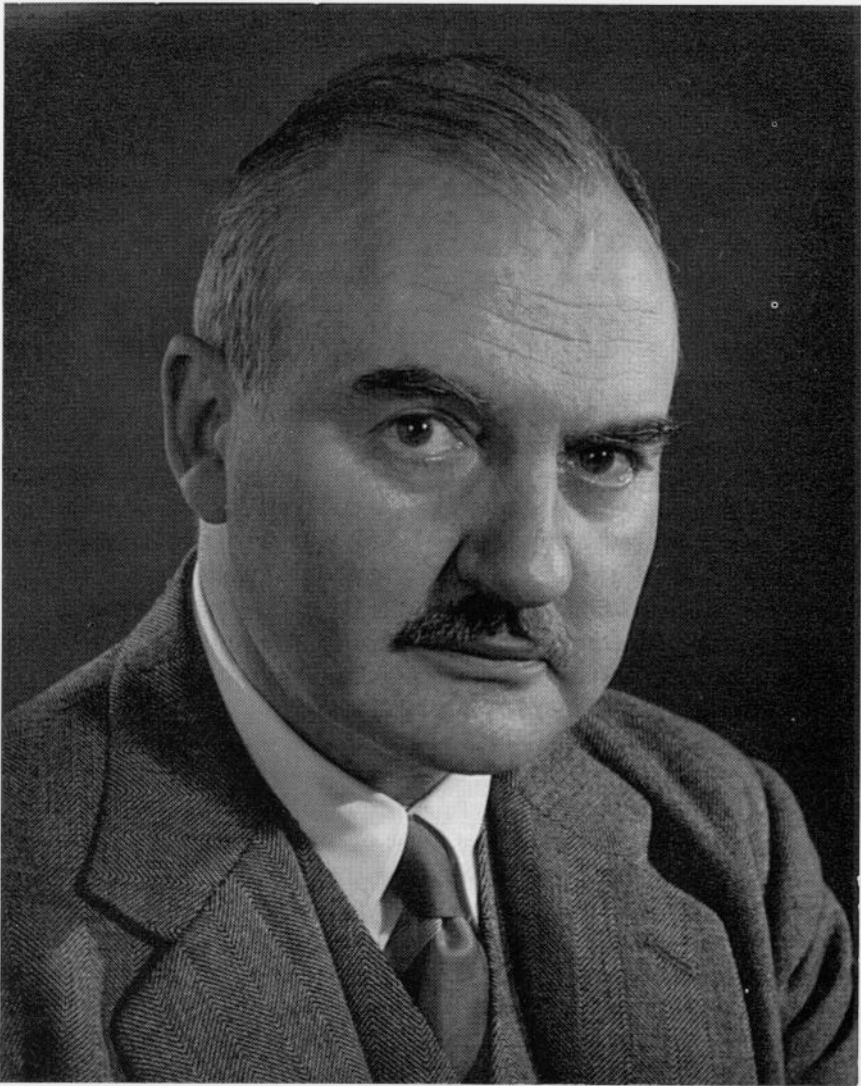


## Max Edgar Lucien Mallowan 1904–1978

MAX MALLOWAN was born in London on 6 May 1904, the son of an Austrian army officer turned London businessman and a French mother. When he was eight years old the family settled in Wimbledon, where he attended a local preparatory school which gave him a sound basic education including the rudiments of Greek and, as he says in his *Memoirs*, ‘an early love for the language from which I have had nothing but enjoyment’. He also made his first acquaintance with two sports that remained a lifelong interest. His father taught him tennis and took him to see the great players of the time at the Wimbledon club, while his school imparted to him the fascination of cricket. In 1917 he went on to Lancing, of which he speaks ‘with mixed feelings, a mingling of melancholy not unmingled with the misery which was partly due to homesickness; gratitude I owe to the school for inculcating a sense of fortitude, rays of enjoyment, and a capacity for bearing and surviving the harsh realities of life with a minimum of fuss’. Among his contemporaries who later achieved distinction were Evelyn Waugh whom he regarded with amusement and suspicion, and Humphrey Trevelyan who, as Counsellor and later Ambassador at Baghdad, became a close personal friend and gave invaluable support to the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. Despite the presence of one or two inspiring teachers such as J. F. Roxburgh, later Headmaster of Stowe, Mallowan regarded the academic standard at Lancing as low and found the insistence on organized religion oppressive. He persuaded his father to allow him to leave early, at the age of 17, and to go up immediately to New College, Oxford, ‘a step from purgatory to paradise’.

Mallowan himself says that his university career was academically undistinguished and might have benefited from greater maturity. Yet he clearly enjoyed Oxford to the full, not only the social life which, we may suspect, brought out his ebullient personality for the first time, but the joy



M. E. L. MALLOWAN

*Alister Jordan*

of being taught by such as Gilbert Murray, Stanley Casson and Percy Gardner. Casson and Gardner presented to him two different approaches to archaeology, the one rooted in an understanding of Greece as a country, the other in the more aridly presented disciplines of art history. Both are reflected in his later work. H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College, and Casson were jointly responsible for leading him into Near Eastern Archaeology. The Warden introduced him to D. G. Hogarth, Keeper of Western Asiatic and Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, who had been asked by Leonard Woolley to find him an assistant on his excavations at Ur, and Casson provided a personal recommendation to Woolley himself. Mallowan comments that his interview with Woolley was smoothed by the fact that he had bought one of the early *Ur Excavation Reports*, though he did not reveal that the purchase had been influenced by his admiration for another Woolley, the great Kent cricketer.

He spent six seasons at Ur, which must have been an extraordinary introduction to Near Eastern digging, not only because of the scale of the enterprise—200 to 250 men were regularly employed—but because his first season, 1925–6, saw the beginning of work on the Royal Cemetery which yielded one of the richest accumulations of treasure ever unearthed. Mallowan came as a general assistant to be trained in the field. As the junior member of the expedition he was progressively assigned a variety of duties which came to include the opening of the dig house at the beginning of the season, no simple task since it was partly covered by blown sand, and at the end the packing and despatch from Basra docks of 40 or 50 large crates of antiquities. In the meanwhile he kept the paybook in rupees and annas, and acted as medical officer to the workmen who occasionally broke each other's heads. He was also required from time to time to massage the head of Katharine Woolley, whose health was volatile and her moods precarious. Of his personal involvement in the excavations he says little. Ur, with a very small staff and a very large workforce, was hardly a training dig in the modern European sense. There were a number of skilled workmen whom Woolley had employed at Carchemish before 1914, including Hamoudi ibn Sheikh Ibrahim and his sons who served as foremen. But Woolley can have had little time for precept and his assistants presumably learnt from his example, which was one of formidable industry, manual dexterity in excavation and—for those days—high technical competence in the recording and treatment of finds. We learn from the acknowledgements in Woolley's monumental *Ur Excavation Reports* and Mallowan's occasional contributions to them that Mallowan was in direct charge of a number of areas on the tell and that he took an increasing part in the recording of the graves in the great cemetery, although the richest and most complex interments remained in Woolley's hands.

It is clear, however, that this first experience in the field under Woolley, for whom he had enormous respect, formed his conception of the organization of a Mesopotamian excavation from which he never effectively deviated in his later independent enterprises. As at Ur, so at Nimrud 30 years later the director was alone responsible for the overall supervision of the work and for the day to day administration of the expedition, including the hiring, sacking and payment of workmen. Woolley did delegate the arithmetic of the paybook, but there was no thought of that ideal presence the Assistant Director, whose function as defined by Mortimer Wheeler was to relieve the Director of all such chores and leave him time to think. In the early days there were rarely more than three assistants including an architect and on historical sites an epigraphist. In later years at Nimrud the number of archaeological assistants rose, and a professional conservator was employed to deal with the great quantity of carved ivories that was discovered, but the total staff was never more than eight or nine persons. The contrast with Kenyon's post-war excavations at Jericho and Jerusalem was conspicuous.

Mallowan's fifth season at Ur, 1929–30, brought the most important event of his personal life. Agatha Christie had visited Ur in the previous spring, when he was temporarily absent, and had been invited to return at the end of the following season and to travel part of the way home with the Woolleys. Mallowan was deputed by Katharine Woolley to escort her on the journey from Ur to Baghdad, with diversions to the great mound of Nippur, the Shi'ite holy cities of Najaf and Karbala, and the early Abbasid desert palace of Ukhaidhir. After parting from the Woolleys in Aleppo they went back by sea to Greece, where Max changed his plans to accompany Agatha on the Orient Express most of the way to London. They were married on 11 September 1930. It was a marriage of mutual devotion, described by Max just after Agatha's death in 1976 as 'forty five years of a loving and merry companionship'. Its immediate consequence was the severance of Mallowan's connection with Ur, for it was made clear to him by Woolley, at Katharine's behest, that there was no room for another woman on the dig and that even Agatha's presence in Baghdad on a brief visit was not acceptable. Not wishing to leave Woolley in the lurch, he returned for the season of 1930–1, but accepted an invitation to join Campbell Thompson at Nineveh in the following year with the specific task of assisting in the excavation of a deep sounding to elucidate the earlier sequence of occupation on the site. On this, as on all subsequent expeditions, Agatha accompanied him although at Nineveh she took no part in the work. She did, however, distress Campbell Thompson—who was, no doubt by necessity, a parsimonious man—by paying three pounds in the *suq* for a

table for her typewriter. He could not understand why a packing case would not serve.

The standard of excavation at Nineveh was far worse than at Ur, for Campbell Thompson was an Assyriologist mainly interested in recovering more of the tablets that had been housed in the Late Assyrian royal library, deeply distrustful of archaeological evidence and lacking both Woolley's skills in excavation and the assistance of trained workmen. Had he known the extent of his commitment in the deep sounding it is unlikely that he would have contemplated the project, but he believed that the tell was founded on a natural eminence which would be found at a depth of some 40 feet: it took all Mallowan's persuasive powers to carry the excavation down to 90 feet, where virgin soil was finally reached. The sinking of deep soundings had obvious limitations. At Nineveh an initial area of 75 by 50 feet at the top progressively contracted to a space only 12 feet square at the bottom, so that in the levels of prehistoric occupation that made up the lower 52 feet of the deposit only a sequence of pottery could be observed with little or no contextual information. Nevertheless, this sequence provided the foundation for the study of North Mesopotamian prehistory, until then entirely unknown, and a link with the prehistoric sequence in the south through the identification of Uruk pottery of the 4th millennium BC.

Mallowan himself was the first to build on this foundation. In 1933 he undertook the excavation of a small mound at Arpachiyah, just east of Nineveh, where Campbell Thompson had observed sherds of a particularly fine painted ware known as Halaf pottery from its first discovery, though out of context, at Tell Halaf on the headwaters of the Khabur river in north-east Syria. It had been identified in the Nineveh sounding, and Arpachiyah presented the opportunity to place it in the context of an extensive excavation. The work was sponsored by the British Museum and supported by contributions from various sources, including the first grant for fieldwork made by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, recently founded in memory of Gertrude Bell. The only member of the staff apart from the Mallowans was J. C. Rose, an architect who had served at Ur. Up to 180 men were employed, under two foremen who had worked for many seasons at Nineveh. In the Arpachiyah report Mallowan describes them as 'experienced and trusted', in his *Memoirs* relating to Nineveh as 'a pair of old fools'. Wherever the truth lay, the problems of supervision must have been considerable. Nevertheless, the results were the first revelation of a new prehistoric culture in the northern plain of Mesopotamia. Although considerably expanded by recent work, by a Soviet expedition at Yarim Tepe and by an Iraqi scholar, Isma'il Hijara, who returned to Arpachiyah itself, Mallowan's principal conclusions have not been seriously challenged. It is also much to his credit that the report on the excavations was

published less than two years after their conclusion; prompt publication was always one of his great merits, and he insisted that others should follow his example.

He has written that Arpachiyah, his first independent dig, stands out as the happiest and most rewarding. In this memoir I have included few of the entertaining reminiscences that are better read in his *Memoirs* or in Agatha's *Autobiography*, but two anecdotes of this time illustrate both his sporting and his theatrical instincts. Towards the end of the season he organized a cross-country race for his workmen from the east wall of Nineveh to Arpachiyah, some three miles, with prizes ranging from a cow and a calf down to ten eggs, bought at a total cost of ten pounds. The course was lined with umpires, ostensibly to prevent jostling and other unsportsmanlike behaviour, but also to stop runners from joining in halfway through the race. The event was a popular success with all except the self-appointed bookmakers, for the winners were all outsiders. The second story relates to the appearance of faked clay figurines which were salted in the trenches in expectation of the payment of baksheesh, then a universal custom. After observing for some time the increasing ingenuity of the fakers, Mallowan lined up a series of these and other suspect objects in the presence of the assembled workmen and ceremoniously destroyed them. In the *Memoirs* he admits to the destruction of one object which was later attested as authentic on other sites. Privately, he was still concerned 30 years later that some of the figurines might have been genuine.

The season at Arpachiyah came to an end in an atmosphere of increasing nationalist feeling in Iraq, fostered by German influence which was represented in the Antiquities Department by the Adviser, Julius Jordan, who was a respected archaeologist but also a convinced Nazi. The Antiquities Law which allowed a share of finds to foreign excavators—and on which their museum financing largely depended—was effectively abrogated, and both British and French archaeologists turned their attention to Syria, then under French mandate. Mallowan went to north-east Syria, on the western fringe of Assyria which had now become the focus of his interest. After a survey in 1934 he decided that the 'Khabur triangle', defined by the Turkish foothills on the north, the upper Khabur river on the west and its tributary the Wadi Jaghjagh on the east, was a most promising area. It is thickly dotted with tells, including many large sites, and the fact that much of it lies within the zone of rainfed agriculture promised a long sequence of prehistoric as well as historical occupation. Mallowan chose two sites, first Chagar Bazar in the north where he dug from 1935 to 1937, and later Tell Brak farther to the south where there was a series of three campaigns in 1937–8. It was a deliberate decision to begin with Chagar Bazar, a site of medium size, in order to familiarize himself

with the material of the region before tackling the enormous bulk of Brak, the largest single mound in the whole basin. Chagar Bazar produced a useful sequence of material from the 6th to the middle of the 2nd millennium BC, together with cuneiform tablets of the early 2nd millennium, the first to be found in this region. Brak had much the same range of settlement but its great depth of deposits, varying from 20 to over 45 metres, precluded the deep sounding so fashionable with Mesopotamian excavators between the wars. The most important discoveries there included a temple of the late 4th millennium BC, the so-called Eye Temple, built on the latest of a series of platforms that apparently enclosed the remains of its predecessors. More important still was a massive fortified building overlying and enclosing the Eye Temple site. Its walls yielded unbaked bricks stamped with inscriptions of Naram-Sin, grandson of Sargon of Agade and fourth ruler of the Akkadian Empire about 2250 BC. Mallowan called this building the 'Palace of Naram-Sin'. It was not a palace in the modern sense of a royal residence, rather a provincial headquarters and arsenal, but its identification was a major contribution to historical knowledge. It proved for the first time that the Akkadian conquests related in their early royal inscriptions were not mere raids for booty but had, at least by the time of Naram-Sin, resulted in the establishment of permanent bases in the conquered territory and the framework of a provincial administration which was the prototype of every later Oriental Monarchy.

The operations at Chagar Bazar and Brak followed the standard pattern of the time, with large workforces and small supervisory staffs, although in the Khabur basin Mallowan was able to employ a number of skilled workmen from Carchemish who had worked with Woolley at Ur. Preliminary reports on the first two seasons at Chagar Bazar appeared within a year of their completion. The final campaign at Chagar Bazar and the work at Brak, which was brought to a premature end in the autumn of 1938 by the threat of trouble from the Shammar sheikhs, could not be published until after the war. This final report (*Iraq*, 9, 1947) is sketchy in its treatment of Chagar Bazar and seriously deficient in detail on the excavation at Brak, although there is a very full and learned discussion of the finds. To some extent this reflects the balance of Mallowan's personal interests. Careful reading, however, suggests that when he returned to writing it in 1946 many records of the dig had been lost during the war. Certainly when work at Brak was resumed in 1976 there were no notebooks or original drawings to be found, with the exception of a few tattered sheets of tracing paper in a roll marked 'Probably not necessary to keep'.

In the early part of the war Mallowan had some difficulty in joining the

Royal Air Force because of his foreign parentage, but was eventually commissioned in a branch of Intelligence responsible for relations with Allied air forces. After a year in London he volunteered for similar duties in Cairo, and finally in 1943 transferred to the newly organized military administration of the former Italian province of Tripolitania. Here his knowledge of Arabic and his experience in dealing with the people of the countryside in Iraq and Syria were of especial value, and his tales of this time reveal the zest with which he outwitted the Libyan tribesmen at their game of transparent duplicity, whether in crop assessment or disputes over water rights. He was also fond of recalling one especial frustration, though not at Libyan hands. It was at one time his duty to keep the main road south from Tripoli clear, and in particular to remove a persistent sand dune which blocked it at intervals. He attacked the dune with his usual zeal until, on one occasion when he had left it unmolested for longer than usual, he returned to find that it was accustomed to retreat of its own accord. His last months in Tripolitania were spent at headquarters, first as Adviser on Arab Affairs and finally, with the rank of Wing Commander, as Deputy Chief Secretary, but these more prestigious appointments lacked the satisfaction of dealing directly, and often alone, with the ordinary people he knew and understood.

Mallowan entered the formal academic world for the first time in 1947 when he was appointed to the newly created Chair of Western Asiatic Archaeology in the University of London, based at the Institute of Archaeology which was then housed in St John's Lodge, Regent's Park. The old Institute was a more personal place than its functional, though better equipped, successor in Gordon Square, and there were characters to match. The Director was Gordon Childe, a great prehistorian and notable eccentric. Mortimer Wheeler was Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Provinces, and Kathleen Kenyon the Lecturer in Palestinian Archaeology in Mallowan's own Department. Wheeler and Kenyon were the supreme exponents of the British school of excavation, which they exported to the Indian subcontinent and to Palestine respectively. They were sometimes openly and excessively contemptuous of earlier Near Eastern methods, but Mallowan maintained excellent relations with Wheeler, whose panache struck a chord in his own character. With Kenyon, whose Levantine empire bordered on his own and whose devotion to archaeological method was not always matched by historical insight, his relationship—though amicable—might be described as armed neutrality. The claim in his Memoirs that they got on perfectly because he always gave way does not ring true, but he respected her honesty and essential kindness. Throughout his time at the Institute the teaching was entirely postgraduate and allowed considerable flexibility in the terms of



individual appointments, so that Mallowan was free to pursue his other interests for the first five months of every year. This arrangement resulted in two major achievements, the establishment of a permanent base in Baghdad for the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, of which he was now appointed Director, and the inception of his last and greatest undertaking in the field, the excavation of Nimrud, capital of the Late Assyrian Empire in the 9th and 8th centuries BC.

The first School building was an attractive courtyard house with a balcony overlooking the Tigris. Many of the practical arrangements were made by Robert Hamilton, and 20 years later the School's bank account in Baghdad was still in the name of Hamilton and Mallowan, although impersonations were tolerated. Still in use, too, was furniture from the house of Seton Lloyd, who had left in 1947 after eight years as Adviser to the Antiquities Department. The cordial relations established by Mallowan with Iraqi colleagues were further cemented by Barbara Parker, now Lady Mallowan, who was Secretary/Librarian and the only permanent resident of the School from 1949 to 1961. The Mallowans spent the first two months of each year in Baghdad before leaving for the north in early March to open the season at Nimrud. There was at that time no direct road from Baghdad to Mosul, and Mallowan drove the large ex-army Dodge station wagon, which was the expedition transport, by way of Kirkuk and Erbil, making an overnight stop in the guest-house of the British-staffed Iraq Petroleum Company at Kirkuk. This presented an opportunity to call on the General Manager and enlist the Company's assistance in the loan of equipment for the excavation, which ranged from the regular supply of a small generator to, on occasion, a mechanical shovel and a bulldozer of the largest size. His technique of unassuming persuasiveness in making these modest requests was a joy to observe, but the Company's staff also gained by the relationship since on their weekly holidays they were constant visitors to Nimrud. It was unfortunately clear that most of them were less interested in the excavations than in seeing Agatha Christie, but she usually bore their attentions stoically.

The consistent nucleus of the staff at Nimrud in the early seasons consisted of the Mallowans, Barbara Parker as epigraphist and photographer and Hamilton as architect and surveyor, supplemented by other specialists and, as time went on, a growing number of archaeologists with experience elsewhere. Control of a workforce of over 200 was also greatly assisted by the presence of foremen and professional pickmen from villages around Sherqat, the site of the first Assyrian capital, Ashur, who followed a family tradition that originated in the German excavations there before the First World War. Some had over 30 years' experience, and the best were very good craftsmen with an expert touch in excavation and the

handling of delicate objects, and were willing to impart their skills to any junior member of the expedition who wished to learn. Mallowan handled them with skill and good humour, and was repaid with loyalty. It must be said that their reminiscences of other digs long ago did not always enhance the reputations of their directors. Unfortunately the older and more experienced men were at that time almost all illiterate, and although they could comprehend and often solve a problem in excavation they could not record the results. The burden of recording remained a problem at Nimrud, but was mitigated by the character of the site, a capital city where the principal aim of excavation was to investigate a single period, largely in monumental buildings where there was no accumulation of occupation debris or complex stratigraphy. The aim may seem narrow, and the lack of a sequence of domestic buildings which were replaced more frequently means that, although we are well informed about the pottery and other artefacts in use at the time of the final sack in 612 BC, we know nothing of material of the 9th and 8th centuries. But two points should be considered. If a major Mesopotamian city is being dug, the main objective must be to recover material from large public buildings since they alone will yield the textual and archaeological evidence for the most important developments in political and economic history. Smaller sites are physically more suited to the recovery of a stratified corpus of material, even though the range of that material may be narrower because of their inferior status. Secondly, a practical consideration when we look back on the large digs before and immediately after the Second World War is the relatively small amount of money available in Britain for purely academic research. Excavators were compelled to find objects of intrinsic value of which their share, in a division then still permitted by the Antiquities Laws of some Near Eastern countries, would satisfy their museum sponsors. The collections of the British Museum and the University Museum, Philadelphia, benefited spectacularly from their sponsorship of the Ur excavations, as did the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and other contributors from the vast store of carved ivories found at Nimrud. Neither excavation would have been possible without their support.

Mallowan ceased to direct the Nimrud expedition in the field in 1958, but in the aftermath of the revolution which overthrew the Hashemite monarchy three months later he returned with Agatha to Baghdad in 1959 to watch over the School's interests, at a time when anti-British feeling was running high and discipline on the streets was poor. Thereafter he devoted his impressive energies to teaching and publication, and to an increasing extent to the furtherance of British archaeology in Western Asia. Among his pupils at the Institute was Tariq al-Madhlm, who had served at Nimrud as Representative of the Iraqi Directorate General of Antiquities

and who became one of the first of a number of young Iraqi archaeologists to obtain higher degrees at British universities. Mallowan remained Director of the British School until 1961, and continued as an Editor of its journal *Iraq* for another 10 years. He was later its Chairman and President and remained indefatigable in promoting its interests, particularly in raising money for fieldwork. With Mortimer Wheeler, then Secretary of the Academy to which Mallowan had been elected in 1955, he was instrumental in founding the British Institute of Persian Studies, of which he was the first President, and the British Institute in Afghanistan, and served on the Councils of other Near Eastern Schools and Institutes. He left the Institute of Archaeology in London in 1961 for a Senior Research Fellowship at All Souls, which relieved him of teaching responsibilities and allowed him to devote himself to the final account of the excavations at Nimrud, which came to an end in 1963, and to the publication in successive fascicles of the many thousands of ivories found there, a task which is still in progress.

*Nimrud and its Remains* echoes in its title the great work of Henry Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, published more than a century before, for Mallowan was justly proud to be in the direct line of succession from the first British explorer of the ancient cities of Assyria. This strong sense of tradition is apparent throughout his active life as a field archaeologist. As an excavator he was not an innovator either in the organization of a dig or in the methods employed and, although receptive to suggestions, he was largely content to follow the tradition in which he had been brought up. He lacked Woolley's manual skills and, at least in later years, preferred to leave technical problems to others, but once assured of their competence he was generous in delegating authority and in acknowledging his debts to them. He had, moreover, a broad view of archaeological and historical problems and a remarkable flair for picking the sites that would provide answers to them. Mallowan's own view of his archaeological life is best expressed in his own words. 'I am, on balance, an unashamed supporter of the bygone days of digging . . . But given the restrictions of our present economy, no less than the development in scientific methods, we are bound to dig on a relatively modest scale and consequently to put all the evidence through a fine sieve: we therefore miss nothing, and tend to find nothing'. He was perhaps more interested in the objects he found than in the other aspects of excavation, not only because they represented a source of money for the future but for their intrinsic significance as evidence for history in the broadest sense. In excavation reports his exhaustive treatment of the finds reveals very wide learning, and his chapters in the revised *Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II*, on the Uruk and Early Dynastic Periods, though now outdated, showed a

comprehensive grasp of evidence over a broad field and an impressive gift of exposition.

Max Mallowan's devotion to Near Eastern archaeology was unswerving, and was accompanied by a Near Eastern liking for manoeuvre in the inner councils of a subject of which Wheeler once observed 'Archaeology is not a science, it's a vendetta'. Just as he obviously—and incredibly to the onlooker—enjoyed plunging into the mêlée at the beginning of every week at Nimrud when he took on 200 men out of 500 yelling applicants for work, so he delighted in outwitting no less determined though less noisy adversaries on academic committees, and in persuading younger colleagues that his plans for them represented the ideal future. He was throughout supported by a genuine conviction that his policy was sound and he was, as in his archaeological judgements, right more often than was justified by a mere assessment of the facts. He could not tolerate in his juniors any failure to meet his own energetic standards of performance, particularly in prompt publication, and he wrote some of the rudest letters ever penned, which were sometimes deserved and often mitigated by a simultaneous and very friendly telephone call. Max was, in the words of a pupil and later colleague, 'infuriating but lovable'. He and Agatha were delightful and generous hosts in London or at their houses in Devon and in Wallingford, and the family relationship which for many of us began at Nimrud continued to the end. The other person to whom we, and Max, owed much in Iraq and later was Barbara Parker, who became his wife in 1977.

In later years he received many honours. Appointed CBE in 1960, he was knighted in 1968, an event which afforded him particular pleasure because it gave Agatha a title. Among academic distinctions he valued most his Membership of the Institut de France, the Corresponding Fellowship of the Royal Danish Academy, and Honorary Fellowship of his old College, New College. He also received the Lucy Wharton Drexel Memorial Medal of the University of Pennsylvania, the Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal of the Royal Central Asian Society, and the first Gertrude Bell Memorial Medal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. With characteristic generosity he gave credit to his colleagues and collaborators over the years for these formal tributes to his great achievement. 'They know that I have not only felt beholden, but loved and respected them: it is what men do, not what they have left undone, that moves us'.

DAVID OATES

*Note.* In this memoir I have drawn heavily on *Mallowan's Memoirs* for information about his early life and his career up to the end of the War, supplemented by his

own verbal reminiscences. Quotations are from the *Memoirs* unless otherwise attributed. Agatha Christie, *An Autobiography* and *Come Tell Me How You Live*, which was written under the name of Agatha Christie Mallowan, provide more personal insights. I am also indebted to Barbara Mallowan and to my wife for many discussions of shared memories.