate that water flowed there and the ducts and sluices might have been part of a method of regulating or controlling the water draining into the Libilhegalla canal which itself served as a main drain from the whole of the Southern Palace along its southern edge. Water could have been raised to the top of the Outwork by

<sup>41</sup> W. Nagel, loc. cit., p. 242.

<sup>42</sup> Strabo XVI 1, 5.

<sup>43</sup> R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* (1914), pp. 98–100.

<sup>44</sup> E. Unger, *Babylon: Die Heilige Stadt* (1931), pp. 216–22; F. Krischen, *Weltwunder der Baukunst in Babylonien und Jonien* (1956), Tf. 6–11.

<sup>45</sup> K. Alwan, “The Vaulted Structures or the so-called “Hanging Gardens”, *Sumer* 35 (1979), 134–6.

<sup>46</sup> E. F. Weidner, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* II (1939), pp. 923–35.

<sup>47</sup> Nagel, loc. cit., 242.

<sup>48</sup> Koldewey, op. cit., p. 126, Fig. 76; WVDOG 55 Tafel 12.

<sup>49</sup> Koldewey, op. cit., p. 132, Fig. 81 (G=Moat); G. Bergamini, “Levels of Babylon Re-considered”, *Mesopotamia* XII (1977), 128–9.

known irrigation techniques and have run down terraces on its northern face.<sup>50</sup>

Later inundation of the River Euphrates has severely eroded the area beyond the north-west corner of the Southern Palace and it is unlikely that further excavation will reveal much further detail. However, the surviving levels between the Outwork, built according to Nebuchadrezzar "like a mountain",<sup>51</sup> and the river are sufficient to accommodate a royal garden on a series of stepped and walled terraces and structures on a descending scale along the north face of the Western Outwork protected by the northerly extension of its west and east flanking walls. The term "Hanging Gardens" would be as appropriate to these as would the terraces of a ziggurat with which some have sought to identify them. The gardens would then be as described by Diodorus: "Since the approach to the garden sloped like a hillside and the several parts of the structure rose from one another tier on tier, the appearance of the whole resembled that of a theatre. When the ascending terraces had been built, there had been constructed beneath them galleries which carried the entire weight of the planted garden and rose little by little one above the other along the approach."<sup>52</sup>

At this site the gardens would have been protected on the river side by a curved embankment and river wall which connected with the northern outer defence wall north of the platform on which Nebuchadrezzar built his "northern palace" with its "museum". The west side of this could have had further garden terraces which formed the eastern limit of the garden area. In building his northern palace across the earlier double defence walls of the original "Southern Citadel" Nebuchadrezzar claims to have built a structure composed of superimposed *gigunāti* (a building erected on terraces).<sup>53</sup> These possibilities are indicated on the plan on Plate XXXIIIB which also proposes additional canals bringing water through the garden and draining into the Euphrates.<sup>54</sup> They connect with the large vaulted deep "drains" found beneath the northern palace which still bear the marks of river flood levels. These may also have been associated with the so-called *Östliche Ausfallvorwerk* which Bergamini has shown to be no bastion forming part of the mural defences themselves but probably a reservoir used to ensure a flow of water into the moats which encircled the whole city and so to prevent them from silting up. The lake thus formed had its own quay-wall and would have been a useful addition to the defence system as well as source of water supply.<sup>55</sup>

### *Use of Gardens*

While the primary purpose of the royal garden was for pleasure and to have ready access from the palace to fragrant and shade-giving trees, there is some evidence that some of the rarer commodities among Nebuchadrezzar's offerings to the temples may have originated in the variety of trees and shrubs grown

<sup>50</sup> Koldewey, *ibid.* (note B on Fig. 81 denotes wells outside walls). For an ancient hydraulic system cf. *ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>51</sup> S. H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (1912), p. 106 ii 24, cf. p. 86 ii 16.

<sup>52</sup> Diodorus II. 10. Translation by C. H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library, 1960.

<sup>53</sup> CAD V (1956), 70. This was also the location of the later Persian *apadana*, so there is no need with Nagel (loc. cit., 241) to suppose that they may have "erected a substitute garden in the area of the 'arched building'".

<sup>54</sup> The plan is adapted from G. Bergamini, loc. cit., fig. 76. Cf. also Unger's plan in WVDOG 48 Tafel 61.

<sup>55</sup> Bergamini, loc. cit., 136-9.

there.<sup>56</sup> The annals of Sennacherib make it clear that the older tradition of including botanical specimens was maintained. A royal garden with samples of many species was established at Kalhu c. 876 B.C. by Aššur-nāšir-apli II who was interested in horticulture. He planted gardens by the R. Tigris watered by the Pati-Nuhši canal with all kinds of fruits and vines to provide temple offerings. "From lands I travelled and hills I traversed the trees and seeds I noticed (and collected): cedar, cypress, box, *Juniperus oxycedrus*, myrtle, *Juniperus dupracea*, almond, date palm, ebony, sissoo, olive, tamarind, oak, terebinth, *dukdu*-(nut tree), *Pistacia terebinthus*, myrrh-type (ash?), *mehru*-fir, Dead Sea fruit(?), *ti'atu*, Kaniš-oak, willow, *sadānu*, pomegranate, plum, fir, *ingirašu*, pear, quince, fig, grapevine, *angašu*-pear, *sumlalu*, *titip* (aromatic), *sarbutu*, *zanzaliqu* (acacia?), "swamp-apple"-tree, *ricinus*, *nuhurtu*, *tazzinū*, *kanaktu* (frankincense?).<sup>57</sup> The canal-water came flowing down from above to the gardens: the paths [are full] of scent; the waterfalls [glisten] like the stars of heaven in the garden of pleasure. The pomegranate trees, which are clothed with clusters of fruit like vines, enrich the breezes in the garden of [delights. I] Aššur-nāšir-apli gather fruit continuously in the garden of joys like an emaciated (person? . . . . .)<sup>58</sup> Other texts attest to the presence of medlar, elder and other plants in the garden.<sup>59</sup> There is no need to interpret the depiction of Ashurbanipal and his queen feasting in the garden to musical accompaniment as a cultic scene. The attendance of the queen probably indicates it as an occasion of pleasure and entertainment.<sup>60</sup>

Such a variety of trees brought from so many foreign places may indicate that the standard Babylonian term *gapnu*, usually taken to be a West Semitic loanword for mountain trees in general may in Neo-Babylonian denote fruit trees exclusively.<sup>61</sup> Once established in Assyria public gardens were provided with cuttings and seeds from the royal establishments, as many as 1,200 saplings (*ziqpu*) of fruit trees, made up of 350 pomegranate, 400 fig and 450 medlar, being issued at one time.<sup>62</sup> Other trees were planted to support the perfume industry,<sup>63</sup> and both Assyrian and Babylonian gardens were associated with plots of land devoted to the growing of vegetables. These supported both urban communities<sup>64</sup> and temples. Such a *kirū ša urqi* was usually located by a river or canal for ease of irrigation as in the village of Būruqi in Halah, N.E. of Nineveh.<sup>65</sup> Some appear to be devoted to special products, as cress from Sislu and Har(i)-kumba.<sup>66</sup>

Marduk-apla-iddina II's garden in Babylon was one such, the text apparently

<sup>56</sup> *Iraq* XXVII (1965), 7 v. 2–22.

<sup>57</sup> *Iraq* XIV (1952), 33 ll. 38–48.

<sup>58</sup> J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive* (=CTN II, 1973), pp. 239–40, ll. 48–52 but reading *pi-ia-q* [i] for *piaz* [i], "mouse/squirrel?".

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157, No. 240, 5–6.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Esther 1:5, 11.

<sup>61</sup> *CAD* V (1956), 44–5.

<sup>62</sup> Postgate, op. cit., pp. 157–8, Nos. 139–40; cf. p. 197, No. 198 which indicates that size and age were also given.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11, No. 215; E. Ebeling, *Parfümrezepte und kultische Texte aus Assur* (1950), pp. 2–13.

<sup>64</sup> C. Zaccagnini, *The Rural Landscape of the Land of Arraphe* (1979), pp. 119–53, espec. pp. 127–8.

<sup>65</sup> Postgate op. cit., pp. 98–9; cf. No. 19.

<sup>66</sup> *Iraq* 32 (1970), 39.

copied from an older original.<sup>67</sup> In this plots of four to six vegetables (total 67) appear to have been grouped together.<sup>68</sup> Since so many rare terms occur interpretation must be hazardous and the document may be part of a scribal exercise. It may be questioned whether it was only in groves of date-palms that the garden plays an important economic rôle in Mesopotamia.<sup>69</sup> Gardeners are mentioned from earliest times in Mesopotamia, both in myth<sup>70</sup> and history, one being Enlil-bāni renowned as a substitute king who refused to vacate the throne in Babylon in favour of its rightful occupant Irra-imitti.<sup>71</sup> In the nineteenth century B.C. the production of herbs for medicinal purposes is well attested.<sup>72</sup> The profession of gardener (*nukaribbu*)<sup>73</sup> is attested in all periods, some being given rations by the king. Most were privately employed<sup>74</sup> and records of payments and of work done are common.<sup>75</sup> Gardeners included the blind<sup>76</sup> and a female gardener.<sup>77</sup>

There is reason to assume that the Judean gardener held in Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar II and given rations from the palace was probably an expert,<sup>78</sup> rather than merely a prisoner set to work in a palm grove.<sup>79</sup> Gardens, both royal and private, were known in Syro-Palestine.<sup>80</sup> In Jerusalem Solomon claimed "I built houses for myself and planted vineyards. I made gardens and parks and planted all kinds of fruit in them. I made reservoirs to water groves of flowering trees." (Eccles. 2:4–6).<sup>81</sup> These gardens were later a well-known landmark. (2 Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7; Neh. 3:15). Royal parklands in Syria were still large enough to supply timber for the building of the gates at Jerusalem in Nehemiah's day (Neh. 2:8). The king's garden was well ordered and fruitful (cf. Deut. 11:10; Num. 11:5).

The association of the garden, usually that of the temple, with cultic ceremonies is well attested. In ancient Israel this was deplored, perhaps for its association with fertility rites and sacrifices (Isaiah 1:29; 65:3; 66:17) and kings buried in the garden, as opposed to the royal necropolis, appear to have had some stigma attached to their reputation.<sup>82</sup> Gardens at Ugarit included a place of sacrifice to Rešef and may have given rise to the later gardens of Adonis.<sup>83</sup> The primary early references to cultic or holy gardens in Babylonia are to Inanna's

<sup>67</sup> BM. 466226; *CT* XIV 50; J. R. Brinkman, "Merodach-Baladan II" in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, June 7, 1964 (1964), p. 52; *ZA* 6 (1891), pp. 289–98; *RLA* III (1951–71), p. 149 sub Garten.

<sup>68</sup> Zaccagnini op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>69</sup> Contra A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), p. 312.

<sup>70</sup> S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (1956), pp. 110–14.

<sup>71</sup> A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (1975), p. 155 ll. 31–6.

<sup>72</sup> M. Civil, "Herbs and Gardens Four Thousand Years Ago", *The Herbarist* 28 (1962), pp. 21–4.

<sup>73</sup> LÚ.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>x</sub>; Gadd's proposed *lakurippu* (*RA* 63 (1969), 2) has not found favour; cf. M. A. Powell, *JAOS* 97 (1977), 586 (Sum. *nukirik*; Akkad. *nukarribum* from \**murakkibum*), and Edzard, *ZA* 71 (1981), 287 (*nukarippu* a foreign word).

<sup>74</sup> LH §§ 60–62; *MSL* I, 4 iii 23, 33.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. *YOS* 12 441; BM. 92744 (unpublished).

<sup>76</sup> I. J. Gelb, *St. Or.* 46 (1976), 69 (igi.nu.du<sub>8</sub>) at Chagar Bazar.

<sup>77</sup> *nukaribbatu*, *YOS* 13 144:2; *UET* 5 494:18.

<sup>78</sup> Weidner, op. cit., p. 927 (A31, r. 22).

<sup>79</sup> G. R. Driver, *Expository Times* 56 (1945), p. 318.

<sup>80</sup> *ARM* 9 24 ii 6; 10 95 7, 9; 14 61 r. 2'; *AT* 165:3; 244:8.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Aromatic and choice plants watered from pool (Song of Solomon 4:12–16). 1 Kings 21:1–2 for the royal garden near the palace in Samaria.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Manasseh (2 Kings 21:18).

<sup>83</sup> *rsp gn* (*UT* 1088:3); *il gn* (*Ugaritica* VII (1968), pp. 10, 20, 26).

taking the *huluppu*-tree there.<sup>84</sup> Similar gardens of Enlil and Anu, and of Adad<sup>85</sup> are named. The description of Enki's garden is given: "In its pleasant garden which bears rich fruits, the birds brood, the giant carp plays for him (Enki) among the 'honey plant', the marsh carp adorns itself for him with a tail among the young reeds. When Enki rises, the fish rise before him against the waves."<sup>86</sup> Nanâ went to the garden of the Ehuršaba temple in Babylon as did Anu from his temple at Assur,<sup>87</sup> the *akītu*-house garden playing a distinctive part in that festival.<sup>88</sup>

Thus the varied gardens in ancient Mesopotamia were cherished as sources of pleasure and produce by king, noble, priest and people as were those of Egypt.<sup>89</sup>

[Since the above was written *Sumer* XXXVII (1981) has been published (in 1982?). In an article "Where are the Hanging Gardens of Babylon?" (pp. 58–61 in arabic) Mu'ayyad S. Damerji proposes a location on the western (i.e. river) side of the Western Outwork. While possible, it is unlikely as the gardens would be invisible from the palace and subject to strong westerly winds.]

<sup>84</sup> A. Shafer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgamesh* (University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation 1963), l. 35, p. 30 n. 1; cf. *UET* I 41 a; III 37.

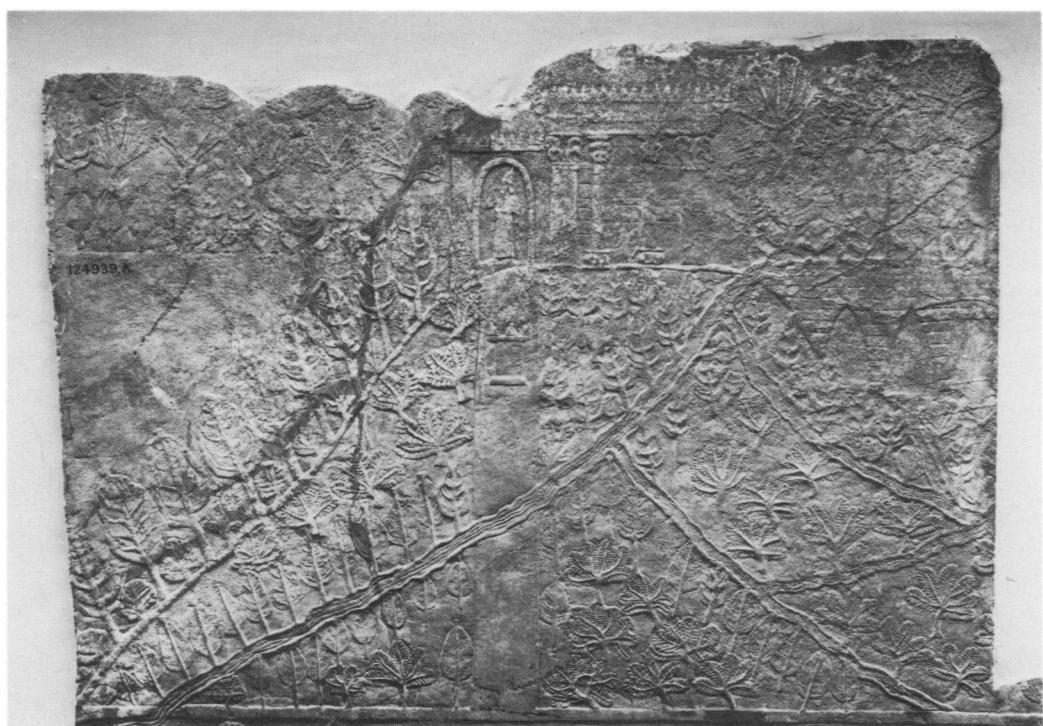
<sup>85</sup> *ARM* I 136:5.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Fouadi, *Enki's Journey to Nippur: The Journey of the Gods*, (1969), p. 51, ll. 76–80.

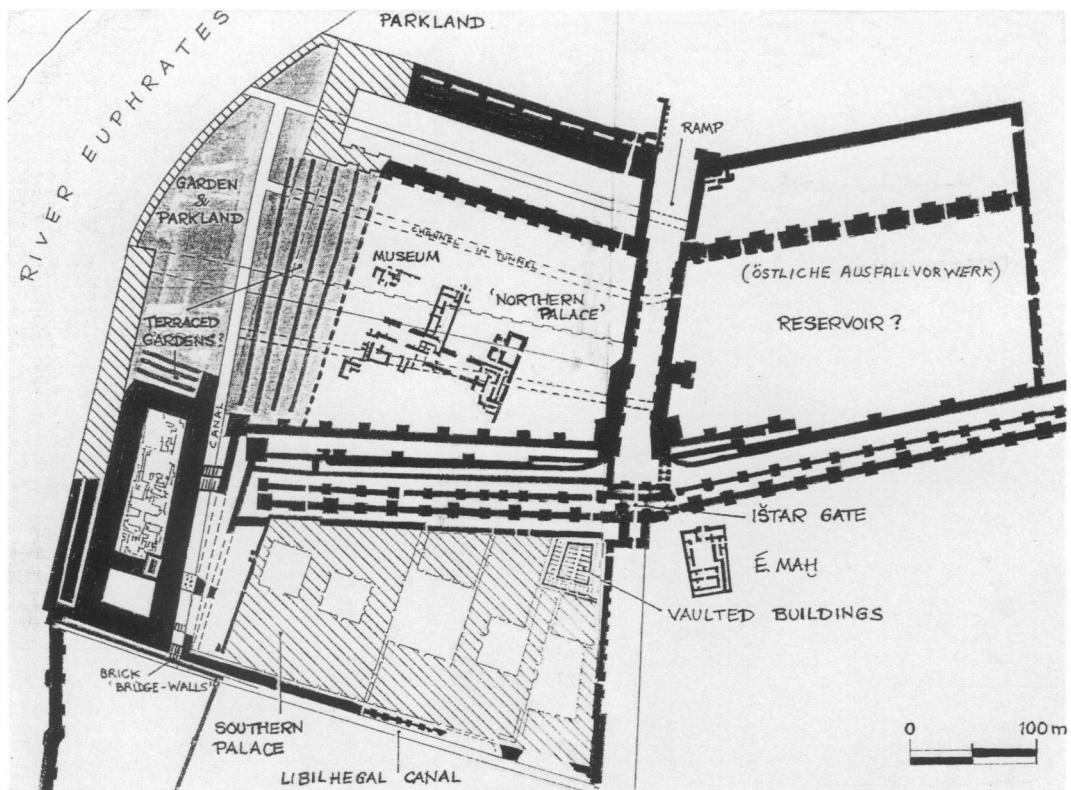
<sup>87</sup> *SBH* 145 ii 24, cf. p. 22; *KAR* 65 12 28.

<sup>88</sup> *ZA* 43 (1936), 18:64.

<sup>89</sup> L. M. Gallery, "The Garden of Ancient Egypt" in D. Schmandt-Besserat, *Immortal Egypt* (1978), pp. 43–9.



(a) Gardens shown on Assyrian sculpture from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (BM.124939).



(b) Proposed location of the Royal ('Hanging') Gardens at Babylon.