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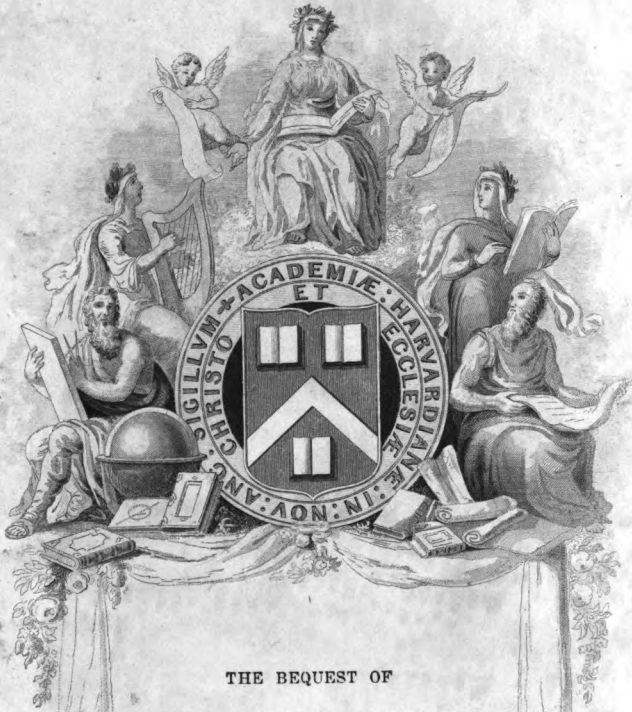
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THE BEQUEST OF
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OF BOSTON.
(Class of 1838.)

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1856.

ORIGINES BIBLICÆ.

ORIGINES BIBLICÆ:

OR

RESEARCHES

IN

PRIMEVAL HISTORY.

BY

CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE.

“ THESE ARE THE FAMILIES OF THE SONS OF NOAH, AFTER THEIR
“ GENERATIONS, IN THEIR NATIONS: AND BY THESE WERE THE NATIONS
“ DIVIDED IN THE EARTH AFTER THE FLOOD.”—*Genesis* x. 32.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

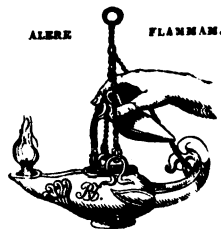
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IN submitting the present Volume to the world, I feel myself called upon, not only to disclaim acquaintance with the works of the writers belonging to the German School of Rationalism, but also to state, that during the progress of my lucubrations I have expressly and carefully avoided making reference to them. I have been induced to adopt this line of conduct by the consideration that, whatever light the researches of those acute and indefatigable critics have thrown upon the gloom of early history, and however valuable the results of their labours may be in the investigation and interpretation of the Scriptures also,—and I am far from denying them their just meed of praise,—the spirit in which they have both studied and written, is such, generally, as to deprive them of a great portion of the merit to which they would otherwise be entitled; and it is such,

indeed, as in very many cases to render the actual knowledge which they have promulgated far more hurtful than advantageous to the proper development of the truths of Divine Revelation.

I am aware that by pursuing the course which I have thus thought fit to adopt, I have debarred myself from the acquisition of much valuable and important information which is unquestionably to be found in the works of those writers ; and it is most probable, also, that some of the results at which I have arrived, and which I have announced as novelties, have already been obtained and made public by them. Yet as the process of Scripture interpretation by which I have obtained these results, is (as I sincerely believe,) of a totally distinct character from that by which the so-called Rationalists have pursued their investigations, I have been unwilling to allow myself to be interrupted in the prosecution of my separate and distinct train of reasoning, or to expose myself to the hazard of being led away from receiving the direct and unsophisticated evidence of the Sacred Volume : and, as also I profess (so far as my ability extends,) to interpret

those portions of the Scriptures which I have more particularly examined, upon the broad and immutable principle that they are the revealed Word of God, I have preferred (and I do not hesitate to avow it,) not to be indebted for any suggestions to a source which professes to consider the Sacred Writings independently of and without regard to their inspired character.

Having thus distinctly stated the grounds upon which I have hitherto deemed it right to refrain from consulting either the works of the German Divines to whom I allude, or those of the various writers upon subjects of Classical and Profane History belonging to the same School; I may add that I shall now have no hesitation in consulting and examining them, whenever I may find it necessary or deem it expedient to do so.

In asserting that I am not acquainted with the literary productions of the Rationalists, it is to be understood that my general knowledge of their character and tendency has been derived, not from any strict investigation of the subject, but from the casual perusal of the current English literature; and I of course except those works to which refer-

ences are occasionally made in the present Volume: namely, Professor Heeren's 'Historical Researches' and 'Manual of Ancient History,' and the first four parts of M. Cahen's French Translation of the Bible:—the latter work, however, was in my possession for a few hours only, and the entire result of my very partial and cursory examination of it is recorded in the notes to Pages 118 and 130 of the present Volume. I may add further, that Gibbs's Translation of Gesenius's smaller Lexicon has been constantly referred to, it being, in fact, the only Hebrew Lexicon which I have employed.

CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE.

3 North Buildings, Finsbury Circus,
May 8th, 1834.

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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 17, *note*, line 6, *read* מַצְפּוֹן
 line 7, *read* מַגְבֵּעַת
 line 9, *read* מַצְפּוֹן
- Page 27, line 6, *for* or that *read* and that
- Page 28, lines 2 and 23, *for* הָרִי *read* הָרִי
- Page 35, line 6, *after* mountain *insert* chain of
- Page 51, *note*, *add* See Page 138, *note*, as to the propriety of regarding the Book of Job as the earliest literary work which has come down to us.
- Page 83, line 11, *for* hammabúl *read* hammabbúl
- Page 86, line 8 from the bottom, *for* young *read* younger
- Page 97, line 1, *for* does *read* do
- Page 105, Contents, line 21, *bis*, *for* Mandour *read* Mandhour
- Page 111, *note*^s, line 1, *for* page 7 *read* Page 10
 line 2, *read* מַצְרִים
- Page 120, *note*, line 11, *for* Introduction to the present Work *read* Advertisement to this Volume
- Page 193, line 3, *read* הַמִּדְבָּר.
- Page 195, *note*, last line but one, *for* Mount Tor *read* Mount Hor
- Page 205, line 15, *for* which *read* whom
- Page 215, *note*, line 1, *read* מַצְרִים
 line 10, *after* stream *insert* near
 line 11, *for* Rinocorura *read* Rhinocorura
- Page 260, line 6 from the bottom, *after* country *insert* of which the northern portion was
- Page 262, line 10, *for* many *read* some
- Page 292, line 11, *read* כּוֹשׁ

Many of the allusions in the earlier parts of this Work to subjects intended to be discussed in subsequent portions of it, having been made before its extension to two Volumes was found requisite, they refer, in reality, to the next Volume, and not to the later Chapters of the present one.

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CHAPTER I.

The inspired character of the Bible asserted;—Its consequent authority:—The position maintained, that they who deny its inspiration ought nevertheless, upon their own principles, to admit its historical authority.—Importance of the Bible simply in its historical character.—The error of allowing heathen authorities to stand upon an equality with the Bible as records of authentic history, and to bias the interpretation of the Sacred Volume:—This error exemplified in the Geography of Sacred History:—Origin and progress of the prevailing erroneous system of that Geography;—Its rise among the Jews consequent upon perversions derived from heathen sources;—Examples of these perversions in the positions assigned by them to Babel, Padan Aram, and Mitzraim (the *Egypt* of the Translations):—This erroneous system introduced into the Christian world by the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament:—Its consequences in the present day.—The system of Geography proposed by the author founded upon the evidence of Scripture alone:—Its results as connected with the Geography of Profane History, and with the consideration of the Primeval History of mankind.

THE BIBLE, from its character as the written Word of God, must necessarily hold a rank as infinitely superior to all human compositions, as is the Almighty and all-perfect Being from whom it has

2 IMPORTANCE OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES AS

emanated, above the weak and peccable creatures, for whose instruction and guidance it is vouchsafed. Its statements, therefore, are equally to be received as authoritative in all matters relating to the history of the world, as are its doctrines and precepts imperative on all questions of faith and morals. The truth of this proposition, however, will not be admitted by those who dispute the sacred character of the Inspired Volume, and who in many cases have become so entirely blind to the truth, as to regard the Bible (or at least the early portions of it,) as little better than a collection of traditions and mere fables, possessing few if any higher claims to belief than the mythological legends of Greece or of India.

In answer to these unbelievers, I need only say, that it is not within the scope of the present Work to adduce arguments (if arguments be necessary,) in support of the authenticity of the Bible as an inspired composition; for which I must refer to the works of the various advocates of Revelation; but with respect to its authority as an historical work I claim for it, from those who admit the evidence of profane historians, that rank to which it is entitled in its character of the authentic records of the Israelitish nation. How far more important, simply in this character, is the Bible, in the consideration of the primeval history of mankind, than any heathen authorities whatever, will be at once acknowledged when its far higher antiquity is for a moment impartially regarded; for it is a fact which cannot

be too strongly borne in mind, that authentic Profane History terminates at the point at which, in the ascent into past ages, the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures only begins¹: Herodotus, the so-styled

¹ The Phœnician History of Sanchoniatho, which is only known to us through the few remains which have been preserved of the Greek translation of Philo Biblius, cannot be regarded as forming a portion of *veracious* profane history, even if its authenticity be admitted, and its author consequently be entitled to the epithet of 'the most ancient writer of the heathen world.' Neither can the Babylonian annals of Berossus (who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, about a century after Herodotus,) be brought forward as *authentic* records of primeval history; nor is either their character for veracity or their authority advanced by the statement contained in them that they were compiled from 'written accounts, preserved at Babylon with the greatest care, comprehending a period of *above fifteen myriads of years.*'

The writings of the Egyptian chronicler Manetho are in date yet a century later than those of Berossus, but as they are expressly stated to be taken from authentic sources of much earlier date, it might be contended that they ought to be received as an authority of greater antiquity; and especially so since the hieroglyphical disquisitions of the late M. Champollion and those scholars in France and England who have adopted the phonetic system of interpretation, profess to establish the entire correctness of the dynasties of Manetho. But from the circumstance that the correctness of the phonetic system of hieroglyphical interpretation cannot in reality be considered as *established* at a point far advanced beyond that at which it was left by the late Dr. Young, to whom the world is indebted for its discovery*, and

* See M. Julius Klaproth's able *Examen Critique des Travaux de feu M. Champollion sur les Hiéroglyphes*, as reviewed in the Edinburgh Review, vol. lvii. pp. 461—476.

'Father of History' having been the contemporary of no earlier of the writers of the Bible, than Nehemiah, the last of the historians, and Malachi, the last of the prophets; whilst the earlier prophets and historians carry upwards an unbroken chain of evidence into the remotest ages of antiquity. In fact, with regard to the history of the world during the ages anterior to the Flood, and during also more also from the fact that many of the statements of Manetho are (as I propose to demonstrate,) absolutely false, it follows that the writings bearing his name cannot be received as absolute authority; and, I may add, that even their authenticity is to be questioned.

With respect to the historical records of the Chinese and Hindoos, to which an idea of indefinite antiquity has generally been attached, the result of the learned and laborious researches of M. Julius Klapproth establish the fact, that the *authentic* records of the latter people go no further back in reality than *the twelfth century AFTER the birth of Christ*; whilst those of the former nation, which from their local character are entirely useless in the consideration of universal history, commence only at the ninth century B.C. The following summary from M. Klapproth's *Essay on the Authority of the Asiatic Historians*, as translated in the *Asiatic Journal* (vol. xvi. p. 435.), will not be uninteresting, as showing (to use M. Klapproth's words,) "that the expectation of "deriving more materials for the ancient history of mankind than "we find in the Mosaical books, or among the Babylonians, "Egyptians, or Greeks, is very much over-reached [-rated?]."

"Beginning of the native authentic history of the

"Arabians in the 5th	} century of the Christian era.	"Chinese in the 9th	} century be- fore the birth of Christ."
"Persians in the 3d		"Japanese in the 7th	
"Turks in the 14th		"Armenian in the 2d	
"Mongols in the 12th		"Georgian in the 3d	
"Hindus in the 12th			
"Tibetians in the 1st			

than *one half* of the period which has elapsed since that epoch¹, every document possessed of any real claim to authority as historical evidence is contained in the Hebrew Scriptures, and in them alone.

Seeing, then, the vast importance of the Bible when regarded merely in its historical character, it is astonishing how, in the consideration of primeval history, the vague and unsatisfactory traditions of the Gentile world should be permitted to stand upon an equality with the explicit and authoritative statements of the Bible; and this, too, not merely by the opponents of Revelation, but by those persons also who implicitly receive the Scriptures as their absolute and exclusive guide in all matters of doctrine, of piety, and of moral conduct. Nor is this inconsistency the sole error committed even by the firmest and most sincere believers in the truths of Revelation; for by attributing to their heathen guides far greater importance than they are under any circumstances entitled to, they have permitted those guides to bias and controul their judgement in the investigation and interpretation also of the

¹ The Flood (according to Dr. Hales) occurred in 3154 B.C., that is, 4988 years since; whilst Herodotus did not write until about 430 B.C., or only 2264 years ago. Except in some few instances, I adopt Dr. Hales's chronology, as being on the whole sufficiently correct. I say 'sufficiently,' since the difference of a hundred, or even a few hundred years, must be of comparatively little importance in an approximation to the history of the first ages of the world, such as the present Work is intended to present, so long as the principal epochs are defined and established with a degree of accuracy adequate to their importance.

Sacred Volume: and, in fact, they have in many cases been led virtually (though indirectly, and, I need scarcely say, altogether without intention,) to impugn that revered authority.

Upon no subject, probably, are the effects of the perversion of the truth which has hence ensued, more plainly evident than upon that of Scriptural Geography.

It will be denied by no one who is competently acquainted with this subject, that many difficulties and discrepancies exist in connexion with it, which cannot in any manner be reconciled either to one another or to obvious reason; and it must equally be admitted that those difficulties and discrepancies—not, it is to be remembered, upon points of opinion or belief, but upon simple matters of fact,—can only have arisen from some fundamental error; which, whilst it has prevented the sincere believers in Revelation from having a proper perception of the truths of this particular branch of Biblical knowledge, has afforded their adversaries advantages, of which they must necessarily be deprived whenever the Geography of Sacred History can be established upon correct and undeviating principles.

This error, I conceive, is that to which I have already alluded; namely, the allowing heathen authorities to bias and controul the judgement in the investigation and interpretation of the Scriptures, instead of taking the latter alone as the basis upon which all history is to be founded. As it is of importance to possess correct ideas respecting the na-

ture and extent of this error, it will be advisable to show in a few words its origin and progress, and its continuance down to the present time.

In the ages immediately succeeding the period during which the Pentateuch was composed, the localities of the countries mentioned as those in which the occurrences recorded in it had taken place, continued to be well known to the Israelites; and, by tradition, and by means also of the communication which existed between Israel and the surrounding nations, the remembrance of them was preserved, it is probable, until a late period of their national existence. At length the time arrived when the wickedness of the Israelites had increased to so high a degree as to bring down upon them the anger of the Almighty, and ultimately to cause their destruction as a nation; when their moral and religious blindness was equalled only by their intellectual darkness. The words of the Law had then become utterly unknown to them¹; and if by tradi-

¹ A remarkable instance of this utter ignorance is recorded in 2 Kings xxii. It is stated, that in the eighteenth year of Josiah king of Judah, the book of the Law was found (accidentally, as it would appear,) by Hilkiyah the high priest:—"And Shaphan" (the scribe) "read it before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes." ver. 11. Here was a religious and virtuous king, who (as we are told in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3., where the account of the same event is repeated,) "in the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young," (that is, sixteen years of age,) "began to seek after the God of David his father," but who yet, for the period of ten years after, appears to have remained without the knowledge even of the *words* of the Law.

tion or other means any portion of the contents of the Scriptures was still kept in remembrance, it is to be feared that its meaning had become so perverted as almost to render nugatory even that remnant of the truth. At this time, therefore, the Geographical information of the Israelites must, like all other knowledge retained by them, have been reduced to the lowest ebb.

When, however, the Sacred Volume began again to be studied by the Jews, a sincere desire to understand and appreciate its contents doubtless existed in their minds ; but neither their dispositions nor their intellectual faculties—perverted as they had become by false doctrines, and by the monstrous traditions and fables which they had learned in Babylon and the other countries of their dispersion,—were in a fit state to receive the truth. Yet, whatever may have been the extent of their ignorance and incompetency, it was only natural that, in thus recommencing the study of the Scriptures, they should have been desirous of understanding the historical portions of the Sacred Volume, and especially of acquiring some definite knowledge concerning the situations of the many memorable places to which their national history refers. Their means of arriving at just conclusions on the subject were defective ; but the self-sufficiency and credulity consequent on their imperfect knowledge, would have more than counterbalanced the deficiency : hence we may conceive how—in the same manner as the Empress Helena and her coadjutors and successors

corrupted the Topography of the Holy Land, after the establishment of Christianity,—the Jews, at an earlier period, assumed the authority of determining the sites of the countries and places which were so interesting to them, as recorded in or connected with their national history. In doing so they were aided no doubt in many instances by the natural localities, by architectural remains, and by other distinguishing marks; but in the far greater number of cases they must have been left to their own deductions from the Sacred Writings; which deductions would have been founded, in great measure, upon the perverted and erroneous notions of History and Geography which they had either acquired in the countries of their captivity, or adopted from the Egyptians and Greeks with whom they were now brought into immediate contact.

The following remarkable instances of this process of error may be adduced to illustrate the position thus asserted:—The national vanity of the Babylonians having led them, by a corruption and perversion of the only true history, to attribute the foundation of their capital to Nimrod, and to assert that the tower of Babel was erected in the place where Babylon stood¹, the Jews adopted this erroneous notion during their captivity, and retained and perpetuated it after their return from Babylon into their native country:—so the name of Syria, which

¹ The entire incorrectness of this tradition will be shown in the next Chapter.

in the first instance was applied to Aram or Cœlo-syria alone, having under the Greeks received so extensive a signification as to include Mesopotamia also, the Jews in like manner extended the application of the name of Aram; and hence Mesopotamia was conceived to represent the country of Padan Aram, in which was situate Haran the dwelling-place of the family of Terah, the father of Abraham¹:—the Scriptural country of Mitzraim, also, having by the fulfilment of prophecy become ‘the basest of the kingdoms,’ and being in fact merged in its powerful neighbour the Egypt of profane history, the Jews of Alexandria, who knew of no other kingdom in that direction than the mighty monarchy of the Ptolemies, regarded those princes as the successors and representatives of the Pharaohs, and Egypt itself as the country which had been ‘the land of bondage’ of their forefathers².

The system of Geography thus established among the Jews, would naturally have been received and adopted by the Jewish translators of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and accordingly we find that the names of the various countries and places recorded in Scripture, are translated³ by

¹ See Chapter vi. for the consideration of the true position of Padan Aram.

² The subject of this remarkable and pervading error will be discussed at length in Chapters viii. and xi.

³ It is the *translation* of the proper names of countries in the Septuagint version which has tended more than any other cause to prevent even the suspicion of error in the geographical identifi-

them in conformity with the notions which were prevalent in their time among their countrymen. The authority of this version having been recognised in the early Christian Church,—so far, indeed, that it was even believed, by many, to be actually inspired,—it may be perfectly understood how the erroneous system of Geography established among the Jews should have been followed during the first ages by the Christians also: but it is strange, even almost beyond conception, how an error which (as must be admitted,) was so easy of detection, should have maintained its ground until the present time; and this too, not merely among those who, in the simplicity of their hearts, have been satisfied to receive the Scriptural history as it had been presented to them, but among those also who, professing to interpret the statements of Revelation by the (to them infallible) light of human reason, independently of all authority whether human or Divine, have afforded the most complete proof of the imperfection and fallibility of that reason, and at the same time of their blind deference to human tradi-

cations of the Jews. Whenever a revision of our authorized Translation of the Bible shall be determined upon, I would suggest that the names of countries should be left as in the original Text; and also that those of objects of natural history and of science in general, should not be attempted to be translated, in cases in which the least doubt remains as to their true meaning. Our Translators have thus done right in not varying the names of the Gopher and Shittim woods:—respecting the signification of the former of these terms see the Appendix to this Volume.

tion, by allowing themselves to be so grossly and so entirely misled.

The unavoidable result of the facts here reviewed, has been that instead of clear and satisfactory knowledge on a class of subjects which, in interest to mankind at large from their importance as Scripture evidences, hold only a second rank to the preceptive and doctrinal parts of the Bible, we find only the greatest contrariety of opinion. Agreeing, as all who have considered the subject seem to feel themselves bound to do, in the general notions of Sacred Geography promulgated by the Jewish translators of the Septuagint version, and perpetuated in the Christian world upon their authority,—or rather, in fact, having no suspicion of their untruth,—still no two travellers or Biblical commentators view particular objects in precisely the same light. Hypotheses are proposed to remove existing difficulties, which by the next writer are shown to contain greater difficulties than the opinions which they are intended to supersede; whilst, on the other hand, certain data, which, had they been properly examined, would immediately have been seen to be founded entirely in error, and to be in fact the causes of all this difficulty and confusion, are at once and altogether taken for granted.

In proposing the system of Geography which is contained in the following sheets, I fully expect that, like all those by which it has been preceded, it will be met by many objections, and that it may even

be shown to contain many errors ; but, whatever may be the amount of truth which it may ultimately be found to possess, I feel confident that it will be recognised as at least *a first approximation* to the establishment of Scriptural Geography upon that basis upon which alone it can remain immutably fixed,—that is, the evidence of the Scriptures themselves.

Nor is this the only result which I venture to anticipate : for by thus freeing the Sacred Writings from the false construction which has during ages been put upon them, (in consequence of attributing to heathen sources of early history the great and undue importance which they have hitherto received,) and by reading and interpreting the Scriptural History upon its own internal evidence alone, we shall, by direct deduction from the enunciations of the Sacred Volume, be led to conclusions upon subjects usually considered as exclusively within the department of Profane History, which will be found to be totally at variance with the received opinions respecting them ; and, what is of yet greater importance, we shall, indisputably, be enabled to attain a far more intimate knowledge and correct understanding of those earlier portions of the Universal History of the world, for the development of which the Hebrew Scriptures must be our sole authority and our unerring guide.

CHAPTER II.

The consideration of the antediluvian world and of the Flood unnecessary to the subject of the present work.—Situation of the mountains of Ararat;—References in Scripture to the position of the country of Ararat;—Correctly placed in Armenia.—Critical examination of the expression ‘from the east’.—The objection to the situation of Ararat on account of the supposed position of Babel considered:—Present state of the neighbourhood of Babylon;—Country formed by the alluvium of the Euphrates and Tigris;—The Persian Gulf formerly extended further northward;—Rapid advance of the land;—Proofs from Herodotus, Nearchus and Pliny:—Conclusion that Babylon and Babel are not identical.—The sites of the Babel of Nimrod and of the Tower of Babel also different.—Application of the name of Shinar at different periods.—Particular locality of the mountains of Ararat considered:—Objections to Agridagh:—Presumed conduct of Noah after the Flood;—Opinion expressed as to the interference of the Almighty;—Conclusion that Noah would act like others under similar circumstances and would follow the course of a river:—Armenia composed of two plains of inclination, those of the Euphrates and the Araxes:—Ararat necessarily in the former.—Conclusion as to the real situation of the mountains of Ararat.

IN treating of the Geography of Sacred History, it is unnecessary to inquire into the state of the world antecedently to the Flood. Many have been the hypotheses respecting the situation of the Garden of Eden, but without even an approximation to a satisfactory result; nor, under the existing erroneous notions of Scriptural Geography, is this

at all surprising. However, if the names of the countries mentioned in the Book of Genesis in connexion with Eden, be, as I conceive they are, those of countries existing and known under those names when that book was composed, and if their correct situation be discoverable, it would seem that the locality of the habitation of our first parents may yet, at least approximately, be ascertained¹.

Neither is it intended, in the present Work, to enter into any disquisitions concerning the human race previously to the Flood. One thing is certain from the evidence of Scripture,—and it is all that need be adverted to for the purpose now before us,—which is, that the wickedness of mankind had attained a height so enormous as to call down upon them the wrath of God, and to cause their destruction, so that “Noah only remained alive, and they “that were with him in the ark².”

The consideration of the Flood itself is equally irrelevant to our present object³. We may at once proceed, therefore, to consider what is stated to have taken place when God had remembered Noah, and when, the waters of the Flood having by His Almighty power assuaged, “the ark rested “upon the mountains of Ararat⁴.”

¹ See the Appendix to the present Volume for the consideration of the probable site of the Garden of Eden.

² Gen. vii. 23.

³ In the Appendix reasons will be given for the opinion that the Flood was produced by means of ‘*the rain from heaven*’ alone.

⁴ Gen. viii. 4.

In determining the situation of the country of Ararat, on the mountains of which the ark is thus stated to have rested, our only certain guides are the several notices respecting that country which we find in Holy Writ.

It appears, then, from the words of the prophet Jeremiah¹, “For, lo, I will raise and cause to come up against Babylon an assembly of great nations from the north country,”—which nations are in the following chapter particularized as “the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni [Armenia?]², and Ashchenaz³,”—that Ararat was situate northward of the city of Babylon; and from the fact that the two sons of Sennacherib “escaped into the land of Ararat” after they had put their father to death, it is evident also that it was at no great distance from Nineveh. Its precise locality is further determinable from the circumstance, that Ararat with the other kingdoms—‘the great nations from the north country’—are united, in the prophecy of the destruction of Babylon, with “the kings of the Medes⁴.” It may consequently be taken for granted, that the

¹ Jer. i. 9.

² “Videtur enim Armeniæ vox conflata esse ex *הַר־מִנִּי* *Har-Mini*, id est, mons *Mini* sive montana *Minyadis*.”—Bochart, *Geogr. Sacra*, lib. i. cap. 3.

³ Jer. li. 27.

⁴ 2 Kings xix. 37. In our authorized version rendered ‘Armenia,’ but in the original *אַרְרָט* (*Ararát*).

⁵ Jer. li. 28. See Chapter x., where the opinion is advanced that the situation of Media was to the northward, and not to the eastward of Babylon.

generally received tradition which places Ararat within the country now known by the name of Armenia, is substantially correct.

An objection, however, has presented itself to this location of the country of Ararat, on the following ground: namely, that the direction of Armenia being northward of Babylon, the site of which city has by universal assent been considered to be identical with that of the Tower of Babel, it must inevitably follow, that the journey of mankind from Ararat (if situate within Armenia) to the land of Shinar, where that Tower was begun to be erected, would have been from the north, and not "from the east," as stated by the inspired historian¹.

¹ Gen. xi. 2.—The expression מִקְּדָם (*mikkédem*) has by some critics been considered to mean, *towards* (and not *from*) the east:—"As they now *towards* the east journeyed." Heeren's *Historical Researches*, 'Asiatic Nations,' vol. ii. p. 174.: see also Gesenius's *Hebrew Lexicon*, art. מִן, no. 5.—But this construction must certainly be erroneous, and that for the following considerations. The primary and direct meaning of the preposition מִן is '*from*,' answering to the ablative case of the Latin and other languages; in which sense it will be found to be most frequently used in the Hebrew Scriptures. But besides this direct signification, it has also other modified meanings; though in all these cases (and the rule equally applies to all words in all languages,) the modified and derivative applications of the word retain a relation, more or less near, to its primary meaning. Taking this word, then, in its application to persons or things at a distance, it will be found to preserve its primary meaning of '*from*,' wherever it expresses *the motion of its subject*, simply in the sense of *departure from its*

Various hypotheses have been advanced for the purpose of removing this apparent contradiction; which, however, are all founded on the assumption, that the Babel of Genesis and the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar were identical. This assumption, which I consider to be entirely founded in error, is so intimately connected, not merely with the present question, but also with the incorrect notions which have hitherto prevailed respecting the Geography of the Scriptures generally, that it is necessary, before proceeding further, to state the reasons which have led me to form an opposite conclusion.

I will premise, that whatever may be the opinion of profane historians, founded on tradition, we have no warrant from the Scriptures themselves for the con-

object; but in those cases in which its subject is or may be considered to be stationary, or is indeed moving about, *but not in the sense of departure from its object*, its meaning is 'at,' 'in,' 'in the direction of'; signifying, in fact, the direction *from which* its subject presents itself to the sight: and in this sense,—but certainly not in that of departure from its object,—the genius of the English and other languages will not unfrequently allow it to be rendered by 'towards'—'versus'. The Italian preposition '*da*' is applied in precisely the same manner as the Hebrew preposition מִן; and therefore, in exemplifying the use of the latter, I cannot do better than annex the corresponding expressions used by Diodati in his Italian Translation of the Bible.

1st. *From*, in the sense of departure from its object: "But Moses fled (מִפְּנֵי) *dal* cospetto,) *from* the face of Pharaoh." Exod. ii. 15.—"Balak the king of Moab hath brought me (מִן־אַרָּם) *di* [or *da*] Siria) *from* Aram, (מִן־הָרִיב) *dalle* mon-

clusion, that the City and Tower of Babel¹, the Babel of Nimrod², and the Babel or Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar³, were identical. I do not, of course, intend to infer that their sites were different simply from the silence of the Scriptures as to their identity; but, from other circumstances, I am fully persuaded,—and the silence of the Scriptures unquestionably aids the conviction,—that these three places, although bearing the same name, were totally distinct from each other.

I proceed to detail my reasons for this conclusion:—The City of Babylon, of which Nebuchadnezzar was king, is generally supposed to have been situate at Hillah, on the Euphrates, about 200 miles,

“*tagne*) out of the mountains of the east.” Numb. xxiii. 7.—
“The voice of them that flee and escape (מֵאֶרֶץ *dal paese*) out of the land of Babylon.” Jer. i. 28.

2nd. *At, in the direction of*, and in that sense *towards* (but not in the sense of *motion towards*). “The host of the Midianites were (מֵצִפוֹן *dal settentrione*) on the north side of them, (מִנְּבִיעַת *verso 'l colle*) by (or towards) the hill of Moreh.” Judg. vii. 1.—“And when they had set the people, even all the host, that was (מֵצִפוֹן *dal settentrione*) on the north of the city, and their liers in wait (מֵיָם *dal ponente*) on the west of the city.” Josh. viii. 13.—“And the Lord God planted a garden (מִקְדָּם *dall' oriente*) eastward, i. e. towards the east.” Gen. ii. 8.

The result would therefore appear to be, that the usual acceptance of the passage is correct, and that it is properly read—“And it came to pass, as they journeyed (מִקְדָּם *d' oriente*) from” (and not *towards*) “the east, that they found,” &c.

¹ Gen. xi. 4. 9.

² Gen. x. 10.

³ Dan. iv. 30.

in a direct line, from its junction with the Tigris, and rather more than 300 miles from the point at which the united rivers empty themselves into the Persian Gulf. What the nature of this country is at the present day, will be best shown by the following extract from the late Mr. Rich's "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon," 2nd edit. p. 13.—The Euphrates, he informs us, when at its height, "overflows the surrounding country, fills the canals dug for its reception without the slightest exertion of labour, and facilitates agriculture in a surprising degree. The ruins of Babylon are then inundated so as to render many parts of them inaccessible, by converting the valleys among them into morasses. But the most remarkable inundation of the Euphrates is at Felugiah, twelve leagues to the westward of Bagdad, where, on breaking down the dyke which confines its waters within their proper channel, they flow over the country, and extend nearly to the banks of the Tigris, with a depth sufficient to render them navigable for rafts and flat-bottomed boats. At the moment I am now writing, (May 24th, 1812,) rafts, laden with lime, are brought on this inundation almost every day from Felugiah, to within a few hundred yards of the northern gate of Bagdad, called the Imam Mousa Gate." Felugiah, it may be observed, lies in a direct line across from Bagdad, that is, about sixty miles higher up the Euphrates than Hillah.

If such be the present state of the country in the neighbourhood of Babylon, what may we not consider to have been its state during the first ages after the Flood?

We behold continually, in all parts of the world, the formation of countries through which great rivers take their course; and we know that the whole of the alluvial soil about the lower parts of those countries has, at some time or other, been brought down and deposited by the rivers. There can be no difficulty, therefore, in asserting, that the low lands of the Euphrates and Tigris, for a considerable distance from their mouths, could not have existed in early ages, but must have been gradually formed by the encroachment, on the Persian Gulf, of the alluvial soil brought down and deposited by those mighty rivers. The extent of this alluvial soil can of course be easily ascertained, and we may obtain, consequently, the means of determining what was the extent northward of the Persian Gulf at some former period; though, from our inability to calculate the rate at which the new land has been formed, we may not be able to arrive at any certain conclusion as to the period when the change from sea to land of any portion of the country actually took place. Mr. Lyell remarks¹, that "The union of the Tigris and the Euphrates must undoubtedly have been one of the modern geographical changes on our earth." By this expression it would almost

¹ Principles of Geology, vol. i. p. 252, 1st edit.

seem that Mr. Lyell meant it to be inferred that the union of the two rivers has not taken place within the historical era, as have those of the Ganges and Burrampooter, and other rivers instanced by him ; but this could hardly, I should think, have been his intention, when we consider that Pliny expressly tells us that “between the mouths of these two rivers where they fall into the sea, were counted, in old times, twenty-five miles, or, as some would have it, but seven¹.” Indeed, if the estimation made by Nearchus of the distance from the mouth of the Euphrates to Babylon be correct, not merely were these two rivers separate, at a comparatively late period, but the increase of the land at the head of the Persian Gulf must have taken place at an extraordinarily rapid rate. The distance mentioned by him is only 3300 stadia², or little more than 200 miles ; whilst the actual distance, at the present time, from Hillah, where the ruins of Babylon are now supposed to be situate, is in a straight line at least 300 miles. But the statement of

¹ Holland's Pliny, book vi. ch. xxvii.

² Voyage of Nearchus, ch. xli. Dr. Vincent, in a note on this passage in his translation, says “3300 stadia [of sixteen to a mile : “see his Preface, p. xi.] make little more than 200 miles English ; “the real distance by the river is more than 400. But may not “Nearchus calculate this distance by stadia of eight to a mile ?” The accuracy, however, of the mode thus adopted by the learned translator, and by Geographers generally, of reconciling apparent discrepancies in the works of ancient writers, by varying the standard of measurement, may legitimately be questioned.

Pliny¹ with respect to the city of Charax, on the confluence of the Tigris and Eulæus, not merely establishes the fact that “nowhere were new lands “formed more quickly or in greater quantities,” but would also seem to determine the actual rate at which the Persian Gulf had been filled up during the 400 years immediately preceding his time:— Alexandria (on the site of which Charax afterwards stood,) having been built by Alexander the Great, at the distance of ten stadia only from the sea; whilst in Juba’s time it was 50 thousand paces, or about 50 miles, and in Pliny’s own time as much as 120 thousand paces, or about 120 miles, from the sea².

¹ “Charax oppidum Persici sinus intimum, a quo Arabia Eulæus cognominata excurrit, habitatur in colle manufacto inter confluentes, dextra Tigrin, læva Eulæum, iii. mil. pass. laxitate. Conditum est primum ab Alexandro Magno: qui . . . Alexandriam appellari iusserat. . . Prius fuit a litore stadiis x., et maritimum etiam ipsa inde portum habuit: Juba vero prodente, l. mil. pass. Nunc abesse a litore cxx. mil. legati Arabum nostrique negotiatores qui inde venere, affirmant. Nec ulla in parte plus aut celerius profecere terræ fluminibus invectæ. Magis id mirum est, æstu longe ultra id accedente, non repercussas.”— *Hist. Nat.* curâ Harduin, lib. vi. c. xxvii.

² This distance of Charax from the sea is totally at variance with the notions commonly entertained respecting its site; the map of the late Major Rennell, and also that by Professor Long recently published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, placing it at a distance of little more than fifty miles from the sea shore. There exists, indeed, almost as much misconception on the subject of the Geography of Profane History, as on that of the Geography of Sacred History: I shall have occasion again to refer to this subject.

But whatever may have been the actual rate of advance on the Persian Gulf of the alluvial tract thus formed, I think that,—taking into consideration the present state of the country in the neighbourhood of Babylon, as described by Mr. Rich, and keeping in mind the changes which, from the statements of the historians above mentioned, must indubitably have taken place in it,—the legitimate inference is, that in the first ages after the Flood, the state of the country which subsequently became the site of Babylon, was such as to have rendered it totally inapplicable to the use of man; so that at the period of the building of the Tower of Babel and the commencement of Nimrod's kingdom, *there*, under any circumstances, could not have been that plain in the land of Shinar where “the whole earth” dwelt, and where they wished to erect a city and a tower whose top might reach unto heaven. Indeed, if the calculation of Nearchus and the statement of Pliny are to be depended upon, we are justified in concluding that, in the period immediately subsequent to the Flood, the Persian Gulf extended so far to the northward as actually to occupy the present supposed site of Babylon; so that it was physically impossible for the Tower of Babel to have been erected, at or near the spot where its remains have been imagined to exist.

Divesting our minds, indeed, of the authority of the tradition which connects Babylon with Babel, and considering the degree of probability which

may be attached to the idea that the founders of the human race, when they had before them the choice of all the world, would have pitched upon a low, swampy and unhealthy country, subject to periodical inundations, we shall speedily find that it is not merely improbable, but morally impossible, that they should have done so. Even at the distance of 2500 years from the present time, at which period we know the city of Babylon to have been in existence, the country in its natural state was as totally inapplicable to the use of mankind as it was 2000 or 2500 years previously. But the state of society at the later period, was widely different from that of the first ages of the world: and, as we have instances in ancient Egypt, and also in modern Holland and Venice, how spots, in themselves perfectly uninhabitable, have, from the necessities of mankind, or from their peculiar local advantages as places of commerce or of defence, been selected, and by artificial means made habitable, and rendered the seats of mighty cities; so may we understand how, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and even earlier, Babylon should have been reclaimed, as it were, from the waste in which it was situate, and made the seat of empire and "the Glory of Kingdoms". It would, however, in the time of Nimrod, have been perfectly unnecessary, if even, indeed, from the paucity of inhabitants, it had not at that early period been actually impossible, (supposing the physical state of the country to have allowed it,) to

raise those mighty embankments and walls which were the only safeguard and protection of Babylon from the floods of the Euphrates, and by the destruction of which that mighty city has again become "a desolation among the nations".

It is thus evinced that Babylon could not have occupied the site either of the Tower of Babel or of the Babel of Nimrod; but nothing has as yet been advanced to prove that the two latter places were not identical. The tradition on this subject is that the Tower of Babel, whether built by the whole of mankind or by Nimrod's family alone, was commenced at the instance and under the direction of that "mighty hunter before the Lord"; and that at the time of the Dispersion, Nimrod with his family remained on the spot, and became the founder of the Babylonian or Chaldean Dynasty. For this tradition, the only support appears to be that text which has so often been the subject of discussion: "And the beginning of his (Nimrod's) kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Calneh*, "in the land of *Shinar*'¹." But this authority only proves that Nimrod (or not improbably his descendants, since it seems almost too much to imagine that in those early times one man should have built four cities,) founded a city, the name of which was similar to that of the tower and city from whence the dispersion had taken place; whilst the inference that the two places were identical, deduced from

¹ Gen. x. 10.

the mere similarity of their names, is entirely rebutted by the following words of Scripture: "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: *and they left off to build the city*¹:" from which the only legitimate conclusion to be drawn is that the City and Tower of Babel were left unfinished, and probably were altogether deserted. The ground of the tradition which has thus improperly connected these three places, may without difficulty be discovered in that vanity with which the history of all nations (that of the Jews; from the nature of its records, forming the solitary exception,) is replete.

The name of the Land of Shinar was probably confined, in the first instance, to that portion of Mesopotamia in which Noah and his family first settled, although, at a subsequent period, it had a much wider signification, and became applied to the whole of the country to the eastward of the Euphrates, as far as the river Tigris. This application, however, would not have been immediate; nor would the name have at once acquired its widest signification. Accordingly, as the evidence of all history tends to evince that the countries which are situated to the southward of this spot, namely Arabia, Egypt and Palestine, were originally peopled by the descendants of Ham, we may understand that at the dispersion, Nimrod and his family or descendants, still keeping to the eastward of the

¹ Gen. xi. 9.

Euphrates, and probably in the first instance removing to no great distance from the central point of the dispersion, built the cities of "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh," which we are told were the beginning of his kingdom, in that portion of Mesopotamia to which the name of the Land of Shinar would then have become applicable. When, at a much later period, the still more celebrated and better known city of Babylon was founded, the name of Shinar may have been further extended in its application, so as to comprise that city also, by those who, living at a distance from the country, and having no intimate knowledge of it, were liable (as analogous cases in the geography of almost all countries evince,) to fall into the error of applying to the whole region the name, which in strictness was applicable only to a small portion of it¹.

By thus annulling the connexion supposed to exist between the Tower of Babel and the City of Babylon, a great stumbling-block is removed from the consideration of this and many other parts of Scripture Geography; and in this particular instance the texts by which the position of Ararat is determined, may now be taken in the full and un-

¹ Thus the small part of Asia which was known by that name to the Greeks, (at present distinguished as Asia *Minor*,) has given its name to the whole quarter of the globe in which it is situate. So the name of Syria, which at first was applicable only to Aram or Syria proper, was by the Greeks used in a far wider signification, so as to include Mesopotamia.

qualified force of their literal meaning. It will therefore be no longer inconsistent, that from Ararat within the country of Armenia, mankind should have "journeyed from the East"¹ towards the land of Shinar, in which they erected the Tower of Babel; or that the conquerors of the Babel or Babylon of a later date, should have come "from "the North"² out of the same country of Armenia.

The honour of being the "mountains of Ararat" on which the Ark rested, is divided between the mountains to the south-west of lake Van, known by the name of Al Judi, and the eminence called Agridagh or Masis, which is a conspicuous isolated mountain of great extent and altitude in the neighbourhood of Erivan.

The strongest objections, however, may be urged against the conclusion that either of these mountains was that on which the Ark rested.

As Agridagh has the greater claims to this pre-eminence, the name of Ararat having now become almost exclusively applied to it, it may be well to assert, in the first place, the particular objection which exists against its claims, independently of the general objections as to the locality, which apply equally to this mountain and to Al Judi. That objection is, that the physical character of Mount Agridagh does not answer to the description given in the Scriptures of the

¹ Gen. xi. 2.

² Jer. l. 9.

spot on which the Ark is stated to have rested. The words of the text¹ are על הַר־אַרְרָט (*hal haré-Arardát*), "upon the mountains of Ararat"; which words are clearly inapplicable to a single isolated eminence, such as Agridagh. It may, indeed, be contended, that the double peak of Agridagh makes the words strictly applicable to it, for that the Ark may have rested in the valley between the two peaks, and thus, as it were, on the two mountains; but to this I will reply, that since we are told² that it was not until the tenth month, on the first day of the month, after the waters had decreased continually, that the tops of the mountains were seen, it is not possible that the Ark should have rested in the valley between the two peaks, and far below their tops, more than two months previously to that period, that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month³. The truth is, that we do wrong, and inevitably fall into error; whenever we attempt to twist or torture the words of Scripture to suit our own preconceived ideas. The only way, therefore, in which the words of the text, על הַר־אַרְרָט "upon the mountains of Ararat," ought to be construed, is in their plain and obvious grammatical sense, as meaning a mountainous district within the country of Ararat; in the same way as we meet with the expressions "the mountains of Abarim⁴," "the mountains of Sa-

¹ Gen. viii. 4.

² Gen. viii. 5.

³ Gen. viii. 4.

⁴ Numb. xxxiii. 47, 48.

“ maria¹,” “ the mountains of Israel²,” meaning the mountainous districts of those countries. It would thus appear, that, independently of any objections which may exist as to its locality, the physical character of Agridagh does not correspond with that of “ the mountains of Ararat.”

We may now proceed to inquire what particular mountains, within the country of Armenia, are so circumstanced as to be best entitled to be considered the individual mountains in question ; in order to do which, we must have recourse, principally, to the consideration of what Noah and his family may be presumed to have done on their leaving the Ark, by analogy to what others would be likely to do if placed under similar circumstances.

It may perhaps be necessary, in this place, to preclude the supposition that I have any desire to deprive of their supernatural character the various direct manifestations of the Deity which are found recorded in Holy Writ ; than which nothing, in reality, can be further from my intentions, my principles, or my feelings. When the direct interposition of the Almighty is distinctly stated, the only disposition, not of my own mind alone, but of the minds of all who sincerely accept the Scriptures as a Revelation of the Divine Will and Wisdom, must be, to believe, implicitly and without hesitation, the statement of the inspired historian ; but where such direct interposition is not recorded,

¹ Jer. xxxi. 5.

² Ezek. vi. 2, 3. ; xxxvi. 1. 4. 8. &c.

I feel that there is nothing to prevent the belief that the different events which are mentioned in the Scriptures, although still under the immediate controul of the Almighty, were brought about in the ordinary course of nature. In those cases even in which, for His own wise purposes, He has been pleased to work a miracle either against or in favour of the immediate temporal prosperity of the human race, it may be conceived, further, that He has in no case dispensed with the use of natural agents, so that His miraculous works, though not performed in the ordinary course of nature, are strictly analogous to that course, and in no way contrary to it, although some of them may have appeared, in the superficial estimation of the beholders, to oppose it. But I may go even further, and affirm that in all cases in which a result might be brought about by simply *natural* means, it is neither unreasonable nor improper to believe that the Almighty has been pleased to avail Himself of such means, (all which, be it remembered, are as exclusively exertions of His omnipotence as means strictly miraculous would be,) instead of Himself directly interfering; since it appears to be more philosophical, and (as far as an opinion may be formed on such a subject,) far more consistent with His omniscience, that the means used by Him to bring about any result should in no case be greater than is sufficient to the end for which they are intended.

Applying, then, this reasoning to the descent from the Ark, it may without impropriety be assumed,—in the absence of all account of any further direct interference of the Deity,—that Almighty God having been pleased to place Noah and his family on the mountains of Ararat, in a place of safety, and having bestowed upon them His blessing, with the assurance of the protection of His Divine Providence, the patriarch was then left to the exercise of his own judgement, and to the influence of circumstances, in the course subsequently to be pursued by him. We are fully justified, therefore, in considering Noah to have acted precisely in the same way as we may imagine any one of his descendants would do, under similar circumstances.

That Noah would remain where the Ark rested, unless compelled by circumstances so to do, is not at all probable. The world was all before him, and having received the Divine command “to replenish the earth,” and trusting, as he must have done, to the Divine protection, the righteous patriarch would not have hesitated to descend into the low lands, for the purpose of taking possession of his newly acquired inheritance.

Now it is a proposition which cannot be denied that, at all times, population has extended into every country, in the first instance, along the courses of its rivers. The cause of this is the facility of passage, and the readier means of subsistence, which are afforded by the banks of rivers

and the country adjacent to them. Where, in the present day, newly discovered countries are colonized, we observe the population and the cultivation of the land extending into the interior along the lines of the rivers. The traces of the same law are visible in old inhabited countries, where the courses of the ancient roads are mostly found along the valleys and the sides of streams ; while in mountainous regions the roads are invariably (and, indeed, they are so from necessity,) extended up the course of one stream to near its source, and then, after passing through some gorge or break in the mountain chain from which the streams descend, they are carried down the course of another to the low lands on the other side. In alpine countries, it is an infallible expedient for a traveller who has lost his way, to follow downwards the course of the first stream he may meet with, in the firm conviction, that, as the valley widens, he will reach the habitation of man. It is further evident, that if we trace downwards the course of any stream, we shall sooner or later (either directly or through the medium of some larger stream to which it may be tributary,) arrive at its mouth or place of union with the ocean, or, in some few cases, with an inland sea or lake.

Regarding Noah, then, in the same light as we should regard any of his posterity, if placed in like circumstances, we may assume that he descended from the place where the Ark rested into the valley

immediately below him ; and that following the course of that valley, and of the stream which he would be sure to meet with in the midst of it, (whether a principal or only a tributary one,) he would in the process of time have reached the sea ; unless, instead of proceeding so far, he and his sons had been induced to take up their residence in some suitable intervening country, as, indeed, would appear to have been the case, since the Scripture tells us that “ it came to pass, as they journeyed from “ the east, that they found a plain in the land of “ Shinar ; and they dwelt there¹.”

On the foregoing assumptions, the position of the mountains of Ararat, the course by which Noah and his family journeyed from the east, and the situation of the land of Shinar, may all be determined without much difficulty.

The country of Armenia, in some part of which the mountains of Ararat were situate, consists of two principal valleys or plains of inclination, separated by an extended anticlinal line ; namely, that of the Araxes towards the north and the east, and that of the Euphrates towards the south and the west ; into the one or the other of which flow all the streams of the country. In his descent into the plain country, therefore, Noah must have arrived, sooner or later, on the banks of one of these two rivers, and in the natural sequence of circumstances he and his sons would have followed its course

¹ Gen. xi. 2.

downwards, until they reached the land of Shinar. That it was not the Araxes on whose banks the patriarch and his family thus arrived is clear, on account of the course of that river being not from the east, but *from the west*; and on account also of the fact, that, by following its course, he would have been led, not into a plain, but into the mountainous country of Azerbaijan, and ere long to the banks of the Caspian.

It would seem, therefore, that Noah could not have done otherwise than reach the banks of the Euphrates, and follow the course of that river downwards; an inference which will most remarkably coincide with the words of Scripture, since the direction of the Euphrates—that is, of its eastern branch, the Morad, or eastern Frat—is almost directly “from the east” throughout its whole course, from its source by Diaden, at no very great distance from the Agridagh, to the point at which it turns abruptly to the southward; whence, passing through a break in the chain of Mount Taurus, it pours its waters into the plains of Mesopotamia.

The Agridagh, as is well known, stands in the valley of the Araxes; and is further cut off from all communication with the Euphrates, by an intermediate chain of mountains, and also by a tributary of the former river: it is altogether devoid, consequently, of that character which is essentially necessary to entitle it to the honour of being regarded even as one of the “mountains of Ararat.” We can

easily imagine, however, that the tradition of the country became attached to this mountain, in preference to the true locality, on account of its conspicuous situation and remarkable appearance.

The same reasoning will equally apply to the mountain Al Judi, which is not merely without the valley of the Euphrates, but is actually not situate within the limits of Armenia.

It would consequently appear, that the "mountains of Ararat" could only have been situate somewhere within the plain of inclination which is drained by the Euphrates.

The next point is to endeavour to arrive at some conclusion as to the precise spot which Divine Providence was pleased to fix upon as the resting-place of the Ark. That the Ark was placed by the Almighty in the situation best suited to accomplish the ends which he had preordained, must be admitted by all who acknowledge His Providence and Almighty power. What to the superficial observer may appear to arise from chance and to be a matter of perfect indifference, will in most cases be shown by its results to have been planned, by the Ruler and Disposer of all things, with the most consummate design, and to have been the most perfectly fitted, even after the lapse of ages, to effect a certain result, which could not have been effected at all, had it not been thus early anticipated and provided for. I shall attempt to show, in the sequel, that the land of Shinar, in the situation in which I

place it, was the centre from whence a thorough and entire distribution of the human race over the face of the whole earth, could the most readily and in the shortest time be effected ; and that the valley of the Euphrates was the road which was of all others the best suited to conduct, by natural means, the founders of postdiluvian society to the place so peculiarly fitted for their subsequent dispersion. The Divine Providence being then so peculiarly manifested in these particulars, we are warranted in expecting to discover the demonstrations of the same Almighty wisdom and goodness in the position of the precise spot where God thought fit to stay the Ark, and to direct Noah to go forth from it.

In the absence of a perfect knowledge of the mountainous country towards the origin and along the course of the Euphrates, it is quite impossible to lay down in a map any point which might be considered as the place where the Ark rested. The only means of investigation, therefore, which can be pursued, will be to consider the characters required to be possessed by this spot, so interesting to the whole human race ; leaving to future travellers the task of ascertaining what place best answers to these requisites ; though it is probable that, even with a thorough local knowledge of the country, it may yet be impossible to determine its precise situation.

First, then, the place where the Ark rested on the mountains of Ararat must have been at or near the highest point of them ; for it was two months

and fourteen days (*i. e.* from the seventh day of the seventh month to the first day of the tenth month,) after the Ark had so rested, before the tops of the mountains were seen by Noah¹. We may further reasonably assume, that the descent from the Ark to the valley below was easy and without difficulties or impediments, since we may rest satisfied that through the goodness of God it could not have been otherwise. That the resting-place was not in the pent-up valley of any lateral stream, may also, I think, not unfairly be assumed. Notwithstanding the resignation of the righteous Noah, and his implicit confidence in that Almighty Providence which had so miraculously preserved him from the destruction which had overwhelmed the rest of the human race, we may yet conceive that the weakness of human nature would not have permitted his faith and resignation to be at all times entirely perfect. How deep, then, might have been his despair, if, on leaving the Ark, he had found himself in the valley of some secondary stream, surrounded by mountains, with the prospect confined, and nothing cheering to direct him as to the course he was to take! But if we assume the place of the Ark's stranding to have been upon a mountain within view of the open and wide-spreading valley of the Euphrates, then indeed might the patriarch and his family have had reason to rejoice; for their confidence in that Almighty power which had so

¹ Gen. viii. 4, 5.

long preserved them would have been confirmed, and they would have been encouraged unhesitatingly to descend, and to take possession of the earth which had been restored to them. It is not, however, absolutely necessary to suppose that the Ark rested on an eminence commanding the valley of the Euphrates itself, since the valley of some principal branch of that river would probably have answered the purpose equally well with that of the main stream.

It may be asserted with still greater confidence, that the Ark must have rested on the western side of the mountain, or, at least, that the descent from it took place in that direction. The time when God commanded Noah and his family “to go forth of the “Ark¹,” could only have been in the early morning; and the first act of the patriarch was to build an altar unto the Lord², and to offer burnt-offerings, which he doubtless accompanied with thanksgivings for his deliverance, and prayers for his future protection. *From* the Ark,—that is, towards the west,—would the faces of Noah and his sons have been turned in thus offering their sacrifice to the Almighty; and in that direction, whilst the morning sun threw its enlivening beams over the smiling face of the regenerated world, would they have beheld the beautiful token of the “everlasting covenant “ [then made] between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth³.”

¹ Gen. viii. 16.

² Gen. viii. 20.

³ Gen. ix. 16.

I have only to offer one further suggestion in connexion with this subject, which is, that the mountains of Ararat were situate on the southern side of the stream ; and that for the following reasons : First, supposing the two sides of the river to have been in all respects similar, Noah and his family would most likely have continued upon that side on which they first commenced their journey ; and by following the southern side, they would at once have been conducted into the land of Shinar or Mesopotamia ; whereas, by remaining on the northern side, they might indeed have been led into Syria, but could not have gone into Mesopotamia, without crossing the river. Another reason for this conclusion is, that the western side of the mountains, to the south of the river, would at the same time have an inclination somewhat northward, so that the descent of Noah being in that direction, his face would have been turned more entirely towards "the bow in the cloud," than if his position had directly faced the west. It may be remarked, further, that the country on the southern banks of the river, under the shade of the mountains on the south, would be far more delightful, and its pasture would be more abundant, than that on the northern side, which, facing the south, would throughout the greater part of the day be exposed to the scorching rays of the sun.

Taking all these points into consideration, the result appears to be, that the place where the Ark

rested among the mountains of Ararat, must be sought to the south of the Euphrates ; that it must have been situate at a considerable elevation (probably on the highest peak of the district) ; that it had a westerly or north-westerly aspect and declivity ; that the descent from it to the lowlands was not precipitous, but easy and practicable ; and that either the Euphrates itself, or some principal branch of that river, was fully in sight from it. The range of the Barema mountains (the Taurus of Strabo¹.) would seem to include spots likely to fulfill all these conditions ; but by personal investigation alone can it be determined what particular locality in that chain, will answer absolutely to the above description.

¹ *Géogr. de Strabon*, trad. par MM. De la Porte du Theil et Coray, liv. xi. ch. xvii. ; tom. iv. p. 300.

CHAPTER III.

General opinion of antiquity as to the primitive state of man.—The golden age a poetical fable.—The notion of the progressive civilization of mankind adopted in the present day.—Views of Cuvier, Malte Brun, Heeren, Keightley, and Archbishop Whately.—These views erroneous.—The first state of man after the Deluge that of a member of a previous social state.—The amount of culture possessed by Noah considered;—probably equal to that of the Egyptians and other nations of antiquity.—Instances of the early advanced state of society from the Book of Job.—Deficiency of scientific knowledge among the ancient nations.—This deficiency the cause of our ignorance of the actual state of their knowledge in general.—Theory of the gradual declension of civilization.

IT will be advisable, before proceeding further with the express subject of the present investigation, to deviate for awhile from our direct course, for the purpose of considering what was the state of society in the ages immediately succeeding the Flood.

I need scarcely do more than allude to the recognised principle of profane history, that mankind in the first ages lived in a state which, although probably one of perfect innocence, must in point of civilization have been but little elevated above that of the brute creation¹. Thus the poems of Hesiod,

¹ The Generations of Sanchoniatho, however, would seem to represent the first state of mankind to have been not merely the

which are among the earliest writings of the heathen world that have been transmitted to us in a direct manner, sing :

..... "The first age they stile an age of gold :
 " Men spent a life like gods in *Saturn's* reign,
 " Nor felt their mind a care, nor body pain ;
 " From labour free, they ev'ry sense enjoy :
 " Nor could the ills of time their peace destroy ;
 " In banquets they delight, remov'd from care ;
 " Nor troublesome old age intruded there :
 " They die, or rather seem to die ; they seem
 " From hence transported in a pleasing dream.
 " The fields as yet untill'd, their fruits afford,
 " And fill a sumptuous, and unenvied board¹."

This idea of a golden age, which was considered to have been succeeded by others of an inferior nature, designated by metals of inferior rank, has been justly regarded as a poetical fiction : the notion involved in it, however, that in the first ages the human race existed in the lowest state of civilization, or that of the mere consumers of the spontaneous productions of nature, has maintained its ground ; and the generally received opinion has ac-

lowest in the scale of civilization, (the commonest arts having, according to his statement, *ubi infr.*, been unknown to them,) but also to have been one which was characterized by an unrestrained compliance with all their natural inclinations, so as in fact to give them no advantage over the brute creation beyond the faculty of reason,—*τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἀναίδην μισγομένων οἷς ἀν ἐνρύχοιεν.*—*Euseb. Præp. Evan.* lib. i. cap. 10., in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 6.

¹ Works and Days, book i. ver. 159 *et seq.* : Cooke's Translation.

cordingly been, that from this first state mankind progressively ascended through the several conditions of the hunter, the herdsman, and the agriculturist; until, in this last state, an absolute property having been acquired in the ground thus subjected to cultivation, the residences of mankind became fixed and permanent, and societies by degrees were formed, at first simply patriarchal, but which, from their subsequent increase and union, required the institution of laws for their government and mutual protection; whence ultimately resulted the establishment of monarchies and other forms of civil rule.

In whatever manner these ideas may have been modified, it is certain that the general principle above referred to, has been recognised by all physiologists, historians, jurists, political economists, and others who have treated of the primitive state of man, and of the rise and progress of society¹.

The late Baron Cuvier, than whom no one might seem better qualified to impart to the world new and correct ideas on a subject so deeply interesting to the entire human race, follows the opinions of those

¹ See Grotius, de Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 2. ¶ ii; Blackstone, Comment., book ii. ch. 1., or (fifteenth edit., by Prof. Christian,) vol. ii. p. 3—8.; Paley, Principles of Moral and Polit. Philos. book iii. part i. ch. 3.; and Sadler, Law of Population, vol. i. p. 136; vol. ii. p. 572. Professor Macculloch, also, I am informed, has distinctly advocated the same view of the subject, in his lectures on Political Economy, recently delivered in the University of London.

who preceded him ; and accordingly, in his *Règne Animal*¹, he traces at length, in agreement with this principle, the development of man. It is unnecessary to quote the passage, which is long ; but the summary of his views on the subject may be given in his own words from another source². “ Les premiers sauvages cueillirent dans les forêts quelques fruits nourriciers, quelques racines salutaires, et subvinrent ainsi à leurs plus pressans besoins : les premiers pâtres s’aperçurent que les astres suivent une marche réglée, et s’en servirent pour diriger leurs courses à travers les plaines du désert. Telle fut l’origine des sciences mathématiques, et celle des sciences physiques.”

So M. Malte Brun, arguing from the same principle, is of opinion that the ordinary habitations of a people almost infallibly indicate the degree of civilization which they have attained. He accordingly divides mankind into four classes, viz. the troglodytes, or dwellers in caves ; the dwellers in huts rudely constructed of earth, branches of trees, stones, &c. ; the dwellers in tents ; and, lastly, the dwellers in houses³.

The learned Heeren, whose opinion on subjects connected with the early history of mankind is

¹ tome i. p. 77—80. 2nd edit., Paris, 1829.

² “ Reflections on the Progress of Science, and its Influence on Society,” as cited in Mrs. R. Lee’s *Memoirs of Baron Cuvier*, p. 170.

³ See his *Géographie Universelle*, tome ii. p. 702. Paris, 1832.

justly considered as of the highest authority, does not attempt to impugn the principle of the continuous progress upwards of civilization, though he questions, "whether, according to the general opinion, political associations were produced *solely* by agriculture and the possession of land; or, whether religion, meaning [as he explains it,] the common worship of one divinity as the national god, (*communia sacra*,) was not the main bond which united the earliest states of antiquity¹:" upon which assumption, in fact, is founded his own peculiar hypothesis with respect to the progress of society. Indeed he recognises the general principle so far as to express the doubt whether "we have a right to expect that the civilization of the human race will for ever continue to advance, when we consider," as he says, "that perhaps one half of it has from time immemorial remained, and from its physical situation must for ever remain, in a nomad state²."

Mr. Keightley, in his able "Outlines of History" in the Cabinet Cyclopædia, says, indeed, that "this" (the inference "that man has progressively passed through all these states, commencing at the lowest,") "is still but mere conjecture, unsupported by any historic evidence. No tribe," he justly remarks, "has ever yet been found to civilise itself; instruction and improvement always come to it

¹ Manual of Ancient History, p. 17. Oxford, 1833.

² *Ibid.*

“ from abroad ; and experience would rather lead
 “ to the inference, that the savage is a degeneration
 “ from the civilised life. . . . It is in vain,” he
 continues, “ we seek for commencement,—all is
 “ progress. In imagination, we may conceive a
 “ time, when the human race was in the lowest de-
 “ gree of culture ; but, on enquiry, we everywhere
 “ meet the arts, meet men collected into societies,
 “ meet property, legislation and government¹.”

Yet with these correct and philosophical notions, Mr. Keightley differs with his predecessors in one respect only, which is, that he does no more than advance the first state of civilization from that of the mere isolated savage, to one in which he considers mankind as living in a social state of the lowest and most uncultivated description. His conclusion may be given in his own words, which are as follows :—“ It may perhaps be collected from the
 “ testimony of the sacred Scriptures, and from the
 “ deductions of philosophy, that man has always
 “ existed in society, and that the first societies were
 “ families, the first form of government patriarchal :
 “ and the following may be stated as the most pro-
 “ bable hypothesis ; namely, that man commenced
 “ his existence in the social state under the mild
 “ and gentle form of government denominated pa-
 “ triarchal ; and his first nourishment was the fruits
 “ of trees and plants, which ripened in abundance
 “ for the supply of his wants in some temperate

¹ Outlines of History, pp. 5, 6.

“ and fertile region of the earth, possibly that at
“ the south of Caucasus, or where now extends the
“ paradisal vale of Cashmeer ; that gradually he
“ became a keeper of flocks and herds, and a cul-
“ tivator of corn ; that families spread and com-
“ bined ; and that from their union arose monar-
“ chies, the most ancient form of extended civil
“ government¹. ”

The present Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, has gone even further than the writer last referred to, and, (as opposed to the previous opinions on the subject,) has laid down the positions of “ the im-
“ possibility of men’s emerging unaided from a
“ completely savage state ; and consequently the
“ descent of such as are in that state (supposing
“ mankind to have sprung from a single pair,) from
“ ancestors less barbarous, and from whom they
“ have degenerated² ; ” the truth of which posi-
tions, if taken in connexion and reciprocation with the evidence of the Holy Scriptures, must unhesitatingly be admitted. The learned Prelate, after an ingenious discussion of the subject of the primitive state of man, grounded on the positions laid down by him, thus records the conclusion to which he arrives :—“ Mankind then having, as Scripture
“ informs us, been favoured from the first with
“ an immediate intercourse with the Creator, and

¹ Outlines of History, p. 6.

² Introductory Lectures on Political Economy, p. 129. London, 1831.

“ having been placed in a condition, as keepers of
 “ domestic animals, and cultivators of the earth,
 “ more favourable to the development of the ra-
 “ tional faculties, than, we have every reason to
 “ think, they could ever have reached by the mere
 “ exercise of their natural powers ; it is probable
 “ they were thenceforth left to themselves in all
 “ that relates to the invention and improvement of
 “ the arts of life. If we judge from the analogy of
 “ the other parts of revelation, we find it agreeable
 “ to the general designs of Providence, that such
 “ knowledge, and such only, should be imparted
 “ to man *supernaturally*, as he could not *otherwise*
 “ have attained ; and that whatever he is capable
 “ of discovering by the exercise of his natural fa-
 “ culties, (however important the knowledge of it
 “ may be,) he should be left so to discover for him-
 “ self:—in short, that no further miraculous inter-
 “ ference should take place than is absolutely in-
 “ dispensable. And if again we judge from ob-
 “ servation, we know that a knowledge of all the
 “ arts of life was not divinely communicated. The
 “ first race of Mankind seem to have been placed
 “ merely in such a state as might enable and incite
 “ them to commence, and continue, a course of
 “ advancement¹.”

The fundamental error of all these views must
 be considered to have arisen from the not taking
 any account of the fact, expressly recorded in Scrip-

¹ Introductory Lectures on Political Economy, pp. 135, 136.

ture, that the present human race has sprung, not from a common ancestor in a primitive state of society, but from one who was himself a member of a previous social state, which had already existed for many ages; nor of the conclusion which must inevitably be drawn from that fact, viz. that whatever may have been the natural state of the first man Adam, the progenitor of the antediluvian world, the contemplation of that state cannot aid us in the consideration of the primary condition of the post-diluvian world, which takes its origin from Noah and the seven other persons saved in the Ark, who were members of an artificial and most probably a highly advanced state of society.

Without presuming to decide what may have been the actual amount of the civilization of Noah and his family, it may be fairly concluded that they were possessed of at least an average share of the learning and acquirements of the antediluvian world: and it may even be not unphilosophical to imagine, that as they were the chosen instruments of the Almighty for the preservation of the human race, so may they have been *specially* endowed with the wisdom of their contemporaries, whom we know to have been not merely shepherds and agriculturists¹, but also artificers in brass and iron²; and further, to have possessed such a knowledge of the fine arts as to have cultivated music, Jubal being mentioned

¹ Gen. iv. 2.

² Gen. iv. 22.

“ as the father of all such as handle the harp and
“ organ¹.”

Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that so far from Noah's having commenced by being either a fruit eater, a hunter, a herdsman, or even a simple agriculturist, his first act, as recorded in Scripture, was to plant a vineyard²; that is, to raise an article which, if not one of mere luxury, required at all events a higher degree of cultivation than the Cerealia, and the produce of which demanded for its preparation a peculiar process; from which facts alone is established the existence in his family of a degree of civilization considerably higher than that of the grower of the common necessaries of life. We further know, that, at a very early period—as it were almost immediately after the Flood, and certainly before any material change could have taken place in the state of civilization of mankind,—they combined together to erect a city and a tower³; whilst Nimrod and Asshur, the grandsons of the patriarch, are recorded to have been the founders of mighty cities⁴. It must not be lost sight of, moreover, that the mechanical knowledge which enabled Noah and his sons to build the Ark, agreeably to the direction of the Divine Architect, could

¹ Gen. iv. 21.—The words in the original text **כִּנּוֹר וְעֹבָב** (*kinnór ve ħugáb*) are probably nothing more than the generic names for stringed and wind instruments.

² Gen. ix. 20.

³ Gen. xi. 4.

⁴ Gen. x. 10—12.

not have been inconsiderable. We are led, therefore, to the conclusion, that the first state of society after the Flood, being that of Noah and his sons, was one of a comparatively high degree of civilization; and we shall, probably, not be wrong in asserting that it was, at the least, as high as that of the Egyptians, Phoenicians and Assyrians, who are the nations of antiquity known to us as being their descendants in the nearest degree.

The Book of Job, having an antiquity of several centuries prior to the time of Moses¹, is consequently by far the earliest literary work which has come down to us, its age being at least 1000 years greater than that of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, the earliest works of profane history. To quote Dr. Good's words respecting this composition, in the dissertation introductory to his translation of Job,—“ Nothing can be purer than its
“ morality, nothing sublimer than its philosophy,
“ nothing simpler than its ritual, nothing more
“ majestic than its creed. Its style is the most
“ figurative imaginable; there is no classical poem
“ of the East that can equal it; yet its plan is
“ as regular, its argument as consecutive, as the
“ most finished compositions of Greece or Rome:
“ and its opening and its close are altogether un-
“ rivalled in magnificence. It is full of elevation
“ and grandeur; daring in its conceptions; splen-

¹ In a future Chapter the particular history of the Book of Job will be considered.

“ did and forcible in its images ; abrupt in its
 “ transitions ; and, at the same time, occasionally
 “ interspersed with touches of the most exquisite
 “ and overwhelming tenderness¹.”

It may not be useless or uninteresting to endeavour to determine, from the internal evidence of the Book of Job itself, what was the actual state of society at the early period at which it was written ; the inquiry will, indeed, be essential to the objects we at present have in view. We cannot pursue the inquiry so far, with respect to this ancient work, as we can with the Homeric poems ; since these latter contain the relation of facts, whilst the Book of Job is little more than the expression of the feelings and opinions of the several interlocutors (including the Almighty) who are named in it. Still from the references and similes made use of, the conclusions may be drawn, that, at that epoch, the vine and the olive were cultivated², and the ground ploughed for the growth of corn³ ; that metals were extracted from the earth⁴, and used for domestic purposes⁵, for the construction of instruments of warfare⁶, and as a circulating medium⁷ ; that the horse was in

¹ The Book of Job, literally translated, &c., by J. Mason Good, F.R.S., *Introd. Diss.*, pp. i. ii. ² ch. xv. ver. 33.

³ ch. i. ver. 14.

⁴ ch. xxviii. ver. 1—6.

⁵ ch. xxxvii. ver. 18.

⁶ ch. xx. ver. 24.

⁷ ch. xxviii. ver. 15.; xlii. 11.—The late Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Magee) in his celebrated work “ *On the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice*,” (p. 80—82., 5th edit.,) supports the opinion of several learned writers to whom he refers, that “as

subjection to man, and trained for war¹; that musical instruments of several kinds were made use of²; that navigation was not unknown³; that written characters were in common use⁴; that the science

“ to the word *קֶשֶׁט*, which is translated a *piece of money*, there seems good reason to understand it as signifying a *lamb*.”

“ This word,” as the learned Prelate observes, “ occurs but in two other parts of Scripture, Gen. xxxiii. 19., and Josh. xxiv. 32.; and in both of these it is applied to the purchase of a piece of ground by Jacob;” and his argument with respect to its meaning is mainly founded on the assumption, that in the age of Job and in that of Jacob, sheep were probably the only medium of traffic, and that those early periods were, at all events, long anterior to the time when stamped or coined money was in use: in support of which assumption, he instances the payment made by Abraham to Ephron the Hittite of four hundred shekels of silver *by weight* (Gen. xxiii. 16.), and the expression applied to the money found by Joseph’s brethren in their sacks (Gen. xlii. 35.).

This assumption, however, appears to me to be untenable, from the following considerations, namely, that the wealth of that early period did not consist merely of cattle, for Abraham was “ very rich in cattle, *in silver, and in gold*” (Gen. xiii. 2.);—that neither did the measure of value, nor the medium of traffic, consist of sheep, since the land purchased by Abraham was *estimated* and paid for in *shekels of silver* (Gen. xxiii. 9. 15, 16.);—that the four hundred shekels of silver *weighed* by that patriarch to Ephron were “ *current with the merchant*” (Gen. xxiii. 16.), and consequently of a certain known standard of value; so that, even supposing them not exactly to answer to the description of the coined money of the present day, they were, at all events, authenticated as a circulating medium;—that no argument against the supposition that these shekels were even actually *coined*, is derivable from their

¹ ch. xxxix. ver. 18. 21. ² ch. xxx. ver. 31. ³ ch. ix. ver. 26.

⁴ ch. xix. ver. 23, 24.; ch. xxxi. ver. 35.

of astronomy was cultivated, since the stars had been identified and named, and were probably assembled into constellations¹; and that unquestionably mankind were not living in the simple patriarchal state, since different ranks of society are in several instances familiarly mentioned², as is also

having been *weighed*, for, even at the present day, "the practice "of weighing money" (as is justly observed by the editor of Bagster's Comprehensive Bible, *in loc. cit.*) "is general in Syria, "Egypt, and throughout Turkey," and it is, indeed, not unfrequent in the banking-houses of this country also;—that in the time of Abraham money was reckoned *by tale* as well as by weight, Abimelech having made a *gift* to that patriarch of "a thousand (pieces) of silver" (Gen. xx. 16.);—and, lastly, that as in the time both of Abraham (Gen. xxiv. 22.) and of Job (chap. xlii. 11.), the precious metals were wrought into trinkets and ornaments for the person, there seems no substantial ground for arguing that they may not also have been coined into money.

The foundation of the opinion thus advocated by the Archbishop appears to be, that the word קִשְׁיָטָה (*kesitáh*) has generally (though erroneously) been considered to mean a *lamb*; and that "in order to force the word to the signification of a piece of "money, it has been pretended that the coin bore the impress of "a lamb." But this "conjecture" (as he himself styles it) will be entirely unnecessary, if we adopt the suggestion of Gesenius, in his Hebrew Lexicon, Art. קִשְׁיָטָה, that the original meaning of this word may be "a certain weight made use of in "reckoning, (comp. Arab. قَسَطٌ ^س a *balance*, also a certain measure; قَسَطٌ conj. V., *to divide equally*;) " which suggestion appears to be most reasonable, since we find in all countries that

¹ ch. ix. ver. 9.; ch. xxxviii. ver. 31, 32.

² See particularly ch. xii. ver. 17—21.

war—not the mere disputes between neighbouring shepherds, but organized war, (unfortunately too sure a sign of an advanced social state,) with separate leaders, and with the accompaniments of weapons of offence and defence, and of musical instruments¹; whilst it is at the same time quite evi-

the names of moneys have related, in the first instance, to some certain weight, from which they have afterwards varied, so as, in most cases, to become entirely arbitrary.

To Dr. Magee's observations, that "if *keschita* must signify "a piece of money, the only age, beside that of Job, in which we find the word applied in Scripture, is the age of Jacob," and that "no such coin was known of under the Mosaic dispensation," it may be replied, that there is no reason whatever for imagining that the Hebrew word was intended to represent the name of an Israelitish coin, since it is in both cases referrible to a time long anterior to the existence of the Israelites as a people; and that, on the contrary, it should rather be understood to express the name of some metallic measure of value, (whether a coined piece of money, or simply a stamped ingot, seems immaterial,) which was, not improbably, current in the country of "the people of the east" (*bené-kédem*), from which Jacob had just arrived, and which country, as I hope to show in a subsequent chapter, was that of Job himself.

With respect to the expression in Gen. xlii. 35. צָרֹוֹת כֶּסֶף (*tzeroróth-késeph*), which, in the received Translation, is rendered *bundles of money*, but which, the Archbishop contends, means strictly "*bundles of silver*, an expression," as he adds, "not likely "to be applied to *coined pieces* of money;" I apprehend that the correct translation is simply *bags of silver*, *i. e.* of money, as, in fact, the identical expression in Prov. vii. 20. is rendered in our authorized Version.

¹ ch. xxxix. ver. 21—25.

dent that the degree of intellectual acquirement and of refinement which would allow of the composition of the Work itself, could not have been low in the scale of human cultivation.

If such were the condition of society in the time of Job, about 1200 years subsequent to the Flood,—at which period, or shortly afterwards, we learn from Scripture the existence of caravans of merchants crossing the desert¹, and of the kingdom of the Pharaohs, with all the accompaniments of a highly artificial state of society,—captains of the guard², keepers of the prison³, chief butlers and chief bakers⁴, magicians and wise men who were interpreters of dreams⁵, and priests⁶,—there is, according to the line of argument here pursued, ample reason for affirming that the civilization of Noah and his immediate descendants was, *at the lowest*, of equal degree with that of this subsequent period; and we can thus at once understand how the various nations, in the earliest periods of the postdiluvian era, should have been possessed of that high culture and civilization of which we have evidence in their histories and in their remains; and we shall also be able to form far more correct ideas of the social state of mankind, generally, as recorded in the earliest portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, than if we place them at any lower point in the scale of civilization.

¹ Gen. xxxvii. 28.

² ch. xxxix. ver. 1.

³ ch. xxxix. ver. 21.

⁴ ch. xl. ver. 2.

⁵ ch. xli. ver. 8.

⁶ ch. xli. ver. 45.; xlvii. ver. 22.

With all these acquirements, however, it is not improbable that in *scientific* knowledge, (according to the present usual acceptation of the term,) Noah and his immediate descendants may have been comparatively uninformed. The general deficiency of the various nations of antiquity in this respect, has, in fact, tended more than any other circumstance, to leave us in ignorance regarding the real state of the acquirements of the earlier ages of the world. So long as a nation remained in union and in peace, the arts handed down from one generation to another, would have been perpetuated, and might even have existed in a state of progressive improvement; but the moment when, from separation, from war, or from any other extrinsic or accidental cause, the knowledge thus acquired and preserved became destroyed or impeded in its progress, there would be no means of at once restoring what was thus lost, and partial or total ignorance would consequently ensue¹.

¹ The following observations of Mr. Brayley, jun., on the condition of the arts and of the physical sciences among the ancient Egyptians, which seem equally applicable to the state of the first ages of antiquity generally, may be cited in illustration of the general remarks in the text: "From all that we know of the Egyptians, whether as derived from the Greek authors, or from modern discoveries in the antiquities of Egypt, it would appear, that, as regarded the cultivation of the Arts and the Physical Sciences, they were a nation of practised manipulators, mechanics and workmen, experienced in the sensible effects upon each other of the materials with which they operated, and empirically acquainted with their properties; but being, at the same time, entirely ignorant of their intimate nature and relations. In

Whilst the utmost ingenuity of philosophers of the highest rank of talent and knowledge has been required, in order to show (though with little substantial success) how the social state might progressively advance from the lowest to the highest degree of civilization, the labour of demonstrating how the contrary progression may have taken place is, on the other hand, quite unattended with difficulty. When mankind first began to disperse from the focus of all human wisdom, and whilst knowledge thus continued to be merely traditive, it is manifest that the practical knowledge of every department of pursuit must have diminished at every step that was taken from the centre, unless each

“ other words, that the *Science* of nature was unknown to them.
 “ They appear, in short, to have pursued the arts in
 “ a manner altogether empirical and without principles; a con-
 “ clusion which is confirmed by what Diodorus Siculus and other
 “ historians have related of their mode of practising medicine,
 “ and some branches of the arts also, which are all, in our own
 “ times, intimately connected with scientific knowledge. It is
 “ probable, indeed, that this was at once originally the cause,
 “ and eventually, in an aggravated form, the consequence also, of
 “ the division of the Egyptian people into six hereditary ranks,
 “ each of which was confined, from generation to generation, to
 “ the exercise of the same general function in society as had been
 “ originally performed by it, whilst the individuals of whom it was
 “ composed, and their posterity, were equally restricted to the
 “ particular occupations of their respective progenitors. What-
 “ ever knowledge might be possessed by each class, was thus en-
 “ tirely traditive, and confined to itself, and never contributed to
 “ form a common stock of information. For arts pursued without
 “ principles, and without some degree of *scientific* knowledge of

tribe could have insured to itself (which would have been scarcely possible,) the possession of individuals imbued with the *aggregate* of the acquirements of the parent stock. Knowledge can in no case remain perfectly stationary, it must either advance or recede; and it may confidently be asserted, that the latter was the case at the commencement of the postdiluvian era, and continued to be so, until the numbers of mankind had sufficiently increased to allow them again to begin to improve and to accumulate—each nation in its own particular sphere of acquirements—the knowledge which they had either retained by direct transmission from the common centre, or which had been subsequently derived

“ the materials and agents employed, though they might readily
 “ be transmitted from one manipulator to another,—as workmen
 “ at the present day instruct apprentices, by practising before
 “ them the methods of operation,—could not be reduced to didactic rules, nor described in language practically intelligible.
 “ Hence, the political system of the country provided for a succession of hereditary artists; and hence, also, when that system
 “ was destroyed, by the successive conquests of Egypt by the
 “ Persians, the Greeks and the Romans, the peculiar arts of the
 “ Egyptians were entirely lost.”—*Utility of the Knowledge of Nature considered; &c.* p. 57—59. Mr. Brayley’s explanation of the origin of the *Castes* of Egypt, which, I may remark, may be applied with equal truth to the corresponding distinctions of society existing in other countries, is far more philosophical and accordant with sound reason than that of Heeren, who supposes them to have originated “ at first in the variety of tribes settled
 “ in one and the same country, and their different modes of life.” (*Manual of Ancient History*, p. 58.): in which opinion he is followed by Malte Brun, *Géogr. Univ.*, tome ii. p. 694.

from the circumstances in which they had respectively been placed.

Subsequently to the first miraculous dispersion of mankind, the pressure of population would probably have been the primary cause of the general distribution of the human race over the face of the earth, and of their consequent descent in the scale of civilization. To this, however, are to be added, disputes among neighbouring people, too often ending in warfare; the dislike of some races to the countries in which they had voluntarily settled, or into which they had been compelled to migrate; and the desire, or probably the necessity, of obtaining possessions more suited to their inclinations or their requirements. As the social tie became gradually weaker, the growth of erratic habits, and the consequent rapid declension in civilization which universally attends the settling of new lands, would operate, leading at length to a confirmed nomadic state. In any of these intermediate stages of degradation, however, further deterioration may have been prevented, and an impulse may even have been given to a progressive state of improvement, by any causes, whether natural or artificial, which would prevent the further disintegration of society, and bring its members into more intimate connexion, so as to preserve the means for the mutual impartation of knowledge. Thus in maritime countries, where the further progress and dispersion of mankind have been stopped by the ocean;—in islands;—

in cities, where men have been congregated together for the purposes of commerce ;—and even in rich alluvial countries, of which, by means of agricultural knowledge, the products have afforded subsistence to a dense population ;—civilization, so far from being stationary, has generally continued to advance : whilst in champaign, barren, and desert countries, on the contrary, where nomadic habits have been induced, the people have descended in the scale of civilization in an equal ratio to the quality of the country and its means of affording subsistence, operating conjointly with its extent, and the consequent absence of the necessity for its inhabitants to adopt any means of support, beyond those which have spontaneously presented themselves, and which have thence become congenial to them ; such as the pasturing of their flocks in countries sufficiently fertile for that purpose, or the hunting of wild animals, where the physical condition of the country has not been adapted to the support of tame ones.

From this last state,—in which, owing to the loss of the knowledge of accumulating capital, whether in the form of money or of merchandize, and ultimately even in that of cattle, a large tract of country would become necessary for the support of a much smaller number of persons ; and in which also, from the disintegration of society, the traditive knowledge of each successive generation would become less and less,—the progress to the condition

of the mere savage, or to that of man in the lowest stage of civilization, is easily to be traced¹.

In cold and inhospitable countries, however, where the uncivilized races inhabiting them would be compelled to use every exertion in order to procure a scanty and precarious subsistence, the lowest mechanical arts would still be retained, until the inclemencies and privations to which these races were subject had caused their extinction (a result

¹ The subjoined remarks of Archbishop Whately, are particularly applicable to the subject here discussed.—“As to the causes which have occasioned any portions of mankind thus to degenerate, we are, of course, in most instances left to mere conjecture; but there seems little reason to doubt that the principal cause has been war. A people perpetually harassed by predatory hostile incursions, and still more, one compelled to fly their country and take refuge in mountains or forests, or to wander to some distant unoccupied region (and this we know to have been anciently a common occurrence), must of course be likely to sink in point of civilization. They must, amidst a series of painful struggles for mere existence, have their attention drawn off from all other subjects; they must be deprived of the materials and the opportunities for practising many of the arts, till the knowledge of them is lost; and their children must grow up, in each successive generation, more and more uneducated, and disposed to be satisfied with a life approaching to that of the brutes.

“A melancholy picture of the operation of these causes is presented in the kingdom of Abyssinia, which seems to have been for a considerable time verging more and more from a state of comparative civilization towards barbarism, through the incessant hostile incursions of its pagan neighbours, the Galla.”—*Introd. Lect. on Polit. Econ.* pp. 131, 132.

which there is good reason to believe has in many instances ultimately taken place); whilst in more genial climates, where the spontaneous productions of nature were sufficient for the support of mankind, the absence of motives for exertion would lead to the total declension of their debased inhabitants, so that, at length, they would become almost assimilated with the brute creation:

The only conclusion upon this subject to which we are authorized in arriving, appears therefore to be, that instead of the natural tendency of man being towards progressive improvement, he is, of his own nature, inclined to deterioration; and that, so far is he from being able, from the unaided exercise of his natural reason, to make any advance in civilization, the evidence of the history of all countries and of all ages plainly demonstrates, that at no time has improvement taken place, whether in societies or in individuals, without either the assistance of other societies or individuals possessing a higher degree of culture, or the direct instruction of Divine Revelation, the only original source of all wisdom and of all knowledge¹.

¹ In Chap. v. will be found some illustrations of the results of the deterioration in the human race, afforded by the history and present state of the Papuans, the Hottentots, and the Esquimaux.

CHAPTER IV.

Journey from the east to the land of Shinar :—Noah and “ the whole earth ” settled there ;—Situation of the land of Shinar. —The Tower of Babel :—Period and cause of its erection :—Its erection a violation only of the implied command of God ;—Did not occur during Noah’s life.—The Dispersion :—Situation of the land of Shinar peculiarly adapted for it :—Natural tripartite division of the earth.—Theory of the distribution of mankind :—Principles governing it.

THE situation of the mountains of Ararat, and the course thence taken by Noah and his family, having been approximately determined in the preceding pages¹, the events recorded in the first nine verses of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, which have been postponed in consequence of the digression contained in our last chapter, will now form the subject of inquiry.

The first two verses of this short yet distinct and comprehensive account, inform us, that “ the whole earth was of one language and of one speech ; and it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there².” However it may have been attempted to construe these words, it appears to me that only one meaning can reasonably be attached to them, if taken in their

¹ See Chap. ii.

² Gen. xi. 1, 2.

plain and natural sense ; namely, that down to the time of the building of the Tower of Babel, and the subsequent confusion of tongues and dispersion of mankind, the whole human race was “ of one language and of one speech ;” and that so far from any separation among them having taken place in the neighbourhood of Ararat, and a portion only of them having reached the land of Shinar, “ the whole earth”—that is, all the inhabitants of it then in existence,—journeyed together from the east to that country, and dwelt therein. Supposing, for a moment, however, that we did not possess, as a certain guide, the account of the inspired historian, we could, I conceive, come to no other conclusion than that it would be most improbable that an old man and his three sons, after having witnessed so awful a visitation of the Divine vengeance on the human race, should (unless by the express command of the same Almighty Being who had so miraculously preserved them,) at once have separated, and gone different ways on the face of the earth, of which they were the only surviving inhabitants. So far, indeed, from their possessing any desire to disperse, it may be asserted that the feeling of the necessity of union in the rising world must have been so strong, that their only dread would have been, lest by any means they should be separated from each other. We are told, in fact, that the object of mankind in beginning to build the City and Tower of Babel was in order to

prevent their being “scattered abroad upon the “face of the whole earth’;” which simple statement of Scripture, by itself, without comment or explanation, is far more intelligible and consistent, than any of the hypotheses by which it has been attempted to account, in other ways, for that remarkable occurrence in the history of the human race.

It has been shown¹ how the patriarch Noah and his family journeyed from the east, simply by descending the valley of the Euphrates, from the mountains of Ararat, to the point (about the 38th degree of east longitude,) where that mighty river turns nearly at a right angle to the southward, and passes through the chain of Mount Taurus in the neighbourhood of Samosata. The spot to which they were thus brought by following the course of the river,—namely, that part of Mesopotamia which is more immediately at the foot of the mountain chain of Taurus, and to the east of the Euphrates,—may, in the absence of any authority from Scripture for supposing that they subsequently travelled in any other direction, be consequently considered to be that plain in the land of Shinar which became the first fixed residence of the progenitors of the human race.

The period at which the children of men arrived in the land of Shinar is nowhere expressly mentioned in Scripture, nor is it, indeed, stated whether Noah himself ever reached that country. Let us,

¹ Gen. xi. 4.

² page 34.

then, consider what other means we have of coming to some conclusion on these points:—We are told that “Noah began to be an husbandman, and he “planted a vineyard: and he drank of the wine, “and was drunken; and he was uncovered within “his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw “the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without¹.” From this short account two facts may reasonably be inferred. The first is, that this occurrence took place at no great distance of time after the Flood, since it is evident that the three sons of Noah were still residing with their father, and were all present at the time it occurred: the second is, that as at that time Noah had “begun to be an husbandman,” and had “planted “a vineyard,” he must be considered to have already chosen some fixed place of habitation; and since, after he had once been stationary, there could scarcely have existed any sufficient motive for his again becoming migratory, it may, I think, be assumed, that the spot where he thus settled was the country in which mankind are stated to have taken up their first permanent residence, that is, the land of Shinar itself.

As before observed, the only legitimate inference to be drawn from the words of Scripture respecting the building of the Tower of Babel is, that the whole human race were concerned in its erection, and, consequently, that no dispersion of mankind

¹ Gen. ix. 20—23.

or division of the earth amongst them, had taken place, before the time when “the Lord scattered “them abroad upon the face of all the earth¹.” Those commentators and historians, therefore, who, grounding their calculations on the chronology of the Hebrew Text, conceive the earth to have been divided in the time of Peleg, at a period anterior to the Confusion of Tongues and the general dispersion consequent upon it, appear to have no just foundation for their opinion: nor is such an assumption at all necessary, if, instead of following the Hebrew chronology, we adopt that of the Samaritan and Septuagint versions, and fix the birth of Peleg in the 401st year after the Deluge. Neither does the opinion that the dispersion took place, not at the birth of Peleg, but during his subsequent lifetime, appear to be warranted by the statement of Scripture; since in that case the name given him, of פֶּלֶג (Péleg, division,) would not have been more appropriate to him than to any of his contemporaries. If, however, the confusion of tongues and the consequent division of the earth be considered to have occurred at or immediately before the very time of Peleg’s birth, then the propriety of his name (which like all others of those times was significant,) is clearly apparent, “for in his days was the earth “divided².”

According to all the versions of the Scriptures, the death of the patriarch Noah happened in the

¹ Gen. xi. 9.

² Gen. x. 25.

350th year after the Deluge; and as, by the foregoing calculation, the division of the earth did not happen until the time of Peleg's birth, which was fifty-one years afterwards, it follows that the building of the Tower of Babel,—the immediate cause of the Dispersion,—did not take place until after his decease; which result is perfectly in accordance with an inference which may be drawn from another view of this portion of the Sacred History.

Although it is not stated in Scripture that the building of the Tower of Babel was an actual violation of the express commands of the Almighty, yet it is quite clear that it was an offence in His eyes; and if we look to the command given to Noah and his sons to “replenish the earth¹,” we may consider that the building by mankind of a City and a Tower, and the making to themselves a sign or mark, *lest they should be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth*, was, in point of fact, a virtual though not a direct, and probably not even an intentional, violation of the commands of the Deity². Venial, however, as this act may be supposed, in the absence of any express assertion

¹ Gen. ix. 1.

² That the building of the Tower of Babel was not contrary to the *express* commands of the Almighty, may be inferred from the two following circumstances; first, that no such commands are mentioned in the Scriptures; and, secondly, that the act itself is not referred to as if it were an actual crime, nor is any punishment for it inflicted on the actors, their design, which was opposed to the purpose of the Almighty, being merely frustrated.

to the contrary, we can hardly imagine it to have taken place during the life-time of Noah himself. Chosen as he had been by the Almighty, as the person most deserving to be preserved from that destruction which was to overwhelm the whole human race besides, we may surely believe that the righteous Noah, even if not expressly commanded by any positive injunction of God, was still so guided by the Divine influence, as not to have been a party to, or even to have countenanced, any act which might indirectly contravene the intentions of Providence ; and that it could not have taken place during his life-time without his concurrence,—or, rather, against his commands (for he would certainly have forbidden the presumptuous attempt),—may equally be concluded. His controul over his descendants must have been absolute (for in how many characters had he a claim on their reverence and obedience !); and if, for an act of unpremeditated disrespect, Ham was considered deserving of his father's curse, what might not be expected to have been the punishment of an act of open and wilful disobedience and rebellion? There does not, however, appear any ground for inferring that Noah, either by the command of God, or of his own accord, had given any express direction for the allotment and actual division of the earth among his sons and their descendants. Nothing of the kind is related, nor is there any necessity for imagining such a direction to have been given ; for, as the descendants of the patriarch

increased in number, and a larger country became necessary for the supply of their wants, the separation and dispersion of their families must inevitably have ensued. And this dispersion would the more readily have been accomplished upon the death of Noah, which, by destroying the grand bond of union among the three races of mankind,—namely, their common government,—and leaving them under the independent rule of their respective chiefs, would gradually have weakened the connexion at first existing among them, and would, in the course of time, have led to a similar result to that which more speedily followed on the confusion of tongues at Babel. Such may have been the feeling and (under the Divine influence,) the intention of Noah; and such would, undoubtedly, have been the natural course of events, had not the combination amongst the children of men, to prevent their dispersion, rendered it necessary for the Almighty to interpose, and by supernatural means to accomplish His will.

That the Almighty might have caused the Dispersion of Mankind to take place at an earlier period,—even at the moment of the descent from the Ark,—cannot, of course, be denied; but as in all other events His overruling providence and prospective design are apparent, so were they in this particular instance: He having ordained that the dispersion should not take place until the human race had become sufficiently numerous to permit the separation, with mutual security and com-

fort, of the several families of which it was composed; and also, not until they had among them acquired and retained such common knowledge¹; as would serve as a bond of union to them and their posterity, and would clearly show, (as in fact it does, from the resemblances which are to be found even between the most remote and widely-different nations,) that all the world is derived from one parent stock, and that all the nations of the earth are but branches of one people.

On the subject of the Dispersion itself, it is to be remarked, that if the point whence it took place had been situate in the midst of a vast level and regular continent, the parts of which were in every direction connected with and easily accessible from each other, the dispersion, although equally regular and (as it were) complete, in the first instance, would, in a very short time, have become confused and imperfect, owing to the continuity of the country, and the consequent communication with each other, and blending together, of the several races of mankind; which circumstances would have had the effect of delaying in a very considerable degree the distribution of the human species

¹ This argument in no way militates against the view which has been taken in Chap. iii. of the advanced state of civilization of Noah and his sons; for we see in all cases of newly-settled countries, where the inhabitants are thinly scattered, and left individually to their own resources, how rapidly they retrograde from the original state of the society of which they were members in the mother country.

throughout the earth. But the country chosen for the fountain-head of mankind being, as I shall proceed to show, so placed as at once to produce a complete and entire division between the three principal races; and the situations and relative positions of the countries into which they respectively migrated, being also such that they could not, without retracing their steps, become reunited for a very long period of time,—not until, in fact, the disunion and dispersion had become complete;—we cannot have a more convincing proof of the wisdom of Divine Providence, and of the perfect fitness of the means which the Almighty has at all times employed to effect the results which He contemplates and ordains.

In the Map prefixed to this Work, it has been attempted to represent the countries which are more immediately connected with the subject of the present investigation, in the physical state in which they may (with every appearance of truth) be considered to have existed at the time of the Dispersion. It will be seen, by inspecting that Map, that the position which is attributed to the land of Shinar is such as to place it in the centre of a tripartite division of the earth, marked by the strongest natural boundaries.

The Persian Gulf (as extended to the northward, in the way already mentioned¹), on the one side, and the Mediterranean Sea on the other, are the

¹ Pages 19—22.

limits of the first division ; the second is formed by the Mediterranean Sea on the one side, and the Euxine and Caspian Seas on the other ; whilst the third is comprised between the southern extremity of the Caspian Sea and the head of the Persian Gulf.

So totally distinct are these three divisions, and so strongly marked are their boundaries, that it was impossible for the different races of mankind, after having once entered within them, ever again to become united (unless they retraced their steps,) without continuing their journeys until the extremities of these grand divisions of the earth again approached one another. The nearest point of approach is that of the Straits of Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, which, however, is not less than 1000 miles from the focus of division ; and this point would of course only serve to bring together those races which resided immediately on the two sides of the Straits ; the inhabitants of Arabia and India being in other respects (except by means of a communication by sea,) kept perfectly separated and totally distinct from each other. As to the reunion of the two races, who had once been separated by the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea, the one going northward into Europe, and the other southward into Arabia and Africa, it is quite clear that (except by marine communication,) such reunion could never take place until they had reached the Straits of Gibralt-

tar. To overcome the impediments to reunion arising from the third line of separation, it must at least have been necessary, after once entering Europe, to pass round to the north of the Euxine, and to traverse the almost impracticable mountains of Caucasus; and if, as is not at all improbable, before the lowlands of the Don and the Volga were formed, those two rivers flowed into a sea, which was continuous with the present Caspian and Sea of Azof¹, and which extended probably still further eastward, so as to unite with the Sea of Aral, it is apparent that the line of demarcation and division

¹ Although in the time of Herodotus the Caspian was undoubtedly a separate sea or lake (Clio, cciii.), yet it is equally certain that the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of Azof, was very much larger, and consequently approached much nearer to the Caspian than at the present day, since Herodotus distinctly tells us that in extent it almost equalled the Euxine, and that it was called the mother of that sea. (Melp. lxxxvi.). It is inconceivable how the late Major Rennell could have questioned this statement of Herodotus, when he adduces the authorities both of Strabo and Ptolemy as to the fact of the Palus Mæotis having formerly extended much further to the northward and eastward, and also notices the prediction of Polybius (lib. iv. cap. 5.), that this sea would, in time, be filled up; especially as he himself remarks that this operation of filling up had been observed to be going on rapidly, so lately as when the great Russian survey was made, in the year 1773.—See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, pp. 54. and 69. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the existing notions respecting the Geography of the countries surrounding the Palus Mæotis, which are based on the assumption that the dimensions of that sea have not varied since the time of Herodotus, will, under this view, require considerable modification.

in this direction was almost as strong as that between Europe and Africa.

In attributing the peopling of each of these three principal divisions of the earth to one of the sons of Noah, I only follow the opinion generally received. It is with respect to the point whence they started, and the more particular distribution of their descendants, that I have to advance opinions which are at variance with those that have hitherto been entertained, by all interpreters of Scripture and all investigators of ancient history.

The great error of writers on the subject appears to have arisen from their desire to show, how, and by whom, the whole earth was peopled; in endeavouring to do which, they have found it necessary to scatter abroad the descendants of Noah, in a way for which they had no warrant either in Scripture or in reason. The view which I take of the subject is far more confined, and is adopted by me on the following grounds:—

The sacred historian, in his account of the dispersion and first settling of the earth, does not go beyond the third generation of the human race. Now, even assuming that at the period of the Confusion of tongues a decidedly migratory impulse had been given to mankind, so as to have caused them to overrun the earth, as it were by forced marches, (which assumption, however, is I think void of reasonable grounds, and is besides entirely unnecessary,) it can hardly be imagined that, under

any circumstances, mankind should, in so short a space of time, have extended their settlements to any very considerable distance from the central point ; at all events, not to those utmost limits of the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, at which, from some fancied and not unfrequently some forced resemblance of names, their settlements have been attempted to be discovered. But if it be considered, as indeed appears most reasonable, that after the Almighty, by His direct interference, had once broken the bond of union, and caused a general division among mankind to take place, it was only necessary to leave them to be influenced by the increase of population, and other natural impelling causes, in the migrations which they might afterwards make, to cause their ultimate distribution over the whole earth ;—it is apparent that the settlements of mankind in the first ages after the Dispersion, could have been at no great distance from the spot whence their separation had originated. The results to which we shall be led in the course of the present volume will sufficiently demonstrate the truth of this position ; for it will be manifest, from them, that the earliest settlements of the various families of mankind,—that is to say, the original possessions of the several descendants of Noah, whose names have been recorded in the Scriptures as the progenitors of the present human race,—are exclusively confined within the limits of the countries more immediately surrounding the land of Shinar.

In order to arrive at these results, and for the proper understanding and interpretation of the Genealogical, or, as it may more correctly be designated, the Geographical table, contained in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, it is necessary to lay down two principles or canons of distribution, which, if taken together as our guides in the consideration of the primary dispersion of the several races of mankind, and as influencing their subsequent distribution over the face of the globe, will enable us, at once and with comparative ease, to attain a certain and definite knowledge on this hitherto difficult and unsatisfactory subject.

The first of these principles is, That the order in which the names of the different descendants of each of the sons of Noah are arranged in that Geographical table, is not the order of their births, *but that of the relative positions of the countries peopled by them.*

The second principle is, That in the same table the descendants of each of the sons of Noah, and the countries peopled by them, are named by the inspired historian in regular order **מִקְדָּם וְאַחֵר** (*mikkédem vehád achór*), literally, *from before to behind*, but meaning, according to the idiom of the Hebrew language, *from east to west*¹.

¹ "The Hebrews express east, west, north and south, by before, behind, left, and right; according to the situation of a man whose face is turned to the rising sun."—Taylor's *Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. EAST.

Respecting these two principles of distribution, I shall refrain from making any comment,—further than to remark, that neither of them, I believe, has before been enunciated: the results to which we shall be conducted by the simple application of them will, however, I trust, sufficiently demonstrate their accuracy and their importance. I shall now proceed, therefore, to the consideration, upon these principles, of what is professedly the chief object of inquiry in this volume.

CHAPTER V.

Shem, and not Japheth, shown to have been the eldest son of Noah.

—Situation of the possessions of Shem.—His descendants—
Elam—Asshur:—Nineveh founded by Asshur, and not by Nimrod.—The south and east of Asia peopled by the descendants of Elam and Asshur, with part of those of Arphaxad.—Genius and disposition of the aboriginal inhabitants.—Invasion by the Japhthitish Hindoos.—Distinction between the two principal races in southern and eastern Asia.—Shemitish nations and languages:—The Hebrew and Arabic languages not of that class.—Inhabitants of China and the Indo-Chinese countries.—Indian Archipelago.—Papuan.—Theory of the original peopling of the Indian Archipelago.—Corresponding state of degradation of the Papuans of Asia, the Hottentots of Africa, and the Esquimaux of the Arctic Circle.—Process of degradation in the human race.—Black Asiatics with straight hair.—Successive arrival of different Japhthitish and Hamitish races in the Peninsulas and Islands of India.—Peopling of the South Sea Islands and of America.—Remarks on the Shemitish languages.

THE order in which it is proposed to treat of the respective descendants of the sons of Noah, is that in which the names of those three great progenitors of the human species are invariably placed when mentioned together in the Sacred volume¹, and

¹ "And Noah begat Shem, Ham and Japheth." Gen. v. 32.—See also Gen. vi. 10.; vii. 13.; ix. 18.; x. 1. Even in the single instance in which Shem and Japheth alone are mentioned (Gen. ix. 23.), the name of Shem is placed first; and in the blessing also

which, consequently, may be regarded as the order of their births.

Three objections to this arrangement, however, may be urged by those who, with the translators of the Septuagint version, consider that Japheth, and not Shem, was the eldest son of Noah. The first is, that in the tenth chapter of Genesis, the descendants of Japheth are enumerated first, and those of Shem last. I will not attempt to account for the order thus adopted, since I cannot do so to my own satisfaction; but I may at least observe, that no argument can be grounded upon it; for that very chapter commences with the following words: “Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah; *Shem*, Ham and Japheth¹.”

The second objection, which is in fact the principal one, cannot be better given than in the words of Sir Walter Raleigh, in his History of the World². “... It appeareth that *Noah* in the five-hundredth year of his life, begat the first of his three Sons, “*Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the six-hun-

bestowed by Noah on Shem and Japheth (Gen. ix. 26, 27.), the former has precedence over his brother. That the first-born was ordinarily considered to be entitled to precedence in the blessing of his parent, and that importance was attached to the precedence, is evident from the circumstances related in Gen. xxvii. respecting the mode in which Jacob surreptitiously obtained his father's blessing; and also from the fact of the remonstrance made by Joseph, when Jacob blessed Ephraim before Manasseh. Gen. xlviii. 17—20.

¹ Gen. x. 1.

² Book i. ch. viii. sect. 1. p. 76.; edit. of 1677.

“ dreth year (to wit) the hundreth year following,
 “ came the general Floud ; two years after which,
 “ *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602.
 “ of *Noah*’s life, and in the year of *Shem*’s life one
 “ hundred : so as *Shem* was but an hundred years
 “ old, two years after the Floud : and *Noah* begat
 “ his first-born being 500. years old ; and therefore
 “ were *Shem* the elder, he had then been an hundred
 “ years old at the Floud, and in the six hundreth
 “ year of *Noah*’s life, and not two years after.”

This seems, however, to be calculating much closer than we have any reason for imagining to have been the intention of the sacred historian, and closer, indeed, than is allowed by the ordinary mode of computing time among the Jews and other Eastern nations, by whom not merely a part—even the smallest portion—of any stated division of time is counted as the whole, but also both the extreme divisions of any duration of time are reckoned *inclusively*, in cases in which, according to our mode of computation, the one, or even both, would be reckoned *exclusively*. Thus, our Lord was “ *after* “ three days” to rise again¹; which was fulfilled by His resurrection on the morning of the first day of the week², although from the preparation of the passover³, when He was crucified and buried, it was, according to our mode of computation, only the *second* day after. Thus, also, Esther’s directions to

¹ Matth. xxvii. 63. ; Mark viii. 31.

² Mark xvi. 2. ; John xx. 1.

³ John xix. 14. 31. 42.

Mordecai and the Jews in Shushan were, “. . . fast
“ye for me, and neither eat nor drink *three days*,
“*night or day*: I also and my maidens will fast like-
“wise¹:” yet *on the third day*² she went to the king,
and invited him and Haman to the banquet³.

The expression “Shem . . . begat Arphaxad two
“years after the flood⁴,” will therefore mean no-
thing more than that Arphaxad was born at some
period during the course of the second year after
that event; and since the rain or Flood (הַמַּבּוּל
hammabúl) lasted only forty days⁵, whilst Noah and
his sons did not descend from the Ark until eleven
months after it had terminated⁶, we may, accord-
ing to the Eastern mode of computation, consider
the birth of Arphaxad to be correctly stated as
having taken place *two years* after the Flood, even
if he were born at the expiration of one month only
after the descent from the Ark. Hence, as Noah was
in the second month of the six-hundredth year of
his life⁷,—that is to say, he had just completed his
five-hundred-and-ninety-ninth year,—at the time

¹ Esth. iv. 16.

² Esth. v. 1—4.

³ It is on this principle that the Jews computed their kings’
reigns; according to the doctrine of the Talmud, Treatise *Rosh*
Hashshanah: מֶלֶךְ שֶׁעָמַד בְּעֶשְׂרִים וְתִשְׁעָה בְּאֲדָר כִּיּוֹן
שֶׁהִגִּיעַ אֶחָד בְּנִסָּן עֲלָתָהּ לּוֹ שָׁנָה . . . וְיוֹם אֶחָד בְּשָׁנָה
חָשׁוּב שָׁנָה “A king who has been elected on the 29th of Adar
[the last day of the year], on the 1st of Nisan [the first day of
the next year], has completed a year, and commences another
. . . since one day of a year is considered to be a [whole] year.”

⁴ Gen. xi. 10.

⁵ Gen. vii. 12. 17.

⁶ Gen. viii. 14. 18.

⁷ Gen. vii. 11.

when the Flood commenced, he would, at Arphaxad's birth, have been no more than six hundred years and a few months old, instead of six hundred and two, as supposed by Sir Walter Raleigh. So far, therefore, from its being deducible from this statement of Scripture, that Shem was not the eldest son of Noah, it would appear that the direct contrary ought to be inferred, since there could not have been a sufficient interval between the five-hundredth year of Noah's life and the birth of the father of Arphaxad, to allow of the intervention of an elder son.

The third and only remaining objection to the order in which I propose to treat of the descendants of the sons of Noah, arises on the grammatical construction of the words of the text¹, שֵׁם . . . אָחִי יֶפֶת הַגָּדוֹל (*Shem . . . achí Yépheth haggadól*), which, on the authority of the Septuagint version, where it is so translated, is considered to mean, "Shem, . . . the brother of Japheth the elder." In expressing my dissent from this translation, I am far from singular, as the translators of the Vulgate and many other versions consider the true meaning of the passage to be "Shem, . . . the eldest brother of Japheth." It must be confessed, that as the Hebrew language does not admit of degrees of comparison, nor (in the ordinary sense of the term) of distinction of case,—the literal meaning of the adjective הַגָּדוֹל (*haggadól*) being simply *the great*, or, as it must be understood in the present instance,

¹ Gen. x. 21.

MAJOR *natu*,—*the earlier born*,—it is no easy task to determine with which of the two substantives, “brother” and “Japheth,” the adjective ought to agree; especially as there is nothing in the immediate context to aid the construction. It would appear, however, that the genius of the Hebrew language requires, that where an adjective follows two substantives in the state of construction, it should agree with the former, as in the following instance: מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגְּדֹל (maḥaséh Yehováh haggadol’), “the great acts of Jehovah,” and not “the acts of the great Jehovah.”

But the most certain guide by which we may ascertain the real meaning of the text in question will be afforded by the investigation of other passages in the Sacred writings, which possess the same form, and in which degrees of relationship are mentioned. The first example that I shall adduce is the text¹ in which Othniel is called בֶּן־קִנָּז אָחִי כָלֵב הַקָּטָן (ben-Kendz achí Caléb haccatón), where, taking the words simply according to their order, their literal translation would be “the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, the younger,” leaving it ambiguous whether Othniel or his father Kenaz were the brother of Caleb, and also whether Caleb were the elder or the younger brother. But, fortunately, both these points can be cleared up by means of other texts, and consequently, the proper construction of the passage may be determined. If Oth-

¹ Deut. xi. 7.

² Judg. i. 13.

niel had been the brother of Caleb, Kenaz must have been the father of the latter as well as of the former; but we are told¹ that Caleb was the son of Jephunneh, so that we are thus far right, in reading "Othniel, the son of Kenaz, [which latter was] the brother of Caleb." Secondly, Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, is mentioned² as having been one of the spies who were sent to search the land of Canaan, of whom it is said, that they were chosen "of every tribe of their fathers . . . every one a ruler among them," and all of them "heads of the children of Israel;" whence it may not unreasonably be inferred that he was the eldest son of his father; from which it follows, that it was not Caleb but Kenaz to whom, in the passage in question, the designation of "the younger brother" is intended to apply. The whole passage, therefore, will have to be read, "Othniel, the son of Kenaz, [who was] Caleb's younger brother," as it is given, in fact, in our authorized Version. But the following text, of itself, is conclusive: יוֹתָם בֶּן־יִרְבָּעַל הַקָּטָן (*Yothám ben-Yerubbáhal haccatón*³), which signifies, literally, "Jotham, the son of Jerubbaal, the young," but of which, as the subject of the passage in which it occurs is "the sons of Jerubbaal," of whom Jotham was one, the only construction must be, "Jotham, the youngest son of Jerubbaal," as it is, in fact, translated. From hence, and from the considera-

¹ Josh. xv. 13.; and many other passages.

² Numb. xiii. 6.

³ Numb. xiii. 2, 3.

⁴ Judg. ix. 5.

tion of the passage in Judges, the disputed text in Genesis should in like manner be translated, "Shem, " the eldest brother of Japheth." The final result of this inquiry therefore is, that we are compelled, under every view of the case, to consider Shem, and not Japheth, to have been the eldest son of Noah.

This conclusion is strengthened (if, indeed, further corroboration be necessary,) by the situation of the country which, on reference to the Map prefixed to this volume, will be seen to have been occupied by Shem and his descendants, it being that in which Noah himself resided ; whilst the possessions of Ham and Japheth, Shem's younger brothers, were situated, as they would naturally be imagined to have been, on either side of the paternal seat.

The children of Shem were " Elam, and Asshur " and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram¹." The order in which the names of these sons of Shem are arranged is a remarkable exemplification of the first principle governing the dispersion of mankind, mentioned in page 78 ; Arphaxad, who was the eldest son of Shem², not being named according to his seniority, but in conformity with the relative positions of the respective countries peopled by him and his brothers : and it is worthy of remark, further, that in the same manner as the possessions of Shem, Noah's eldest son, were si-

¹ Gen. x. 22.

² Gen. xi. 10.

tuates between those of his younger brothers, Ham and Japheth, so those of Arphaxad were placed in the midst of those of his brothers, Elam and Asshur on the one side, and Lud and Aram on the other. Agreeably to the second principle of distribution, the order of the relative positions of the countries which were the first settlements of the sons of Shem, should be from east to west ; and, accordingly, it is in that direction that we find them to have been placed.

No decisive particulars are given in the Bible of the original possessions of Elam ; but from the position of the country to which his name subsequently became attached, their general direction may without difficulty be determined¹.

Of Asshur it is said, according to our authorized Translation, “ Out of that land [Shinar] went forth “ Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah : the same is a great city*.” The marginal reading, however, is as follows : “ He [Nimrod] “ went out into Assyria ;”—meaning that Nimrod was the founder, not only of Babylon and the other cities, which in the preceding verse he is stated to have built within the land of Shinar, but also of Nineveh, and the other cities erected after the

¹ See especially Dan. viii. 2., comp. with Neh. i. 1., Esth. i. 2. —I shall, in a subsequent chapter, have occasion to advert to the particular geography of this and the neighbouring countries.

² Gen. x. 11, 12.

“going forth.” This reading has many advocates; but the proper grammatical construction of the words of the text, (יָצָא אֲשׁוּר) *yatzá Asshúr* is, “went forth Asshur;” the word *Asshur* (whether meaning the son of Shem, or his descendants,) being the nominative, or subject of the verb. I infer, therefore, that it was Asshur, and not Nimrod, who went forth out of the land of Shinar, from whence, by following the course of the Tigris, he and his descendants would not have been long in arriving at the country in which Nineveh was situate, and which subsequently became the seat of the Assyrian empire.

From the deficiency of the information afforded by the Scriptures respecting the precise situations of the immediate settlements of the descendants of Elam and Asshur, it is not to be expected that we should derive any knowledge from them respecting the regions subsequently possessed by those people; but viewing the strong line of demarcation and separation presented by the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, which has already been adverted to in page 74, the principles upon which this investigation is conducted lead us, in a direct manner, to the following conclusion: namely, that the whole of that portion of the continent of Asia which is situated eastward of the Tigris, and to the south of the vast mountain chain which traverses that continent between the 30th and 40th degrees of North latitude, was originally peopled by the descendants

of Elam and Asshur, aided by those descendants of Arphaxad, whose possessions lay next adjoining them to the westward. Enjoying here a climate, which, while it precluded great exertion, at the same time rendered such exertion unnecessary for the acquisition of food or of clothing,—the only absolute necessities of life,—and of which the production of the listless and apathetical disposition peculiar to the inhabitants of the East, would, after a short lapse of time, be the consequence, this people, constituting the main body of the children of Shem, would rapidly have increased in numbers. From the marked want of energy also, and the submission to circumstances, which characterize a people of this genius, the great depopulator War must have been comparatively unknown among them; and we can thus understand how that dense population may in time have been produced which overspread the whole of India, Tibet, the Indo-Chinese countries, and China itself, and which, passing over into the islands of the Indian Archipelago and of the South Sea, gave them their aboriginal inhabitants.

But the character which indisposed these nations for the energetic activity of war, and which had thus proved a main cause of their redundant population, would necessarily have the effect also of rendering them an easy prey to invaders who possessed more hardy habits and a more warlike disposition. Accordingly, the Hindoo historical

legends, as M. Julius Klaproth observes, “ certainly indicate conquerors coming from the north, “ who kept continually drawing [driving?] the “ old and apparently negro race of inhabitants of “ the peninsula Intra Gangem towards the South, “ and at last extirpated them on the Island of Ceylon¹.”

I am in some measure anticipating what I shall have occasion to enter into more fully, when treating of the descendants of Japheth ; but it being so intimately connected with the present portion of my subject, I may be allowed in this place, to suggest, that the hardy Japhthitish inhabitants of Armenia and Georgia, pent up as they were towards the north by the Caucasus and by the Euxine and Caspian Seas, found, at an early period, their ready way into the north of Persia, and thence to India, where they had no difficulty in displacing the original Shemitish inhabitants, or rather, perhaps, in subjugating and absorbing them into themselves,—in the same manner as the Saxons may be considered to have subdued, and at length identified with themselves, the Britons and Roman-Britons whom they found in possession of England at the period of their arrival.

These northern Japhthitish invaders, from their continuing, during so many ages, subject to the same local influences as the original inhabitants, have become greatly assimilated to their predeces-

¹ *Essay on the Authority of the Asiatic Historians*, as translated in the *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 216.

sors. Yet even in those cases in which the physical structure and the outward appearance, together with the manners and habits of both people, are thus in a great measure alike, we have incontrovertible proof of the existence of two distinct races of mankind in eastern and south-eastern Asia. The genius and structure of the Sanscrit, the predominant language, under various modifications, of the Hindoo peninsula, are totally different from those of the Chinese and other languages of that class; and thus evince the distinct origin of the two divisions of the human species to which they respectively belong.

To all those nations of the east and south-east of Asia, whose languages show them to be of a totally different origin from the Japhthitish Hindoos, and who also are as clearly distinct from the Japhthitish Tartar tribes which have in later times encroached upon them on the north-east, I attribute, therefore, a Shemitish origin; and it is, probably, they alone who may be considered as now representing, in Asia, the eldest son of Noah¹.

Under these views, therefore, the Shemitish de-

¹ The languages of the Jews, Arabians, and other nations of similar character, forming the so-called Semitic or Shemitish family of languages, are, as their name implies, generally supposed to be derived from Shem. I shall attempt to show, however, in a subsequent chapter, that that name is improperly applied to those languages, which ought, I conceive, to be classed among those spoken by the descendants of Ham; and which, according to the nomenclature which I shall propose, form the Mitzritish family of the Hamitish division of languages. Yet as the pater-

scent of the inhabitants of Tibet, China, and the countries to the west of the latter, in which cognate languages are used, is clearly distinguishable: so within the greater Indian peninsula, the various dialects there made use of, of which the origin is essentially different from that of the Sanscrit, plainly demonstrate that the filiation of the people speaking them is totally distinct from that of the Japhthitish Hindoos.

In like manner, in the islands of the Indian Archipelago and in Australia, we find a people (who may be designated as the black Asiatics with *straight* hair), to whom I consider a Shemitish origin should also be attributed; whilst we observe, conjointly with them, (except perhaps in Australia,) an exotic race, whose various dialects of Sanscrit derivation show them to be of Japhthitish extraction¹. The fact, however, must not be lost sight of, that there

nal descent of all these people is derived from the eldest son of Noah, through their great progenitor Abraham, their lineage entitles them, so far as their history is connected with the subject of the present work, to be considered, in their proper genealogical order, among the descendants of Shem.

¹ The following remarks of the late Sir T. Stamford Raffles are entirely confirmatory of the views above taken of this subject: "One original language seems, in a very remote period, to have pervaded the whole Archipelago, and to have spread (perhaps with the population) towards Madagascar on the one side, and to the islands in the South Sea on the other; but in the proportion that we find any of these tribes more highly advanced in the arts of civilized life than others, in nearly the same proportion do we find the language enriched by a correspond-

exists at the same time within the Indian Archipelago, the southern extremity of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and also in Tasmania or Van Diemen's Land, a third race of people, namely, the Papuans or Asiatic negroes, having *woolly* hair, who, whilst they are clearly not derivable from the Japhthitish race, would seem at first sight to be almost equally dissimilar from the Shemitish black Asiatics with *straight* hair. These negroes of Asia have by many physiologists and historians (MM. Cuvier and Malte-Brun among the number,) been considered to be of the same race as the negroes of the African continent, and to be, in fact, derived from that source. I need scarcely say, that according to the view taken by me of the first peopling of the southern and south-eastern portion of the Asiatic continent, these people, as being an aboriginal race, must, in an equal degree with the black Asiatics distinguished from them by having straight hair, who are now nearly co-extensive with them in the same countries, have a Shemitish origin attributed to them. Mr. Brayley, jun., who has investigated this subject of the origin of the Papuans in a very interesting paper, published in the *Philosophical Magazine*¹, arrives at the conclusion, that these two races, conjointly, were the aborigines of the greater portion of southern and south-eastern Asia,

“ing accession of Sanscrit terms, directing us, at once, to the “source whence civilization flowed towards these regions.”—*History of Java*, 4to, 1817, vol. i. pp. 368, 369.

¹ Lond. and Edinb. Phil. Mag., vol. i. p. 466.

and that "they were driven from the Peninsulas, as well as the great islands of India, or compelled to inhabit the interior fastnesses only of those countries, . . . by the lineal though remote ancestors of the present Hindus and worshipers of Buddha." This opinion, I conceive, is on the whole correct ; but Mr. Brayley does not appear to have considered the anomaly involved in his hypothesis ; in which it is manifestly implied that two separate and decidedly distinct races were, *contemporaneously*, the aboriginal peoplers of the same countries.

The only conclusion on the subject which is warranted by the premises, appears to me to be as follows : That the Papuans, or Asiatic negroes, of the present day, are the degenerate representatives of the earliest Shemitish settlers of the southern and south-eastern portions of the Asiatic Continent and of the Indian Archipelago ; who, in the first ages after the Flood, spread themselves over those regions, at that period totally uninhabited : and that, as the disintegration of society progressively took place, the consequences inevitably following the settling of new countries (although varying in amount according to circumstances,) ensued ; that is to say, the neglect of moral and intellectual culture allowed the natural disposition and tendency of man to obtain an undue and overwhelming preponderance¹ ; which acting on the effects produced by the physical causes of climate and

¹ See the preceding remarks (in Chap. iii. pp. 58—63.) on the natural tendency of the human race to deterioration.

circumstances, and being again reacted upon by them, at length reduced these people to the state of moral and physical degradation in which they now exist.

The action of corresponding causes, both moral and physical, upon a distinct race of people, the Hamitic inhabitants of Africa, has produced precisely analogous results, as manifested in the Hottentots of that continent; so that, (to use Mr. Brayley's words, in the paper just referred to,) "in these two sets of people, forming the zero points, as it were, of their respective races, we behold the human species, though derived from different stocks, and thus deviating from the type by different routes, in *parallel* extreme states of degradation, *equally* distant, that is, from the type of the species, or the summit of the scale of human perfection¹."

Within the Arctic Circle we see a corresponding result, arising from the action of the same moral causes, upon a people belonging to the Japhthitish portion of mankind²; though, from the operation of different physical causes, the physical conforma-

¹ In quoting these observations of Mr. Brayley, I must remark, in justice to myself, that I have arrived at my conclusions independently of them, and by an entirely different process of reasoning; though, in equal justice to that gentleman, I feel myself bound to acknowledge his anterior right to those ideas on the subject which are common to us both.

² The savage inhabitants of the Tierra del Fuego, at the southern extremity of the continent of America, may be adduced as affording another example of the moral and physical degradation of the human race.

tion and appearance of its savage inhabitants does not entirely coincide with those of the Shemitish Papuans or the Hamitish Hottentots¹.

¹ With whatever limitations it may be expedient, in the present state of natural knowledge, to receive the details of the science of Phrenology, it appears to be certain that its general principles are founded in truth. The variation in the form of the cranium, consequent upon the changes in the moral and intellectual state of mankind, cannot be denied; neither can the conclusion that from thence (subject, no doubt, to modifications produced by physical causes,) are derived the characteristic and distinguishing marks of different nations; and this independently of their lineage, as we see so forcibly exemplified in two of the three savage races noticed above, if not indeed in all three.

In connexion with the subject of the variations in the conformation of the human species, it may be remarked, that, although it is quite certain that the proximate type from which all the different races of mankind have been derived, can be no other than the patriarch Noah, yet it is not thence to be inferred that *he* was the original "type of the species, or the summit of the scale of human perfection." On the contrary, we know him to have been one of the people of whom it is said, "And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth" (Gen. vi. 12.): and as we see in the present day the strong national resemblance between natives of the same country, which in most cases enables us at once to identify them, however great may be the difference between their respective moral and intellectual characters as individuals; so would Noah, although he was probably much superior to his contemporaries, have borne the same general distinguishing marks, and have been of the same general national character with the rest of mankind his countrymen, who, from the consequences of their moral degradation alone, must have been far removed, even in physical character and appearance, from the man whom God created "in his own image". Gen. i. 27.

Of a similar Shemitish origin with the Papuans, but at a later (and probably a much later) date, the second race of people now inhabiting the same countries with them, that is, the black Asiatics with straight hair, advanced upon the aboriginal inhabitants, whom they subdued and drove before them, confining them to the interior and mountainous parts of the countries, and in many cases entirely extirpating them. Upon this latter race the same moral and physical causes have acted as upon the former, but in a much inferior degree. The effects on them of climate, though exerted during a shorter period than on the Papuans, are yet distinctly visible in their colour; but those changes in conformation which may be considered as arising principally from moral causes, have been of a much lower degree of intensity, owing, first, to the shorter period during which those causes have operated; and secondly, to the fact of these countries being already in the possession of the previous race of Papuans, which circumstance, by presenting obstacles to their advance, prevented that rapid disintegration of society and its accompanying mental deterioration, to which the first settlers had been subjected. Nor is it improbable that the first Shemitish race (that is, the people who are now represented by the Papuans,) reached Malacca, and from thence the Indian Archipelago, directly from the north-west, and that meeting with no check to the otherwise inevitable deterioration of human nature,

they thus, as they advanced towards the south, descended in one uninterrupted progression to that state in which they are now found, but one remove, apparently, above that of the brute creation ; whilst the second race, having in the first instance proceeded in an eastward course through Tibet and China, and having for a time become stationary, or probably even made some retrograde steps on the scale of moral and intellectual degradation which they were descending,—thus recovering for a time a portion of their former comparative civilization,—advanced more slowly, and consequently with a more gradual change in their social state, upon their more degraded predecessors, in those countries where the two races now coexist. The progress into these countries at a subsequent period of the Japhthitish Hindoo race, has been already alluded to ; and at a more recent date the Mahomedan Arabians, of Hamitish origin, have carried into Malacca and the neighbouring islands their religion and language, together with that amount of civilization which it was in their power to impart. In like manner, but all within the period of modern history, has the Indian peninsula been subjected to the successive inroads of the Japhthitish Ghiznians, Patans and Moguls, all of whom, however, sink into insignificance when compared with the last mighty conquerors of this splendid country,—the Japhthitish Britons¹.

¹ The progress of successive *waves* of population is perceptible also in the history of the continent of Europe, where the abori-

Comprised also within the Shemitish division of mankind are the interesting natives of the numerous islands scattered over the Pacific Ocean, who are generally supposed, at the present day, to be derived from the Indian Archipelago. The Rev. Mr. Ellis, however, who has discussed, at some length, the origin of this people¹, may be considered to differ from this supposition, and as being more willing to adopt the theory that they were brought from the east by the trade-winds prevailing within the Tropics. The opinion which Mr. Ellis seems to favour² is, either that “ some of
 “ the tribes who originally passed from Asia, along
 “ the Kurile or Aleutian Islands, across Behring’s
 “ straits, to America, left part of their number,
 “ who were the progenitors of the present race in-
 “ habiting those islands ; and that they, at some
 “ subsequent period, either attempting to follow
 “ the tide of emigration to the east, or steering to
 ginal inhabitants (who may be considered as represented by the Celts,) have been followed by successive irruptions of Goths, of Huns, and innumerable other nations, (differing in character among themselves, but all agreeing in one point,—that of being of Japhthitish extraction,) each of whom has in turn subdued some, at least, of its predecessors, and obtained a footing in their possessions. The Osmanis of the fifteenth century are the last of these invaders, unless, indeed, the Russians of the present day may not be considered in a similar light with those races which preceded them in their advance from the same quarter into Europe.

¹ Polynesian Researches, vol. i.: London, 1831. pp. 109—127.

² pp. 121, 122.

“ the south, were by the north-east trade-winds
 “ driven to the Sandwich Islands, whence they pro-
 “ ceeded to the southern groups;” or else, that
 those of the same Asiatic people “ who had tra-
 “ versed the north-west coast of America, sailed
 “ either from California or Mexico across the Pa-
 “ cific, under the favouring influence of the regular
 “ easterly winds, peopled Easter Island, and con-
 “ tinued under the steady easterly or trade-winds
 “ advancing westward till they met the tide of emi-
 “ gration flowing from the larger groups or islands,
 “ in which the Malays form the majority of the
 “ population.” This opinion, however, must be re-
 garded as untenable; since,—independently of the
 resemblance which exists between the inhabitants
 of the South Sea Islands and the black straight-
 haired natives of the Indian Archipelago and of
 Australia, which indubitably establishes their com-
 mon origin, and independently also of the manifest
 want of affinity between these people and the inha-
 bitants of the extreme north of Asia and north-west
 of America,—the principles enunciated in the third
 chapter of this Work with respect to the progress
 of degradation in the human species, lead to the
 conclusion, that a partially civilized race, like the
 Shemitish inhabitants of Mexico and of the South
 Sea Islands, cannot possibly have originated from
 one of a degree of cultivation so greatly inferior as
 the Japhthitish people who are found within the
 Arctic Circle.

The hypothesis, however, may not unreasonably be advanced, that the Shemitish people,—of whom the Chinese are at the present day the representatives, and from whom I consider the black Asiatics with straight hair to have sprung,—passed from the eastern coast of Asia, at no great distance northward of the Tropic, to the Ladrone and Sandwich Islands, and even, further eastward, to the coasts of America; and that subsequently they were carried by the winds, in the manner suggested by Mr. Ellis, (whether from the coasts of America or from any intermediate point in their progress eastward, may perhaps not be determinable, nor does it indeed appear to be very material,) to the southern islands of Polynesia, and to the Indian Archipelago and Malacca. The arguments which I have employed in pages 98, 99, with respect to the peopling of these latter countries, are entirely in accordance with the hypothesis thus proposed.

The peopling of America, in the regular course, would naturally follow here; but I have preferred to reserve this subject for consideration in a subsequent chapter, for the reasons which will there be given.

Separated as the different races composing the great Shemitish family have thus for ages been, it cannot be expected that the resemblance between their languages should in all cases be obvious. The history of the so-called Indo-European family of

languages (a portion only, it is to be observed, of those spoken by the descendants of Japheth,) and the extraordinary result which has at length been arrived at, after the thorough investigation to which they have been subjected, affords, however, an instructive caution against pronouncing a decided opinion on a subject of so much difficulty and uncertainty, upon any but the fullest and most satisfactory evidence ; and it ought more especially to preserve us from any hasty determination as to the positive non-resemblance of languages, however dissimilar, at first sight, they may appear to be. Notwithstanding the labours of so many truly learned men, who, during a considerable period, had devoted their whole energies to the study and comparison of these languages, it is only within the last few years that the startling conclusion has been established, that they are—Celtic and Gothic, the total dissimilarity of which had been so warmly advocated,—Russian and Latin, between which it would have been considered almost madness to attempt to trace a resemblance,—Greek, Persian and Sanscrit, the language of the *immortals*, and those of the *barbarians*,—all deducible from one source, and, as it were, merely dialects of one parent language : whilst, to perfect the revolution of opinion that has thus taken place, the Greek and Latin languages, which, at one time, it would have amounted almost to a heresy to imagine not to be derived from the Hebrew, are now shown to be of a totally different stock, and to have scarcely anything in com-

mon with that language, excepting some words which have been introduced by Hamitish colonists from Phœnicia and Egypt.

It is probably more than we have any right to expect, that the various languages of Shemitish origin should ever be subjected to so elaborate an investigation, as that which the Japhthitish languages have received from the numerous eminently learned *natives* of many of the countries of which the latter are the vernacular dialects, who have so worthily devoted their talents to the consideration of their mother tongues, and of those of cognate origin with them ; yet, since the existence of the mighty empire of the British in India, and the relations with the Further East which the European nations (our own country more especially) have of late years acquired, have rendered necessary the cultivation of the Asiatic languages ; and since the philological researches of the present day are conducted upon a method so comprehensive and so philosophical, we have still good reason to hope that our acquaintance with the Shemitish languages, even if it should never arrive at a degree of intimacy equal to that which is possessed with the Indo-European, may yet, ere long, enable us to trace out that general resemblance, of structure at least, if not of form, which ought to be found to exist among the languages of all the various nations whose origin is derivable from the same parent stock, namely, the patriarch Shem.

CHAPTER VI.

Particular history of the descendants of Shem continued.—Arphaxad, his possessions and descendants.—Land of the Casdim or Chaldees.—Ur.—Consideration of the Call of Abraham.—Joktan and his descendants :—Land of Ophir and Havilah at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The opinion advanced that the Book of Genesis was written anterior to the time of Moses ;—Grounds of this opinion :—The character of Genesis as an inspired work not affected by the conclusion :—Its consequences.

Descendants of Shem resumed.—Lud.—Aram.—Padan Aram, or Aram Naharaim, erroneously supposed to be Mesopotamia :—Meaning of the expression “Naharaim” :—Proofs that that country was not beyond the Euphrates :—Its general locality determined :—Eliezer of Damascus ;—Jacob’s flight from Padan Aram to Gilead ;—Examination of the expression “a seven days’ journey” ;—The situation of Padan Aram probably in the neighbourhood of Damascus :—Suggestion also that El Ledja may be Padan Aram :—The country of Balaam and Chushanrishathaim.—The river crossed by Jacob not the Euphrates, but the Jordan :—This river formed of two streams, the Mandour, and the Jordan of the present day ;—The Mandour probably the Jordan which was crossed by Jacob.—Possessions of the descendants of Aram.—Uz.

I NOW return from the unavoidable digression in the preceding chapter, to the consideration of the immediate descendants of Shem.

Of these, the next to Elam and Asshur, in the order of their countries, is Arphaxad, who is thus named the third, although, as we have already

seen¹, he was the first in the order of birth. Of his family we are told²—“And Arphaxad begat Salah; and Salah begat Eber. And unto Eber were born two sons: the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother’s name was Joktan.”

It has been stated that the original possessions of Arphaxad and his descendants may be considered to have been situate where his father Shem, and before him Noah also, had resided; that is, in the north-western part of Mesopotamia. From hence, as their numbers increased, they extended themselves southward and eastward, along the valley of the river Al Huali or Hermas; which, as Ham and his descendants had already monopolized the whole of the south, was the only road left open to them without at once encroaching on the territories of their neighbours. It is mentioned in Scripture that Arphaxad had other descendants, besides those whose names are recorded. In the absence, however, of further information respecting them, we must proceed in the distribution of the earth among those whose names are mentioned, in the same manner as if they alone had existed. We can at the best expect to arrive at an approximation only to the positions of the countries settled by the different descendants of Noah; and probably, therefore, we shall not be further from the truth when assigning the locations of the children of Arphaxad,

¹ Page 87.

² Gen. x. 24, 25.

than in determining the allotments of the other postdiluvian progenitors of the human race whose territorial history we have to consider.

Agreeably to the principle upon which it has been assumed that Shem remained on the same spot with his father Noah, and that Arphaxad followed his example, so may we assume Salah and Eber also to have done; or, if they moved at all, their removal could only have been in a south-eastward direction, and probably, in the first instance, to no great distance from their original settlement.

Of the sons of Eber,—Peleg and Joktan, the former and his descendants in the right line would in like manner have remained on, or immediately about, the spot which had been occupied by their ancestors; whilst Joktan and his sons would, as before mentioned, have followed downward the course of the river Al Huali.

The country thus peopled by the descendants of Arphaxad was in Abraham's time known by the name of the land of the Chaldees, כַּשְׁדִּים (*Casdim*), which name (as writers have suggested,) is probably nothing more than a contraction of the patronymic אֲרַפְכַּשְׁדִּים (*Arphacsdim*), that is, the children or descendants of Arphaxad. In the country of the Arphaxadites or Casdim, we have, accordingly, to seek for the birthplace of Abraham, who was the lineal descendant of Peleg; and if the meaning of the Hebrew word אֱוֵר (*Ur*) be the same as that of

the Arabic ^{سوف} *أور* 'the north', then may *Ur Casdim*, or *Ur of the Chaldees*, mean simply the northern portion of the possessions of the children of Arphaxad; which will precisely answer to the locality attributed by me to the original settlements of this patriarch and his descendants in the right line².

It was from this country of the Arphaxadites, Casdim or Chaldees, that Abraham was called by the Almighty, as recorded in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Genesis. The usually received opinion with respect to the cause of Abraham's being thus commanded to leave his native place, is, that in his time his countrymen were far removed from the true faith, and that for the purpose of withdrawing him from the contamination of this idolatrous and wicked people, and of preserving in purity the worship of Jehovah (of which from the first he is supposed to have been the possessor), he, under the Divine direction, removed first to Haran, and afterwards into the land of Canaan.

¹ See Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon, *art.* אֲרֶפְחָד. It may be proper to notice here, that the American edition of Gesenius, by Gibbs, as reprinted in London, 1832, in octavo, is uniformly referred to in the present Work.

² Under this view, it may be added that an intelligible reason may be given for the particular mention made of the cities founded by Nimrod and Asshur (*Gen.* x. 10—12.); namely, that as they were situate in the immediate vicinity of Abraham's birthplace, they became, through him, known to his descendants; and thus the memorial of them was preserved, when most probably all actual knowledge of them had been lost.

A widely different opinion, however, would seem to be deducible from the Scriptures themselves, since, from the words of Joshua to the Israelites¹, —“ Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the “ flood [Jordan] in old time, even Terah, the father “ of Abraham, and the father of Nachor: and they “ served other gods.”—It would appear that, after the first removal from Ur to Haran, the family of Abraham (and not improbably even the patriarch himself until the knowledge of the true God was revealed to him,) continued to be idolaters. Indeed, from the fact of Rachel’s stealing her father’s *teraphim* or images², it is evident that, even if we consider Terah and his family to have had communicated to them the knowledge of the true God, they must speedily have relapsed into their former state of idolatry; and there is also reason to imagine that Jacob himself, and his family, had so far departed from the worship of Jehovah as to require a recall to their duty³: upon which, and not before, Jacob ordered “ his household, and all that were “ with him, to put away the strange gods that “ were among them⁴.”

Whatever, in fact, may have been the inscrutable motives of the Almighty for selecting Abraham as he in whom and in whose seed “ all the nations “ of the earth should be blessed⁵,” the immediate

¹ Josh. xxiv. 2.

² Gen. xxxi. 19.

³ Gen. xxxv. 1.

⁴ ver. 2.

⁵ Gen. xviii. 18.; Acts iii. 25.

cause for directing his removal into the land of Canaan, certainly could not have been merely for the purpose of withdrawing him and his family from the neighbourhood of idolatry and sin; for we know that, even in his time, the iniquity of a portion of the people of the land into which he removed and in which he became a sojourner, was such¹ as to bring down upon them the most signal mark of the Divine displeasure recorded in Scripture, with the exception of the Universal Deluge; whilst the sins of the Canaanites, in the course of a few generations only, increased to such an extent as to occasion God's command to the Israelites respecting them to be couched in this terrible language:—
 "Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth:
 "but thou shalt utterly destroy them;" for which the reason given was, "that they teach you not to
 "do after all their abominations, which they have
 "done unto their gods; so should ye sin against
 "the LORD your God²."

Arguing from analogous instances in the Scriptures, in which we find the Almighty visiting the sins of a nation with temporal calamities, it may not unreasonably be considered that Abraham's countrymen, the Casdim, had in his time (as, probably, most if not all the other races of mankind had done,) departed so far from the true religion as to render them at that period the particular objects of the Divine vengeance. I therefore offer the opinion,

¹ Gen. xviii. 20—32.

² Deut. xx. 16—18.

that the instruments made use of by the Almighty to punish the Chaldees, were the Japhthitish inhabitants of the country to the north¹; and that it was to prevent their being subjected to the consequences of the invasion of these people, that Abraham and his family were called out of the land of the Chaldees; in the same manner as Lot was shortly afterwards directed to quit Sodom² when that city was on the eve of destruction; and as the Jews themselves, at a much later period of their national history, were called out of Babylon, when the Medes, the inhabitants of the same north country, were on the point of being made the instruments of Divine wrath against that devoted city³. So, likewise, with the same regard for their temporal safety, the Jews, until the time of their captivity was accomplished, and the hour of the destruction of Babylon had arrived, were commanded to remain in that city, and “in the peace thereof to have peace⁴;” and the remnant of the people that was left in their native country Judea was directed to continue there, and not to go down into Mitzraim⁵, if they wished to

¹ The advance from the north of these people has been already adverted to in Chap. v.; and the subject will be considered more particularly when we come to treat of the descendants of Japheth.

² Gen. xix. 15.

³ Isa. xlviii. 20.; Jer. l. 8.

⁴ Jer. xxix. 7.

⁵ As has been remarked in page 7, the country designated in the Hebrew Scriptures by the name of מִצְרַיִם (*Mitzráim*) has

avoid the destruction foretold against that country¹.

Returning once more to the consideration of the Scriptural account of the descendants of Arphaxad, we read that "Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, " and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah, and Hadoram, and " Uzal, and Diklah, and Obal, and Abimael, and " Sheba, and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all " these were the sons of Joktan. And their dwell- " ing was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar " a mount of the east²."

I am aware that by the traditions of the Arabians, as well as of the Jews, supported, I believe, by the opinions of all commentators, the possessions of the sons of Joktan are placed within the peninsula of Arabia; and much ingenuity has been shown in tracing resemblances between their re-

been improperly considered to be represented by the Egypt of the Ptolemies and of the present day; and that name has accordingly been translated *Egypt* in the authorized and all other versions. This subject will be discussed in its proper order amongst the countries peopled by the descendants of Ham; and it will be sufficient merely to state at present, that in making use of the word *Mitzraim*, I intend it to apply to the country situate immediately to the eastward of Lower Egypt, and not to Egypt itself. The reader will at the same time bear in mind, that wherever the word *Mitzraim* occurs in my citations from the Scriptures, he will find Egypt, (as just stated,) in his Bible; so that whatever may appear to him, in the Old Testament, to be predicated of Egypt, relates, in fact, to the true country of *Mitzraim*, as thus defined by me.

¹ Jer. xlii., xliii., xliv., *passim*.

² Gen. x. 26—30.

spective names and those of places in that country¹: but notwithstanding these authorities, I shall not hesitate to mark out the countries inhabited by them according to the principle of distribution proposed by me; since, if the positions of the settlements of the other descendants of Shem be rightly laid down, it cannot be supposed that the possessions of the sons of Joktan should alone be so widely apart from those of the rest of their brethren.

The river Al Huali or Hermas, towards the source of which lay the original possessions of the Chaldees, runs, at the present day, in a direction towards the west, so as to unite with the Khabour; though it is considered that in former times it had an eastward course, and joined the Tigris². The shifting of the channel of this river is a corroboration of the argument in a former chapter³ respecting the alluvial formation of the plain country between the Tigris and Euphrates; and there appears, also, good reason for the conclusion, that at the time when the extent northward of the Persian Gulf was much greater than it is at present, and before the great accumulations of the detritus carried down by the two rivers which have thus encroached upon it had taken place, the river Al Huali had its separate

¹ See, particularly, on this subject, *The Modern Traveller: 'Arabia,'* p. 23.

² See Rennell's *Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand;* London 1816, p. 102.

³ Pages 19—22.

course to the sea, in like manner as the Tigris and Euphrates themselves had at a more recent date¹.

The descendants of Joktan, then, in following downwards the course of the river Al Huali, would, before the lapse of any great period of time, have arrived on the shores of the Persian Gulf; where, whilst those whose names are mentioned first in order, and whose possessions consequently lay the most eastward, passed to the east of that Gulf into Persia and India, the last-named of the sons of Joktan, "Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab," would have established themselves in the country lying immediately at the head of the Gulf.

It is so plainly evident that this last-mentioned spot—situated as it is on the main road between the countries on either side of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean—must in all ages have been the emporium of the overland trade of the East, that it is scarcely necessary to instance the mighty city of Babylon, and its scarcely less opulent and renowned successor Bagdad, as proofs of the fact. We are accordingly warranted in assuming, that, long before the time when the city of Babylon was founded², and indeed before the site on which it

¹ See Page 20.

² I shall in the sequel enter fully into the consideration of the comparatively recent origin of the city of Babylon. Mr. Keightley in his "Outlines of History," p. 13., refers to the Scriptures for the mention of this city, "at a time while the Hebrews were still "in the nomadic state." I am not aware of what Mr. Keightley alludes to, unless it be the apparent occurrence of the name with

stood even existed as dry land, the country of Ophir and Havilah was, in like manner, the emporium of the wealth and luxuries of the regions further to the east; so that it might truly be designated, in the history of the Israelitish nation and their ancestors, as the country “where there is gold; and “the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium “*הַבְּדֹלַח* *habbedólach*, pearls?] and the onyx “stone¹”;—the country which from the earliest ages gave its name to “the gold of Ophir².” Under this view of the subject, it is here that we should look for the land of Ophir, to which the fleets of Solomon went from Ezion-geber, “which is beside “Eloth, on the shore of the Red sea, in the land of “Edom³”; and from whence they brought gold and “great plenty of almug trees [*עֵצֵי-אַלְמוּגִים* *hatzé-almuggím*, red sanders wood⁴] and precious “stones⁵.”

reference to the “Babylonish garment” which Achan secreted out of the spoils of Ai (Josh. vii. 21.). If such be the case, however, he has been misled by consulting the translations only, the expression being in the original *אַדְרֵרֶת שֵׁנָעַר* (*addereth Shinhár*), “a mantle of *Shinar*”; and having therefore no reference to Babylon, nor even, of necessity, to Babel. See on the positions of Babel and the land of Shinar, *ante*, Pages 25, 26.

¹ Gen. ii. 11, 12.

² Job xxviii. 16.—The situation thus given to the land of Havilah of Genesis ii., naturally leads to the inference that the Al Huali was the river Pison of the Garden of Eden. The discussion of this subject is reserved for the Appendix.

³ 1 Kings ix. 26.

⁴ See Gesenius, *Heb. Lex.*

⁵ 1 Kings x. 11.—It has probably already been suggested, by

I am of course not unmindful of the various conflicting opinions which exist respecting the true situation of the land of Ophir, and that there is scarcely a spot upon the face of the earth which has not found its advocate as the present representative of that country. It is to be seen whether my hypothesis will be considered less objectionable than those which have preceded it¹.

In connexion with the subject of the possessions of the sons of Joktan, it is particularly deserving of remark, that the two limits of their original dwelling, "Mesha" and "Sephar a mount of the "East," are named as if their localities were well known both to the writer of that portion of the Book of Genesis in which they are mentioned, and to the persons for whose immediate instruction that portion of the book was written. From the negative evidence of the Scriptures, however, (in which the names of these places do not again occur,) they

some writer on Scripture Geography, although I am not aware of the fact, that the אֹפִיר of Jer. x. 9. and Dan. x. 5. (written with the Masoretic points אֹפִיר *Upház*), which was also a country noted for its gold, may be identical with אֹפִיר (written with the points אֹפִיר *Ophír*), the gold country in the times of Job and Solomon.

¹ I may mention, as a remarkable fact, that the situation thus attributed by me to Ophir, coincides with that of the city of Opis, on the Tigris, mentioned by Xenophon: *Anabasis*, lib. ii. See a disquisition on the site of Opis in Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. i. pp. 533—542.

would appear to have been unknown to the Israelites after the Exodus; which circumstance seems only accountable for on the supposition, that they were situate in a country which was at a distance from Canaan, and with which, consequently, the Israelites were unacquainted. Hence, and from the similar observation which has been made in page 108, with respect to Babel and Nineveh, and the other cities mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis, there are reasonable grounds for the conclusion, that that portion of the first book of the Pentateuch in which these particular places are named, was written by some one, and intended for the information of others, who had a more intimate knowledge of their localities than there is any reason for imagining to have been possessed by Moses himself, or by the Israelites of his time: and as the geographical positions and bearings of all these places are found to relate more immediately to the situation of Ur of the Chaldees, there is the strongest reason for the inference that the early portion of the Book of Genesis was written in Ur itself, and consequently prior to the departure of Abraham and his family from that country.

If it be conceded that the first part of Genesis was thus not the original composition of the inspired personage to whom it has usually been attributed, there will be no difficulty in the way of conceiving also that not even the latter portion of that book was written by him; and the perfect break which

exists between the termination of the Book of Genesis and the commencement of the Book of Exodus, in conjunction with the total silence respecting the whole period of the Bondage,—which circumstances seem utterly irreconcilable with the idea that these two books are one continuous history written by the same author,—entirely favour the supposition of the prior composition of the former of them.

It is also evident that if the early portion of Genesis was written previously to the departure of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees, the history of the subsequent occurrences which are recorded in it must necessarily be the composition of a later era. Hence we come to the further conclusion, that the Book of Genesis was written by more than one person: and such being the case, there appears no reason for supposing this Book to be different from what even on the most cursory examination it appears to be; namely, a *collection* of several distinct compositions,—in a certain manner unconnected with each other,—and yet perfectly coherent,—written at different periods, and by different persons, and arranged, as far as the different portions of the history would allow of it, in the chronological order of the occurrences narrated or mentioned in them¹.

¹ This rhapsodical form of composition, which, allowing for the difference in the subjects and in the styles of the respective works, is common to the Book of Genesis and to the writings of the Prophets, and of which the character of all the inspired writings partake, (though evidently in different degrees), appears to be

This conclusion—in no wise opposed, it is to be remembered, to the words of Scripture, which nowhere either directly or impliedly attribute to Moses the original composition of the Book of Genesis,—is so far from invalidating the character of that Book as an inspired composition, that it affords, on the contrary, the strongest argument in favour of its inspiration; since, in addition to the prophets and necessarily consequent on the source whence they are derived, and on the mode in which they were composed: since it seems to be essential to their character as the Written Word of God, that they should, at once, and independently of the ordinary aids to composition, have been committed to writing by the authors whilst under the influence of the Holy Spirit: and, although in the ordinary course of nature they may be subject to injuries and casualties, in precisely the same manner as all other Divine works are, yet it would appear to be inconsistent with their Divine origin that they should be susceptible of alteration, even in the minutest particular, by the same infallible Spirit under the influence of which they had originally been composed. It is thus that the detached parts of the Book of Genesis would simply have been collected and arranged by Moses (even if not by some one prior to his time), in the same manner as were the writings of the Prophets at a subsequent period; the only difference between the two cases being the greater facility of arrangement presented by the former, from the nature of their subject, which allowed of their being placed in chronological order.

At the time when the above was written, I was fully aware that the opinions that the Book of Genesis was not one continuous history, nor the original composition of Moses, had already been advanced; but my only sources of information on the subject were Taylor's *Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible*, art. BIBLE, and Horne's *Introduction to the Study of the Sacred Scriptures*. I have since seen the four volumes at present published of M. Cahen's

Divine messengers who have given their evidence in support of it, we thus have the testimony of the inspired legislator of the Israelitish nation himself, who, by incorporating it with "the Book of the Law," has given the strongest and most convincing proof of *his* belief also in its inspiration and authenticity. From thus attributing a prior date to the composition of the Book of Genesis, and considering it to have been written at several periods and by various authors, we, at the same time, obtain this

French translation of the Bible, from which I perceive that he takes for granted that the Book of Genesis is "une collection de plusieurs documens," (see his notes on ch. ii. ver. 4., ch. v. ver. 1., ch. vi. ver. 1.). I also observe by a note on Numbers i. 1., that he cites the opinion of Vater as to that book also being a similar collection: and from M. Cahen's *Avant-propos* to the Book of Genesis, (p. xv.) it is to be seen that he adopts in his translation the "méthode rationnelle . . . suivie par les plus célèbres théologiens de l'érudite Allemagne." I am not acquainted with the works of any of these authors, and, for the reasons stated in the Introduction to the present Work, I shall, for the present, refrain from consulting them, and likewise from looking any further into M. Cahen's translation.

It is right, however, that I should admit having cursorily read the first few chapters of M. Cahen's translation of Genesis, and also having referred to his notes on Padan Aram, (Gen. xxiv. 10. xxviii. 2.) and on Laban's pursuit of Jacob, (Gen. xxxi. 23.). My note in page 130, will show the result of this reference. It is a remarkable fact, that whilst M. Cahen refrains from translating the names of most countries and places, he so far departs from the system adopted by him as to follow the authority of the Septuagint in rendering מִצְרָיִם (*Mitzráim*) by "Égypte".—
Oct. 31, 1833.

further important result, namely, that we must interpret the expressions made use of in it, in a different (and probably a widely different) manner from that in which we should have had to construe them, had they been written at the same time as the succeeding portions of the Law; and we may, probably, by this means, be at length enabled to arrive at a proper understanding of those parts of Genesis, which down to the present time have been found to be beyond the reach of human comprehension.

The consideration of this important subject has withdrawn us once more from the direct object of our investigation, to which it is now necessary to return. The next in order of the sons of Shem is Lud, of whom and of whose possessions we have no certain knowledge; for although the name is mentioned in several places in Scripture, we are not furnished with the means of determining the precise country peopled by him and his descendants. In the regular order I have proposed to lay down for the distribution of the human race, I allot to Lud the country westward of the original possessions of Arphaxad. From hence the course of his posterity would not, however, have been uninterruptedly in connexion with that of Arphaxad, since Ham and his descendants would have appropriated to themselves the whole of the south country, so that Lud, together with his brother Aram, of whom I shall lastly have occasion to speak, would conse-

quently have been separated from the rest of the children of Shem.

Aram, of whom I now proceed to treat, is the last-named of the sons of Shem. His country will therefore be situate to the extreme west of that portion of the earth which is allotted to the descendants of that patriarch, being bounded on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. There would have been no difficulty in identifying this country of Aram,—which throughout our version of the Bible, following the Septuagint, is rendered *Syria*,—nor could any question have arisen as to the sites of the several places recorded to have been situate within it, had the name of *Syria*, as meaning *Syria Proper*, or *Cœlosyria*, been understood as applying to Aram alone. But the word *Syria* having been used by the Greeks, as meaning, not merely *Syria Proper*, or *Aram*, but likewise the whole adjacent country to the southward and eastward, including *Mesopotamia*, the name *Aram* has also been improperly received in the same enlarged acceptation.

The error has been attended with this unfortunate consequence:—the portion of the country of Aram which is called in the Scriptures פֶּדֶן אַרָם (*Paddân Arâm*), *i. e.* ‘the plain of Aram,’ and also אַרָם נְהַרַיִם (*Arâm Nahardîm*), *i. e.* ‘Aram of the two rivers,’ has, instead of being sought for in *Syria Proper*, been universally considered to be *Mesopotamia*, or the country between the two rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; and *Haran*, whither *Terah* and his family first

removed, has accordingly been placed within that country, and consequently beyond the Euphrates.

Nothing can be more clearly fallacious than this location of Padan Aram ; and nothing, I apprehend, will tend more to correct the Geography of Sacred History, than the determination of the true situation of a country which holds so prominent a place in the history of Abraham and his family, and which is continually mentioned throughout the Scriptures.

The epithet of *Naharaim* or 'of the two rivers,' being merely a descriptive appellation, so far from belonging solely to the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, is equally applicable to any locality possessing a similar geographical character. For example, there is a place which bears that name at the present day, within the bosom of the larger Naharaim or Mesopotamia, at the confluence of the rivers Khabour and Sinjar. So in the peninsula of India, we see the name of *Doab*, of which the literal signification is the same as that of *Naharaim*, namely, 'two waters or rivers,' applied in like manner, and at the same time, to the whole tract of country between the two great rivers Ganges and Jumna, and to several smaller districts in the province of Lahore, between the Chinaub and Ravey rivers, the Ravey and Beyah, and the Beyah and Sutuleje¹. The designation *Naharaim*, being applicable, therefore, with equal truth, to any tract

¹ See Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, art. DOAB.

of country situate between two rivers, Aram Naharaim, or Padan Aram, which is also called in another place 'שֵׂדֵה אַרְרָם (*Sedéh Ardm*), that is, 'the field or cultivated country of Aram,' can mean nothing more than a plain and fertile cultivated district between two rivers, in the country of Aram.

How the site of Haran could have continued during so many ages to be placed within the Mesopotamia of the Greeks is really inconceivable, when we consider the clear and unequivocal distinction between them, which is established by the narration of the proto-martyr Stephen. His words are¹, "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 show thee. Then came he out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Charran: and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land, wherein ye now dwell." It is manifest from this emphatic statement that Haran was not *within* the land of the Chaldees, or Mesopotamia, and consequently that the latter cannot, by any possibility, be identical with Padan Aram.

I will now proceed to the consideration of our means for determining the true situation of Padan Aram:—Of Aram we are informed², that "Damascus was its head"; and we further know that

¹ Hosea xii. 13.

² Acts vii. 2—4.

³ Isaiah vii. 8.

Beth-Rehob, and Zobah, and Maacah, and Ish-Tob¹, which were also cities or places of Aram, were all situate to the north-east of Canaan, and at no great distance from Damascus. It appears therefore to be both unreasonable and inconsistent to seek for Padan Aram, that is, the plain country of Aram, elsewhere than in the same neighbourhood² with those places.

¹ 2 Sam. x. 6.

² It is proper that I should mention in this place a work, entitled, "*An Enquiry into the Progressive Colonization of the Earth, and the Origin of Nations, by T. Heming, of Magd. Coll., Oson.*" London 1816. I have examined it, and find that in two points Mr. Heming may be considered to have anticipated me, to a certain extent: the one is in asserting that "it is not to be supposed that the first appropriation of distinct seats and allotments of territory [among the descendants of Noah] extended beyond a certain reasonable compass" (p. 59.); the other is in his keeping the descendants of each of the sons of Noah distinct, and making a marked line of partition between the posterities of the three patriarchs (pp. 78, 79.); neither of which points has been sufficiently considered by other geographers. But though Mr. Heming is thus far right, he has pursued no settled and regular order in the subsequent dispersion of the different races of mankind; and he has in many cases been guided by the fanciful resemblances of names, which have at all times been the fertile cause of error.

There is a curious fact in Mr. Heming's work, which must also be mentioned, and which, indeed, impels me to notice his Enquiry more especially in this place. It is, that in treating of the descendants of Nahor, he says, (p. 134.) "Kemuel, whom Moses designates as the father or prince of Aram, may be stationed towards Damascus, the country round about which was called Aramea, Aram-Zobah, and Padan-Aram." This thought, had it been followed up, might probably have led to a perception of

The authority of Nicolaus Damascenus, quoted by Josephus¹, would, if it could be brought forward as possessed of any real weight, be at once conclusive; but although his account is remarkably in point, I disclaim all reliance upon it, our only unquestionable authority being the Scriptures themselves.

Now in Abraham's complaint to the Almighty of his being childless, he says², "Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and, lo, one born in my house [בֶּן-בֵּיתִי, *ben-bethi*,] is mine heir." This person, we are told in the preceding verse, was "Eliezer of Damascus." It is not necessary for the consideration of the present question to endeavour to deter-

the true locality of Padan Aram; but Mr. Heming was evidently quite unconscious of its importance, for he says, in the same page, "Bethuel, the youngest of the Milchite Nahoreans, continued in *Mesopotamia*, in the city of Charan, called by Moses the city of Nabor;" and in the map which accompanies his work, he lays down the site of Charan accordingly, and marks "the pilgrimage" of Abram and Lot from that city into Canaan, agreeably to the usual notions on the subject.

¹ "... Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history, says thus: Abram reigned in Damascus, being a foreigner who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the Chaldeans. But after [not] a long time he got him up, and removed from that country also with his people, and went into the land then called the land of Canaan . . . The name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is showed there a village named from him, The Habitation of Abram." Whiston's Josephus: *Antiq. of the Jews*, book 1. chap. vii. sect. 2.

² Gen. xv. 3.

mine who this Eliezer was, or what was his relation to Abraham, or his capacity in the house of the patriarch designated in the text by the doubtful epithet of בֶּן־מֶשֶׁק (ben-méshek), which is variously rendered *steward*, *son of possession* (*i. e.* possessor), and *adopted son*. One inference would be certainly deducible from the words of Abraham, supposing the received translation to be here correct; viz. that since Eliezer, who was born in Abraham's house, was also a Damascene, or native of Damascus, the residence of Abraham at the time of his birth must have been actually at Damascus.

But the true meaning of the expression בֶּן־בַּיִת (ben-báith), literally, "a son of the house," appears to be, not merely a person born in the house, but any one domiciled there,—“one of the family,” as we should say in English,—in which sense the expression is used by the Jews of the present day. The words of the text, therefore, by no means tend to prove that Eliezer was born in Abraham's house: on the contrary, it must be considered that he was not, since we are expressly told that he was “of Damascus,” where we have no Scripture authority to show that Abraham ever actually resided. It may, however, be not unreasonably concluded, that Haran was situate in the immediate neighbourhood of that city, and that it was during Abraham's stay there that Eliezer entered into the patriarch's service, and thus became *one of his family or household*.

But the account given of Jacob's flight from his father-in-law Laban, will enable us to determine yet more exactly the site of Haran. We are told¹, that Jacob "fled with all that he had; and he rose up, and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mount Gilead. And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was fled. And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey; and they overtook him in the mount Gilead." The usual acceptation of the words of the text דֶּרֶךְ שְׁבַע יָמִים (*derekh shib-hath yamim*), is, *a journey of or during seven days*; the meaning of the passage being accordingly considered to be, that during the space of seven days Laban pursued after Jacob, who, as his flight was not discovered until the third day, had thus two days' start of him. Considering Haran to be identical with Charræ, or Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia, (the scene of the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians,) the rate at which Laban must have travelled so as to overtake Jacob in Mount Gilead, (a distance of nearly if not quite 400 miles,) must consequently have been about 60 miles per day. This would have been far from improbable, since the ardour of pursuit, and the desire to overtake Jacob, might have incited and indeed enabled Laban to travel at that rate. But the situation of Jacob was widely different: he with his "oxen, and asses, flocks, and menservants, and womenservants²," together

¹ Gen. xxxi. 21—23.

² Gen. xxxii. 5.

with his wives and his young children, could not, even with the strongest desire to hasten, have travelled otherwise than very slowly, as indeed we are informed in his own words, when he excused himself to his brother Esau for not going on with him :
 " My lord knoweth that the children are tender,
 " and the flocks and herds with young are with me :
 " and if men should overdrive them one day, all
 " the flock will die. Let my lord, I pray thee,
 " pass over before his servant : and I will lead on
 " *softly*, according as the cattle that goeth before
 " me and the children be able to endure¹ ;" literally, ' according to their foot or pace.' It was therefore utterly impracticable, I apprehend, that under any circumstances they should have travelled upwards of forty miles a day, and especially that they should have continued to do so during nine successive days.

It is consequently evident that, even if it had not already been shown that the position of Haran was not within Mesopotamia, the distance from Charræ to Gilead would render it impossible that it should have been situate anywhere in the neighbourhood of the former place.

If, on the other hand, Haran be placed in the vicinity of Damascus, an equal difficulty appears at first sight to present itself. It is, that the distance from Damascus to Gilead, (assuming the latter to be represented by the *Djebel Djelaad* of Burck-

¹ Gen. xxxiii. 13, 14.

hardt¹, which, however, remains to be verified,) is not more than about 110 miles in a direct line; and it is quite as inconsistent to consider that Laban, in his eager pursuit of Jacob, should have occupied seven days in going that short distance, as to conceive that Jacob should have been able to travel 400 miles in nine days. But this apparent difficulty is at once removed by taking the words of the text, not as meaning a journey seven days in duration, but as a measure of distance—‘a seven-days’-journey;’—in the same way as Laban is said to have “set [a distance of] three days’ journey” (רֶרֶךְ שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *derekh shelósheth yamám.*) “betwixt himself and Jacob².” I believe that an average day’s-journey in this part of the East may be calculated at about 15 miles; and taking this as the unit of measure for computing the distance gone by Laban, (without considering the time which may actually have been employed either by him in the pursuit, or by Jacob in his flight, which in fact is not mentioned,) we shall find that before he overtook Jacob, he would at this rate have had to tra-

¹ Travels in Syria, &c., London, 1822; p. 348.

² Gen. xxx. 36. I find that M. Cahen translates the words in Gen. xxxi. 23, “*l’espace de sept journées;*” and that in a note he adds, “le chemin est indiqué ici par journées;” yet in a note on Gen. xxiv. 10., he says, “אָרֶם נְהָרִים *La Mesopotamie,*” “c’est, le pays entre les fleuves (Euphrate et Hiddekel),” without noticing the inconsistency of making the distance from the country beyond the Euphrates to Gilead no greater than a seven-days’-journey.

TRACHONITIS TO BE CONSIDERED PADAN ARAM. 131
vel 105 miles, answering very nearly to the distance
between Damascus and Gilead.

We can hardly be wrong, therefore, in placing the situation of Haran somewhere in the neighbourhood of Damascus; and I will even affirm it as a highly probable fact, that the country watered by the Parphar and Abana,—the fertile district known in after-times as the Ager Damascenus,—was Padan Aram; the country into which, by the Divine direction, Terah and his family removed¹, and in which was situated the city of Haran, or Charran; whence Abraham was called², and which afterwards was the residence of Laban³.

It may be observed, however, that the country not far south of Damascus, known at the present day by the name of El Ledja, (apparently the Trachonitis of Strabo⁴), and which is situate between the rivers Wady Kanoudi and Wady Lowa, may also probably possess a claim to be considered as Padan Aram, although the description given of it by Burckhardt⁵, if applicable to the whole country, does not answer exactly to the idea that Padan Aram was a fertile country⁶. The further south-

¹ Gen. xi. 31. Acts vii. 2. ² Gen. xii. 1—4. ³ Gen. xxix. 4, 5.

⁴ *Géogr. de Strabon*, liv. xvi. chap. xiii. tome v. p. 216. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria, &c.*, Pref., p. xi.

⁵ "The Ledja presents a level tract covered with heaps of black stones, and small irregular shaped rocks, without a single agreeable object for the eye to repose upon."—*Travels in Syria*, p. 59.

⁶ It is a coincidence worthy of observation, that among the names of several ruined cities and places in the Ledja, which were

ward that the site of Padan Aram can reasonably be placed, the better it will comply with the condition, which appears to be requisite, of its being a country adjoining that of the Ammonites; for Balaam the son of Beor lived at Pethor of Padan Aram¹, which we are told was situate by "the river of the "land of the children of Ammon²." This latter position of Padan Aram would also seem to suit better as the site of the country of which Chushanrishathaim was king³, which must have been in the vicinity of Canaan, like those of Moab, Ammon and Amalek, which are mentioned in conjunction with it⁴.

It may, indeed, be objected to the supposition that El Ledja was Padan Aram, that the calculation of the distance between that country and Gilead will not accord with this location. By an

enumerated to this traveller by an Arab, is found that of حَرَّانَ *Harran*.—*Travels in Syria, &c.*, p. 216.

¹ Deut. xxiii. 4.

² Numb. xxii. 5. Our authorized version, following the received Hebrew text, has "the land of the children of *his people*," עַמּוֹ (hammó). The Samaritan text, however, has עַמּוֹן (*Hammón*), with which reading twelve Hebrew MSS. of Dr. Kennicott's, and two of De Rossi's agree, as do also the Syriac and Vulgate versions. See Bagster's *Comprehensive Bible*, *loc. cit.*: the latter is unquestionably the better reading of the two.

³ Judges iii. 8.

⁴ Judges iii. 12, 13. If El Ledja be Padan Aram, then may Djebel Haouran be "the mountains of the east," out of which Balaam was brought that he might "curse Jacob and defy Israel:" Numb. xxiii. 7.

accurate measurement on Burckhardt's map, it will be seen, however, that the distance in a direct line between the north of El Ledja and Djebel Djelaad is 90 miles; and if we consider the road taken by Jacob to have been round by Boszra and El Zerka, for the purpose of avoiding the mountainous country to the west, the whole distance may be fairly reckoned a seven-days'-journey, according to the rate of travelling before stated.

Before quitting this portion of my subject, I will refer to another point in the account of Jacob's flight, which has been one of the causes of the general error entertained respecting it, and which therefore requires to be elucidated. It is stated¹ that Jacob "fled with all that he had; and he rose " up, and passed over the river, [יַעֲבֹר אֶת־הַנְּהָר] " *yahabór eth hannahár,*] and set his face toward " the mount Gilead." The river which Jacob thus crossed has been generally considered to be the Euphrates; but it is evident that it must have been some other river, since Terah and his family had long previously crossed the Euphrates, in going out of the land of the Chaldeans or Mesopotamia, to Haran. This, like the mistake respecting Mesopotamia itself, and many others, appears to be an error of the Captivity. When the associations of the Jews with the "great river, the river Euphrates," became more intimate, the term הַנְּהָר (*hannahár*), "THE river," may have been applied to it,

¹ Gen. xxxi. 21.

κατ' ἐξοχὴν : but it is quite certain that in the earlier ages of the Israelitish commonwealth that term was applicable to the Jordan of Jericho alone. This latter river is formed of two principal streams. The first has its rise in the mountains of Antilibanus, and running southward through the Lake of Gennesareth, unites, shortly after its exit from that lake, with the other stream, which has its principal source in the Djebel Haouran, about 70 miles to the eastward. It is this latter branch, which is now known by the name of Sheriat el Mandhour, and which appears to be the greater of the two streams, that I conceive to be the river which was crossed by Jacob, and to which the name of Jordan¹ was applied in the patriarchal ages ; although at a subsequent period, when "the Jordan of Jericho" became known to the Israelites on their return out of Mitzraim, and when they had taken possession of the northern parts of the land of Canaan, (which must be considered as having been unknown, except probably by name, to their progenitors, who came from "the east country,") the name of Jordan was applied to the direct stream flowing through the Lake of Gennesareth, instead of to that flowing

¹ The name of this river, יַרְדֵּן (*Yardén*), has been fancifully considered by some as meaning "the river of Dan," or as being compounded from the names of the two streams "Jor" and "Dan." It is, however, manifest, that its true derivation is from the root יָרַד (*yárad*), "to descend, or flow down"; whence its literal meaning is simply *the flood or river*, although it was used, subsequently, as a proper name.

from the east, which had originally been crossed by Jacob¹.

Regarding, then, the Mandhour as being the river which was crossed by Jacob in his flight, and of which he said, "with my staff I passed over this Jordan²," we can readily comprehend how that patriarch, having passed the river, set his face "toward the mount Gilead," which then lay only a short distance off, in a south or south-westerly direction.

It is now requisite to return to the consideration of the original settlements of Aram and his descendants. The genealogical table of the sons of Noah proceeds to say³, "And the children of Aram; Uz, " and Hul, and Gether, and Mash." This is all we are told concerning them, but by following my second principle of distribution⁴, I am led to place the first-named, Uz, to the eastward in Aram⁵, and to distribute his brothers to the westward, between

¹ The two different senses in which the name Jordan was thus, at different periods, applied, may be regarded as proving that the history of Jacob must have been written previously to the return of the children of Israel from Mitzraim; thus confirming the arguments used in pages 116—121, in favour of the theory that the Book of Genesis was not the original composition of Moses.

² Gen. xxxii. 10.

³ Gen. x. 23.

⁴ See Page 78.

⁵ Josephus (*Antiq.* lib. I. cap. vi. sect. 4.) attributes the foundation of Damascus to Uz the son of Aram; but, as before remarked, no real importance can be attached to traditions of this nature, although they may fairly be noticed as being so perfectly in accordance with the results which have been arrived at by means independent of them.

his possessions and the coast of the Mediterranean Sea ; thus filling up the extreme western limits of the possessions of the descendants of Shem.

There is one point of view, however, in which the country possessed by the firstnamed of the sons of Aram is deserving of particular consideration ; namely, as being "the land of Uz" of the Book of Job ; the history of which, as being at once highly interesting in itself, and as affording some valuable confirmations of the truth of the system delivered in this work, will form the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

Consideration of the Book of Job.—Reasons urged to show that Moses cannot have been its author.—Position of the land of Uz considered:—Reference to the persons of the name of Uz mentioned in Scripture:—The country of Job not that of Uz the Horite;—The country of Uz the son of Nahor identical with that of Uz the son of Aram;—Consideration of the situations of the several countries of the sons of Nahor;—Result—That the “land of Uz” was in Padan Aram.—Conclusion that the Book of Job was written after the time of Abraham:—That it became known to Jacob during his residence in Haran;—And that it was brought by him into Canaan on his return from Padan Aram:—The opinion advanced that it was originally written in the Aramitish language, and thence translated into Hebrew:—Its character as a memorial of the pure patriarchal religion, or that of the Noachic dispensation.—Concluding remarks.

THE situation of the “land of Uz,” (written in the Hebrew *אֲרָם Hütz*,) the country of the remarkable personage who is the subject of the Book bearing his name in the Canon of Scripture, the time when that Book was composed, and its author, are points of inquiry which have received the attention of many of the most learned investigators of Biblical history and antiquities: but the results of their labours, confessedly, are unsatisfactory¹.

¹ In the work of Archbishop Magee already adverted to, *On the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice* (vol. ii. pp. 67—

Dr. Mason Good, in the Introductory Dissertation prefixed to his Translation of the Book of Job, has greatly contributed, however, to enable us to attain certain knowledge on all these points, by advancing the opinion that the Book of Job “is the most ancient of all human records¹; the only book in existence from which we can derive any thing like a systematic knowledge of pure patriarchal religion;—and, hence, that very book which gives completion to the Bible, by adding the dispensation of the earliest ages to those of the law and of the gospel, by which it was successively superseded².”

It is surprising, however, that with general views so correct and so philosophical as those which are taken by Dr. Good with respect to every branch of his subject, and with so clear an exposition as he has presented of the internal evidence from which the date of this Book may be determined, he should—even from his own correct premises—have been led to the erroneous conclusion that Moses was its

173), the subject of the Book of Job is discussed at length, and the various opinions and authorities are cited and considered. See also Dr. Mason Good's Introductory Dissertation to his *Translation of the Book of Job*.

¹ If the opinions advanced in the preceding Chapter, Pages 116—121, respecting the composition of the earlier portions of the Book of Genesis be correct, the Book of Job will cease to be entitled to the character of being “the most ancient of all human records.”

² *Introd. Dissert.*, p. ii.

author. His words are¹, “The annals of the world
 “ do not present to us a single nation so completely
 “ wrapped up in their own history, as the He-
 “ brews. Throughout every book, both in the Old
 “ and the New Testament, in which it [their histo-
 “ ry] could possibly be adverted to, the eye of the
 “ writer turns to different parts of it, and dwells
 “ upon it with inextinguishable fondness. The call
 “ of Abraham, the bondage and miracles in Egypt,
 “ the journeyings through the wilderness, the de-
 “ livery of the law, the establishment of the priest-
 “ hood, the passage of the Red Sea and of the Jor-
 “ dan, the destruction of the Canaanites, Moabites,
 “ and Ammonites,—Aaron, Joshua, Moses, and Gi-
 “ deon,—Sinai, Carmel, Sion, and Gilead,—Gaza,
 “ Ashdod, Ekron, and Askelon²,—are perpetually
 “ brought before us, as ornaments or illustrations
 “ of the subject discussed. To none of these, how-
 “ ever, does the book of Job make the smallest
 “ reference: but the existence of Adam, and his
 “ concealment from the Almighty in the garden of
 “ Eden; the voice of the blood of Abel crying
 “ from the ground; the destruction of the world
 “ by the deluge; the token of the rainbow in the
 “ clouds; and the conflagration of Sodom and

¹ Introd. Dissert., pp. xlvi. xlvii.

² As printed in Dr. Good's work this passage runs thus:
 “ Aaron, Joshua, *Manasses*, and Gideon,—Sinai, Carmel, and
 “ Sion—Gilead and Gaza—Ashdod, Ekron, and Askelon”; but
 this is clearly an error in the revision of the press.

“ Gomorrah ; are, in the same love of national history, incidentally glanced at, or directly brought forward. With this last fact, however, the poet stops : he descends no lower than to the overthrow of the cities on the plain, and, consequently, to the æra of Abraham and Lot ; not a single incident appertaining either to the family of Isaac or of Ishmael, of Edom or of Jacob, being adverted to below this period. And hence we have the strongest circumstantial evidence for concluding that the poem, as written by a Hebrew, must have been composed between the periods of Abraham’s residence at Mamre, and the miracles wrought by Moses in Egypt.”

But the correct inference to be drawn from these premises manifestly is, that the Book of Job was written, not merely before the Exodus, but also prior to the occurrence of any of the remarkable events in the life of Abraham which took place subsequently to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. How, therefore, simply from these premises, Dr. Good could infer, as he does¹, that the Book of Job was written by Moses during his residence in Midian, is quite inconceivable.

Had Moses been the author of this Book, would it not have contained references to the patriarch Abraham, the servant—the friend of God ; and to that faith “ which was accounted to him for righteousness ” ;—to the covenant which the Lord

¹ Introd. Dissert., p. lv.

made with him and with his seed ;—to Isaac and to Ishmael ; to Esau and to Jacob ;—to the twelve sons of the latter patriarch, the great heads of the Israelitish nation,—and more especially to Joseph “ who was sold for a servant ” ;—to the going down of Jacob and his family into Mitzraim ;—and lastly, to the bondage endured by the Israelites while in that country ? to all which facts, and particularly to the last of them, Moses, if his feelings were those of a true and sincere Israelite,—and that they were such we are certain, from the transaction which occasioned his residence in Midian,—could not have refrained from making some reference, however slight it might have been.

The only conclusion which I can deduce from the internal evidence of the work, as connected with the Israelitish nation, is, that it relates either to a period entirely antecedent to the time of Abraham, or that it was composed, subsequently to his time, in a country where the occurrences of his life and of the lives of his immediate descendants were unknown. If the expressions in chap. xviii. ver. 15, and chap. xxii. ver. 20, be rightly considered to refer to the destruction of the cities of the plain, the latter alternative must of course be adopted ; and we may in that case well understand how the news of such a remarkable visitation should have reached a distant country, in which the private incidents of the lives of Lot and Abraham might at the same time be unknown.

The date of the Poem can scarcely be determined,

however, until we have first discovered the country in which it was composed and to which its history relates. In order to ascertain this, it is necessary that we should exclude all reference to former authorities on the subject, (since, unfortunately, they only serve to perplex and mislead;) and confine ourselves to the words of Scripture alone, which are of themselves amply sufficient, in this instance also, to render manifest the truth.

The first chapter of the Book of Job commences with the statement, that "there was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job;" and in the third verse of the same chapter, we read, that he "was the greatest of all the men of the east" (בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם *bené-kédem*). But the locality of the land of Uz is not precisely determinable from this statement, since we know that '*Kedem*' or '*the east*' was a name which was applied not merely to the country adjoining the land of Canaan to the east, but also to more remote regions, which, although having a bearing not strictly eastward from Canaan itself, were yet considered as lying in that direction, on account of its being necessary, in order to arrive at them, to pass through the country immediately to the eastward of Jordan. Thus we are told¹, that "Jacob went on his journey, and came into the land of the people of the east, [*bené-kédem*, the same expression as is used in the Book of Job;] . . . " and Jacob said unto them, My brethren, whence be ye? And they said, *Of Haran*

¹ Gen. xxix. 1—4.

“are we.” Having determined, however, from this expression, the *general* direction of the land of Uz, we have next to inquire into its precise locality; for which purpose, we must ascertain from what individual that country derived its appellation.

Three persons are mentioned in the Scriptures who are connected by their names with the land of Uz: viz. the son of Aram¹ whom we have already mentioned; a son of Nahor², and a son of Dishan, the son of Seir the Horite³. Of these three individuals, the last mentioned could not be he who gave his name to the country of Job; inasmuch as the land of Seir, which subsequently became the country of Edom, was to the *south* of the land of Canaan⁴; so that an inhabitant of that country could not, under any circumstances, be described as one of the *bené-kédem*,—the inhabitants of *the east*.

The question, therefore, would seem to lie between the son of Aram and the son of Nahor; but all difficulty on this point will cease, if it can be shown, that the same country was inhabited by them both.

Now the territory occupied by the first Uz has been shown⁵ to have formed the extreme eastern portion of the possessions of his father Aram, which, as the latter have been restricted to the district subsequently known as Syria Proper⁶, must be consi-

¹ Gen. x. 23. ² Gen. xxii. 21. ³ Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21, 28.

⁴ Gen. xiv. 6.; xxxvi. 8. Numb. xxxiv. 3.

⁵ Page 135.

⁶ Page 122.

dered to have been situate in the neighbourhood of Damascus, and to have thence extended, though to no great distance, in a southerly and easterly direction towards the Syrian desert. Into this country, as has likewise been demonstrated¹, Terah and his family came to reside; and here also was the city of Haran, in which Laban dwelt. It is in this vicinity, therefore, that we ought to expect to discover some memorials of the immediate descendants of Haran; nor shall we be disappointed in the expectation thus formed.

Respecting these sons of Nahor we read², “that it was told Abraham, [when he dwelt at Beer-sheba,] saying, Behold, Milcah, she hath also born children unto thy brother Nahor; Huz his first-born, and Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram, and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel. (And Bethuel begat Rebekah :) these eight Milcah did bear to Nahor, Abraham’s brother. And his concubine, whose name was Reumah, she bare also Tebah, and Gaham, and Thahash, and Maachah.”

Huz, or Uz, (חֻזַּץ *Hütz*), the firstborn of Nahor, may consequently be considered to have given his name to a district in the neighbourhood of his father’s residence in Padan Aram, which would have received from him the designation of “the land of Uz”; whilst it was at the same time situate within the larger country bearing the same name, after Uz

¹ Page 131.

² Gen. xxii. 20—24.

the son of Aram; the son of Nahor having, in fact, derived his name either from the country in which he was born, or, more probably, from the son of Aram, who preceded Nahor in his residence within it: it is this particular country which I conceive to have been that of the patriarch Job. Buz, in like manner, would have occupied a country in the neighbourhood of Haran, and adjoining that of his elder brother, which country would accordingly have been the residence of Elihu, "the son of Barachel the Buzite¹." It would seem, however, that Elihu was not a lineal descendant of Buz, for he is described as being (מִמִּישְׁפַּחַת רָם *mimmishpáchath Ram*²), "of the kindred [or tribe] of Ram," that is, (most probably,) of Aram, the son of Kemuel³. But admitting this to be the case, he would, as an inhabitant of the land of Buz, have been correctly styled a Buzite, in the same manner as Abraham was designated an Aramite, from his family having taken up their residence in Aram, and as Zipporah was called a Cushite, from the country of her ancestor, Midian, being situate within the territory which had previously been occupied by the descendants of Cush.

The next of the sons of Nahor, whose name we

¹ Job xxxii. 2.

² *Ibid.* See Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.*, p. 1., as to the omission of נ at the beginning of words.

³ The descent of Elihu from Nahor, whether through Buz or Kemuel, will entirely accord with the Chaldee paraphrase, which asserts that he was a relation of Abraham. "Barachel Buzites, de Cognatione Abraham."—See Good's *Introd. Dissert.*, p. xiii.

find repeated in Scripture, is Maachah, who may be considered to have given his name to Maachah which was a city of Aram, or Syria, near Zobah¹. It may not be unreasonable to imagine, further, that Tibhath, (תִּבְחָת *Tibcháth*²,) which in the parallel passage³ is called Betah, (בֵּתַח *Betách*,) a city of Hadadezer king of Zobah, may have derived its name from Tebah, (טֵבַח *Tebách*,) the son of Nahor by Reumah; the first of these names, as that of a city, being formed merely by the addition of the feminine termination ת, and the latter having (probably through an error of the transcriber,) the letters ח and ב transposed.

The conclusion to be come to with respect to the situation of the "land of Uz," the country of Job, appears therefore to be, that, in common with those of the other descendants of Nahor, it formed a part of that particular portion of the territory of Aram the son of Shem which was adjacent to the city of Haran; or, in other words, that it was situate in Padan Aram or in the immediate vicinity of that country⁴.

The locality thus attributed to the land of Uz will be found completely to harmonize with the positions of the various other countries which are

¹ 1 Chron. xix. 6. ² 1 Chron. xviii. 8. ³ 2 Sam. viii. 8.

⁴ The observations in Page 55, *note*, with respect to the meaning of the word קֵשִׁיטָה *kesitáh*, strongly aid the conclusion that the country of Job, and that from which Jacob had just returned when he arrived at Shechem, were identical.

mentioned in the Book of Job. The Sabeans¹ and Chaldeans² from the countries to the north and west of the Persian Gulf, might readily stretch across the Desert towards Damascus or the Trachonitis, in whichever of those two places Padan Aram may be considered to have been situate³. The name of the country of Eliphaz the Temanite⁴, must be regarded, I think, not as a patronymic, from Teman the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau⁵, but as expressive of its position relatively to the land of Uz; the literal meaning of the word תְּמָנִי (Temáni,) being simply 'that which is on the *right hand*,' or towards the south⁶. Shuah, the country of Bildad the Shuite⁷, if so called from the Keturite of that name⁸, will also have been placed to the south of the land of Uz, and probably in the neighbourhood of Teman, Abraham having sent Shuah and his brothers "eastward, unto the east country⁹." The country of Zophar the Naamathite¹⁰, was clearly not the Naamah which is mentioned as being in the inheritance of the tribe of Judah¹¹; and as the name of this place (derived from נָחֵם, *Nahém*, signifying 'to be pleasant,') appears to refer merely to its position, and would be equally applicable to any other

¹ Job i. 15.

² Job i. 17.

³ See Page 131, as to the precise locality of Padan Aram.

⁴ Job ii. 11.

⁵ Gen. xxxvi. 15.

⁶ See Page 78, *note*.

⁷ Job ii. 11.

⁸ Gen. xxv. 2.

⁹ Gen. xxv. 6.

¹⁰ Job ii. 11.

¹¹ Josh. xv. 41.

place similarly circumstanced, it does not afford us any guide for determining its particular locality¹.

From the result of this investigation, we are now enabled to arrive at a more positive conclusion with respect to the date of this Poem; since from the fact of a descendant of a nephew of Abraham, and a descendant of a son of the same patriarch by Keturah, being made two of the interlocutors, it is manifest that it must have been written subsequently to the time of Abraham*.

How a work thus written after the time of Abraham, and in a country which he had absolutely quitted, should have been received by the Israelites into their Canon of the Scriptures, can only be accounted for by supposing that the knowledge of its existence and importance had been acquired by Jacob during his twenty years' residence in Padan Aram. It might, consequently, at first sight appear reasonable to imagine that Jacob himself was the author of this Poem; but such an opinion will be found to be untenable, for the following reasons:—

¹ Among the various traditions respecting the country of Job, there is one which places it in the Trachonitis, near the springs of the Jordan, between the three cities of Teman, Shuah and Naamath, in which neighbourhood a pyramid was for ages known as the tomb of Job. Much value cannot be placed, however, on this tradition, so far, at least, as it relates to these three cities.

* I need scarcely say that nothing which I have adduced tends in the least to show that Job himself was a descendant of Nahor: on the contrary, his age would seem to be directly opposed to such a supposition.

The composition together with the elaborate style and finish of the Book of Job, are such, that, unless it be looked upon altogether as a parable,—as one of the “dark sayings of old’,”—which, from the manner in which its hero has always been regarded both by the Jewish and by the Christian Church¹, would hardly appear to be an authorized supposition,—we are as it were compelled to believe that it must have been at once written down by some one who was present, and heard all that had taken place; and also, that the work must afterwards have been preserved *in writing*, since it would seem to be next to an impossibility that the Poem should have been preserved in a perfect state by oral tradition alone, even during the space of two or three generations. That Jacob himself was not the person who was thus present, and who originally penned the work, must be inferred, not merely from his not being mentioned in it, but also from the statement which is made at the conclusion, that “after this lived Job an hundred and forty years²,” which fact, if Jacob had been the writer, could not have come to his personal knowledge, from the circumstances, that his connexion with the land of Uz was of so short a duration, and that “the whole age of Jacob was [only] an hundred forty and seven years³.” It might, indeed, be contended, that the statement of this fact was added at a sub-

¹ Ps. lxxviii. 2.

² Ezek. xiv. 14. 20.; James v. 11.

³ Job xlii. 16.

⁴ Gen. xlvii. 28.

sequent period ; but even this could scarcely have been the case, since at no remote period after Jacob's return into the land of Canaan, he and all his family went down into Mitzraim, where they remained so long as completely to destroy the slight connexion which they might previously have had with the adoptive country of their forefather Abraham. Besides, from the absence of all reference (however slight) to the remarkable occurrences in the life of Abraham, and also in that of his son Isaac, there appears to be the same internal evidence against the idea of Jacob's having been the author of this work, as there is against that of its having been composed by Moses.

Taking, then, into consideration the country in which it has been shown that this Poem was written, and the epoch (namely, Jacob's return from Padan Aram,) after which it would seem that it could not have been composed ; seeing, also,—on the assumption that it contains the history of a real personage,—that it must have been written at the very time when the occurrences related in it took place, and that Jacob himself could not have been its author ; we can scarcely be wrong in imagining that the Book of Job was actually written either by the patriarch Job himself or by Elihu, (neither of which suppositions is, indeed, novel,) and that it was delivered by one of them to Jacob during his residence in Haran. I would further suggest, that Jacob may have added the account of the latest occur-

rences of Job's life from his own personal knowledge, and also a portion, if not the whole, of the introduction to the Poem; and that subsequently to his return from Padan Aram, and, in fact, after he and his family had gone down into Mitzraim, the Poem was translated, either by himself or by an immediate descendant, out of the Aramitish language in which it was composed, into that in which it has been transmitted to us; but that the translation thus made did not affect the integrity of the original work¹.

At the same time that the course by which the Book of Job became a part of the Canon of Scripture is thus shown, we are also able to account in a much more satisfactory manner than has hitherto been done, for its introduction into that Canon; for it is, as Dr. Good correctly styles it, “the
 “ only book in existence from which we can derive
 “ any thing like a systematic knowledge of pure
 “ patriarchal religion;—and hence, that very book
 “ which gives completion to the Bible, by adding
 “ the dispensation of the earliest ages to those of

¹ The hypothesis proposed by me with respect to the Mitzritish origin of the Hebrew and cognate languages will more properly appear in that portion of the present Work which treats of the descendants of Ham. I may here observe, that the expression *Aramitish* is not used by me in the same sense as that in which the term *Aramæan*, in the present day, is applied to the Syriac and Chaldee dialects, but as meaning the Shemitish language which was originally spoken in the country of Aram.

“ the law and of the gospel”¹: that is to say, it is a memorial of the religion of the Noachic dispensation, in the state in which it existed before it had (in the family of Terah, at least,) become so debased as to render necessary the interference of the Almighty, and to occasion the covenant with Abraham and his seed², to which the Law was afterwards “ added because of transgressions³.”—I say ‘ in ‘ the family of Terah, at least,’ because it is evident that in the time of Abraham the whole human race had not yet lapsed from the pure worship of Jehovah, since “ Melchizedek king of Salem” was “ the priest of the most high God⁴; and it would appear, indeed, that Job himself, like that king, was a depository of the true religion, which had

¹ Introd. Dissert., p. ii.—From the date attributed by Dr. Good to the composition of the Book of Job, it must be understood that by the expression ‘ pure patriarchal religion’ he means the religion consequent on the knowledge of the true God, which was specially revealed to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and which was professed by their descendants the Israelites (though most probably in a far less pure state) until the time of the delivery of the Law in Horeb: the date, however, which I have ascribed to this Poem entirely precludes that idea. The further argument may, indeed, be advanced against it, and also against the supposition, that, under any circumstances, this work was written by the Israelitish lawgiver; which is, that if the religious state of the nation to which he was delegated by the Almighty had been equal in purity to that which is represented in the Book of Job, the delivery of the Law at that particular period would seem to have been unnecessary.

² Gen. xv. 18.³ Gal. iii. 19.⁴ Gen. xiv. 18.

been transmitted to them from their common ancestor the patriarch Noah.

I need scarcely advert to the great importance of a correct knowledge of the period when the Book of Job was written, and of the circumstances attending its composition ; for this is sufficiently evident from the fact, that this sublime and exquisite Poem has been continually referred to by Christian writers, in all ages, for the illustration and elucidation of many of the principal doctrines of our Holy Religion. That the opinions which I have now advanced upon the subject are entirely devoid of error, is not to be imagined : but that they will be found to be substantially correct, is my firm conviction ;—while that they may contribute to the acquisition of correct notions respecting the authority, the intention, and the scope of this most interesting portion of the Sacred Writings, is my sincere and fervent hope.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ham—His possessions and descendants.—Cush the progenitor of the Arabians and Ethiopians: also of the negro nations of Africa:—The Egyptians derived from Ethiopia;—Proofs from Herodotus:—The primitive Ethiopians a civilized nation;—The aboriginal Arabians still more cultivated;—Hypothesis proposed respecting them;—The South of Arabia the source of the polytheistic idolatry of Egypt and India.

The position advanced, that Egypt is not the Mitzraim of Scripture:—Ancient physical state of Lower Egypt;—Proofs from Herodotus that the Delta and adjacent country were formerly covered with water;—Modern confirmation of this opinion;—Diminution of the Delta:—The former extent northward of the Gulf of Suez greater than at the present time:—The Gulf of Suez not the Red Sea which was crossed by the Israelites;—Direct proofs from the words of Scripture;—Conclusion thence that the Gulf of Akaba is the Red Sea of Scripture;—The same conclusion arrived at from the consideration of the action of the “strong east wind.”

Results of the foregoing conclusion:—Neither Mount Sinai nor the Midian of Jethro within the Peninsula of Mount Tor:—The country of Midian identical with that of the Ishmaelites;—Its position:—The passage of the Red Sea not attributable to the alleged scientific knowledge of Moses.—The true situations of Horeb and of Mount Sinai approximately determined.—The opinion asserted that the forty years’ wanderings of the Israelites were in ‘the Desert’ of Arabia.

THE grand division of the earth which became the possession of Ham and his posterity, is included,

as has already been shown¹, between the northern extremity of the Persian Gulf towards the east, and the Mediterranean Sea towards the west, within the limits of which division are comprised the peninsula of Arabia, and the entire continent of Africa; and taking into consideration the country up to the central point of dispersion, it will also include the south-western part of Mesopotamia, the whole of the great Syrian Desert, and, lastly, the land of Canaan.

The propriety, generally, of attributing the original settlement of these countries to the descendants of Ham has never, I believe, been questioned. Some erroneous notions, however, on the subject are extant, which appear to be referrible to two distinct causes: The first of these causes is, that the Hamites have not been strictly confined by authors (as I conceive they ought to be,) within the natural division of the earth just defined, but have been imagined to have inhabited various other portions of the globe; the Cushites in particular having ascribed to them possessions in Bactria, Assyria, Susiana or Chusistan, and elsewhere²: the second

¹ Pages 73, 74.

² See Bagster's *Comprehensive Bible*, Introduction, p. 94. Taylor's *Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible*, art. CUSH. The writer of a paper on Egyptian Antiquities, in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for October 1833, (vol. xii. p. 372.) says: "From whence then did Osiris draw his Ethiopian colony? We answer without fear of confutation,—undoubtedly from the primitive Ethiopia, Cush, or Susiana, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and Tigris, the birth-place of nations, and where the

cause of error is, that the original settlements of the descendants of Joktan have been placed within the peninsula of Arabia ; the incorrectness of which location has been already shown¹. As opposed, then, to both these opinions, I consider that upon the

“ race of Cush, the earliest umpires of supremacy, probably remained congregated long after the departure of the Egyptian and other races, as would appear from the fact of the Ethiopic tongue being allied (we quote Professor Lee) ‘ to the Hebrew, ‘ the Arabic, the Syriac, the Chaldaic, the Samaritan, and in a ‘ great degree to the Persic’—these being the languages of the ‘ people immediately surrounding the primitive settlement.”—Independently of all other objections to this assumed location of the primitive settlement of Cush, the arguments adduced by me in Pages 19—24, if of any weight, must demonstrate its entire inaccuracy. With respect to the language of Ethiopia,—which term I understand as meaning the Geez of Abyssinia,—its derivation from the Arabian side of the Red Sea, at a comparatively recent date, is sufficiently demonstrable. Its connexion, therefore, with the Arabic and other cognate tongues is perfectly intelligible, without seeking for its origin in the supposed primitive settlement of mankind, in Susiana, to the ancient language of which country I am at a loss to understand its relation. I am ignorant from what work the quotation from Professor Lee is extracted, but I conceive that the expression ‘ Persic’ attributed to that distinguished philologist must be intended to refer to the *Persian* of the present day, (the intimate connexion of which with the Arabic is of course well known,) and not to the ancient Persic, which belongs to a division of languages totally distinct from the Arabic and cognate tongues.

¹ Pages 112, 113. The native traditions also allude to the existence in Arabia of other Shemitish tribes now extinct, (see *Mod. Trav.*, ‘ Arabia,’ pp. 21, 22,) but with no greater foundation in truth than their considering Joktan as one of the stocks from which the present race of Arabians is descended.

Dispersion, Ham and his descendants settled in the country to the southward of Babel, keeping at first within that division of Mesopotamia which is bounded by the Khabour river on the east, to which country (as already asserted¹) the name of "the land of Shinar" became extended, and in which Nimrod built his cities of Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh. From this country the Hamites, in their progress to the south, (being shut out from proceeding eastward by the possessions of the descendants of Shem, and by the Persian Gulf,) would, ere long, have crossed the Euphrates into the plains of Syria and Arabia, and thence, in the course of time, they would have extended over the whole of that division of the earth which had been allotted as their inheritance.

We are told that "the sons of Ham [were] Cush, "and Mitzraim, and Phut, and Canaan²." According to the second principle of distribution advanced in this Work³, the possessions of Cush and his descendants must be placed to the eastward of those of his brethren; and we may accordingly consider the eastern boundary of the lot of Cush to have been in the neighbourhood of the river Khabour⁴,

¹ Pages 25, 26.

² Gen. x. 6.

³ Page 78.

⁴ This river, as being that which "compasseth the whole land "of Cush"—that is to say, the whole of the original possessions of that son of Ham,—would consequently appear to be the *Gihon* mentioned in Gen. ii. 13. as one of the four rivers of Eden. See further on this subject in the Appendix. The original connexion of the descendants of Cush with the particular country which thus

and as extending thence to the western side of the Persian Gulf; being joined in that direction by the possessions of the Shemitish Casdim, which lay to the head of that gulf, as before mentioned¹. "The sons of Cush," as we are subsequently informed, were "Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah; Sheba and Dedan. And Cush [also] begat Nimrod²." The name of this "mighty hunter before the Lord" being mentioned out of the geographical order in which those of his brethren are placed, we have not the same means of ascertaining the real location of his possessions, as we have of determining those of the other sons of Cush; but we shall probably not be far from the truth, if we assume that Nimrod remained at or near the spot of the original settlement of his father, whilst the other sons of Cush, in their progress southward, appropriated to themselves the eastern side, and, in the course of time, the whole of the southern part, of the peninsula of Arabia. From hence, as population increased, colonies of those Cushites whose settlements lay towards the western side of that peninsula, crossed over into Ethiopia, and settled

first bore the name of that patriarch, (which name at a subsequent period received a much more extended application, as indeed has been the case with the names of most countries; see Page 26 and the note there,) may be considered as a further confirmation of the opinion expressed in Pages 116—121 respecting the early composition of the Book of Genesis.

¹ Page 114.

² Gen. x. 7, 8.

there ; becoming the aboriginal inhabitants of that country, and being, in fact, the stock from which, in the progress of time, has sprung the greater portion of the negro nations by whom the vast continent of Africa is peopled. The process by which these latter races have arrived at their present state of degradation, has been shown in the Fifth Chapter of this Work¹, in which the corresponding declension of the aboriginal inhabitants of Asia has been explained at length ; and as it is not intended to enter in detail upon the particular history of the African nations regarded as forming a class, it is unnecessary to do more than to refer to that Chapter.

In one point of view, however, this division of the Cushites requires consideration, and becomes deserving of more particular notice. It is, that they are the stock from which has descended that mighty people who settled in the valley of the Nile, and whose mysterious history, subjected as it has been to the scrutiny and research of so many learned investigators, still remains almost as problematical as it did before the discoveries of the late lamented Dr. Young led to the sanguine expectation, that the key had at length been discovered, to a portion, at least, of the hidden secrets belonging to the remotest ages of antiquity.

The origin thus attributed to the Egyptian nation, by simply following out the testimony of the Scriptures, is entirely in accordance with the opinion of

¹ Pages 95—97.

the earliest known writer of Profane history who has discussed the beginning of this people, namely Herodotus, whose authority on the subject (however it may have been regarded by many,) must be considered as possessed of the greatest weight, when we remember that the sources of his information were not merely the actual observations made by him in person in the countries which he describes, at the distant period of 2300 years from the present time, but also the statements delivered to him by the Egyptians themselves; from which statements we cannot reasonably withhold our belief, since, although the persons from whom Herodotus derived his information may in many instances have misled him, (whether through ignorance or from design may not always be apparent,) they could scarcely have had any motive for falsifying what must unquestionably have been amongst them a matter of well known tradition, if not of certain history.

Nothing, indeed, can be clearer, from the statements of that intelligent traveller, than that in his time the prevalent notion among the Egyptians was that they derived their origin from Ethiopia. After referring to the different opinions which existed with respect to the formation of the country of Lower Egypt, and the express assertion of the Egyptians themselves, that "the Delta was formerly covered with water¹," he proceeds to say: "For my

¹ Euterpe, xv. Beloe's Translation of Herodotus, second edit.: London, 1806.

“own part I am of opinion, that the Ægyptians did not commence their origin with the Delta, but from the first existence of the human race¹. That as their country became more extensive, some remained in their primitive places of residence, whilst others migrated to a lower situation. Hence it was that Thebes, [or, more properly, the Thebaid,] comprising a tract of land which is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia in circumference, went formerly under the name of Ægypt².”

¹ αἰεὶ τε εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο· which is rendered by Wesseling, “sed semper esse ex quo genus humanum fuit”; and by Larcher, “mais qu’ils ont toujours existé depuis qu’il y a des hommes sur terre.”

² Euterpe xv. The passage in the original is τὸ δ’ ὦν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο· which Larcher translates, “aussi donnoit-on autrefois le nom d’Egypte à la Thebaïde”; and Schweighaeuser, “Olim igitur Thebais, *Aegyptus* nominabatur.” Professor Heeren, however, in his *Historical Researches*, (African Nations, vol. ii. p. 322, Oxford, 1832,) cites the passage thus: “there was once a time, says Herodotus, when the whole of Egypt was called Thebes”; but this must certainly be erroneous, since the proper grammatical construction of the sentence is clearly as expressed in the versions before quoted, as indeed it appears to be given in all translations that I have seen, whether αἱ Θῆβαι be rendered in them *the Thebaid*, or *Thebes* only. Wesseling has “Ideoque olim Thebæ Ægyptus vocabatur”; Boiardo thus paraphrases the passage, “lo Egitto credo io essere sempre stato nella provincia ove al presente è Tebe edificata”; whilst Becelli translates it, “E però anticamente Tebe chiamavasi Egitto”: but as Schweighaeuser in his *Lexicon Herodoteum*, art. Θῆβαι, observes, “*intelligitur universa Thebais Aegyptiaca*,” which indeed is shown by the context, for the *city* of Thebes alone could not possibly have had a circuit of 6120 stadia.

But in thus attributing an Ethiopic origin to the Egyptian nation, it is far from my intention (as indeed must be apparent from the views proposed in a preceding Chapter¹ with respect to the general progress of society) to coincide in opinion with those who look upon Ethiopia or Upper Egypt as having been the *primitive* source of the civilization of the ancient Egyptians². So far, indeed, is such a supposition from being maintainable, that I will assert, without qualification, that if the aboriginal inhabitants of Ethiopia had ever existed in the same degraded state as the negroes of the present day, or even in a state in any degree nearly approaching to it, it would have been as impossible for them, or for their descendants the Egyptians, as it has in fact been for those very negroes, ever again to have made any progress forward by the exercise of their own natural means and resources alone. It must, indeed, according to the line of argument employed in the chapter just referred to, be considered as an indisputable fact, that the cultivation and acquirements possessed by the people who first set foot in Africa in this direction, were of an equal amount, at least, to those of their descendants the ancient Egyptians, whose history, little as it is really known, unquestionably demonstrates that they were in existence at a very remote period of antiquity as

¹ Chap. iii.

² See Heeren's *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 57. ; Dr. Russell's 'Nubia and Abyssinia' (in the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*), p. 19. *et seq.*

a highly cultivated nation ; and it is further to be inferred, that as these Cushitish people, the Ethiopians, thus retained so considerable a share of the general knowledge and cultivation possessed by Noah and his family, the civilization of the intermediate race, through whom that knowledge and cultivation had been transmitted to them—that is to say, their Cushite ancestors, the aboriginal inhabitants of Arabia—must necessarily have been of an intermediate degree between the two extremes ; or, in other words, it must have been even superior to that of the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves. Hence it will not be a mere speculative idea to conceive, that at a period anterior to the existence as a nation of the Egyptians, or even of the Ethiopians, the Peninsula of Arabia was the seat of a populous and mighty empire, the records and indeed the remembrance of which, are now entirely obliterated from the volume of history¹.

But though all remains of the history of these

¹ The dynasty of the Tobbaas of the Hamyarites in Arabia Felix, to which (with what degree of truth remains to be ascertained,) is attributed a duration of upwards of 2000 years, can hardly be connected with the early portion of Arabian history to which I allude. It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that the traditions (unquestionably of comparatively modern origin) of the Arabians themselves, who mix up in their history accounts of tribes pretended to have been descended from the immediate posterity of the patriarchs Shem and Joktan, are so entirely fabulous, that it would be worse than useless to consider them in the investigation of the early history of that country. See Page 112.

aborigines be irrecoverably lost, it is yet far from improbable, that in the country which they once inhabited, some buildings, some sculptures, or other remains may have defied the destroying hand of Time even until the present day, and that traces, however faint, may consequently yet remain to testify their existence, and their former residence within it; so that we may be allowed to entertain the expectation, or at least the hope, that when the time shall arrive (which sooner or later it must do) when the deserts and wilds of the interior of Arabia shall again be in the possession, or open to the inspection, of civilized man, some marks will be discovered of the former residence there of those mighty Cushites—that some remains will be found to exist of ages which will probably carry us back to within a few generations only from the epoch of the Dispersion of mankind¹.

¹ In the Appendix to the second volume of Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia* (London 1829, 8vo,) are the following remarks,—being the notes of information obtained by that traveller from natives,—which are highly deserving of observation, with reference to this subject. “The stations of the caravan between Damascus and Medina are well known. The most interesting spot on this road, within the limits of Arabia, appears to be Hedjer, or, as it is sometimes called, Medayen Saleh, seven days north of Medina. This place, according to many passages of the Koran, (which has a chapter entitled Hedjer,) was inhabited by a gigantic race of men, called Beni Thamoud, whose dwellings were destroyed because they refused to obey the admonitions of the prophet Saleh. In circumference Hedjer extends several miles; the soil is fertile, watered by many wells and a running stream :

It has already been remarked¹, that the western portion of the descendants of Cush migrated from

“ here are generally large encampments of Bedouins. . . . An
 “ inconsiderable mountain bounds this fertile plain on the west,
 “ at about four miles’ distance from the ground where the pilgrim
 “ caravan usually encamps.

“ In that mountain are large caves or habitations cut out of
 “ the rock, with sculptured figures of men and various animals,
 “ small pillars on both sides of the entrances, and, if I may be-
 “ lieve the testimony of Bedouins, numerous inscriptions over the
 “ doors; but I am inclined to think that the Arabs may have
 “ mistaken sculptured ornaments for letters,” pp. 393, 394*.
 And again, “ In Nedjed are many ancient wells, lined with stone,
 “ and ascribed by the inhabitants to a primeval race of giants.
 “ They are generally from twenty-five to thirty fathoms deep.
 “ Here likewise are numerous remains of ancient buildings,
 “ of very massive structure and large dimensions, but in a state
 “ of complete ruin. These are attributed to a primitive (or per-
 “ haps a fabulous) tribe of Arabs, the Beni Tamour [Thamoud?]
 “ of whose supposed works some vestiges are likewise seen in the
 “ Syrian deserts of the eastward plains of Hauran.” pp. 402, 403.

¹ Page 158.

* These remains of Hedjer have been confounded with the ruins of Petra. Mr. Crichton, in his ‘History of Arabia’ in the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, p. 92., says: “ The tribe of Thamud first settled in Happy Arabia; and on their expulsion they repaired to Hajir (Petra) on the confines of Syria”; and after referring to several authorities respecting these people he adds, “ It is curious that the sons of Anak destroyed by Joshua (xi. 21.) dwelt near the same place”: this appears, however, to be entirely a misconception, for the latitude assigned by Ptolemy to Petra, which agrees very accurately with that resulting from the geographical information of Burckhardt (see Preface to his *Travels in Syria, &c.*, pp. vi. vii.) is 30° 20’ N.; whilst that of Hedjer, which, as Burckhardt states, is only seven days north of Medina, is marked in the map prefixed to the first volume of his *Travels in Arabia* as only 27° 20’ N.;

the South of Arabia into Africa ; and in like manner we may imagine, that some of those whose settlements lay towards the eastern side of that peninsula, crossed over by the way of the Straits of Ormuz into Persia, and thence into the Indian peninsula. Since, however, these latter countries (as has been shown in Chapter V.) were already in the possession of the descendants of Shem, the acquisition by the Cushites of territories within them cannot be considered as a similar event with their settlement in Africa, of which continent they were the aboriginal possessors.

Still, whatever may have been the mode by which these Cushitish Arabians obtained a footing in India,—whether as peaceable settlers, as conquerors, or even as religious missionaries,—the resemblance which unquestionably exists between the remains of antiquity in Ethiopia and Egypt, and those found in the countries on the western side of the peninsula of India—together with the memorials of the idolatrous polytheism, which in old times was established in the former countries, as it still subsists in the latter, can only be accounted for by tracing them both to one common source ; which again can only be done by regarding the South of Arabia as having been both the birthplace and the nursery of

so that its distance from Petra is three degrees of latitude, or above 200 miles. This error is the more remarkable, since in Mr. Crichton's map of Arabia, the distinction between Hajir (in the country of Thamud) and Petra is preserved.

that religion which was subsequently carried into the countries on either side¹.

With respect to Egypt itself, it is necessary that I should here state, unequivocally, my conviction, that that country is NOT the *Mitzraim* into which Abraham went down², and after him Jacob and his family³, and out of which Jehovah brought the children of Israel⁴; nor is it, I consider, the kingdom of the Pharaohs of a subsequent period⁵; neither, consequently, can it be the country which was the object of the denunciations of the prophets⁶.

If the opinion thus asserted be correct, (and the arguments which I shall proceed to adduce in this and the succeeding Chapters will show how far it may be deserving of being so considered,) it is evident that, independently of the many other important results which must ensue, the country of Egypt can have little or no connexion with the History and Geography of the Sacred Scriptures. As, therefore, it is not intended in the present Work to refer to Profane History or Geography further than may be requisite for the elucidation of the Scriptures, it might at first sight appear unnecessary to enter into the consideration of that country, whose history,

¹ See on the subject of the polytheistic and idolatrous worship of the ancient Arabians Mr. Conder's volume on Arabia, in his excellent work *The Modern Traveller*, pp. 46—48.

² Gen. xii. 10. ³ Gen. xlvi. 3—7. ⁴ Exod. xii. 51.

⁵ 1 Kings iii. 1.; xiv. 25.; 2 Kings xxiii. 29.; xlvi. 2.

⁶ Jer. xliii. 8—13.; Ezek. xxix., xxx., &c.

momentous as in all ages it has been deemed, has derived its greatest interest and importance from its supposed intimate connexion, from the earliest periods, with the history of the progenitors of the Israelites, and also with that of the Israelitish nation itself until its final overthrow and destruction¹.

It is necessary, however, to enter fully into the consideration of the ancient Geography of the Lower division at least of the country of Egypt, since accurate notions on this subject are indispensable to enable us to determine the true position and boundaries of the Land of Mizraim.

In order to arrive at a correct and satisfactory conclusion on this subject, we cannot do better than take as our guide, in the first instance, the Halicarnassian traveller, whose simple statements bear the impress of truth, and whose credulity and ignorance (the amount of which is found, however, by modern research as well as modern science, to be much less than it was long the fashion to consider them,) are, in fact, the strongest vouchers for his veracity.

His words on the subject now before us are as follows: "The greater part of the country described above, [that is, of the whole extent of the Egypt of

¹ It would appear, however, that the expression 'Cush' of the later portion of the Israelitish records (in our authorized version usually rendered 'Ethiopia,') may justly be considered to apply to the Egypt of Profane history; but this conclusion cannot be explained until the subject of Mizraim has first been discussed.

“ Profane history,] as I was informed by the priests
 “ (and my own observation induced me to be of the
 “ same opinion) has been a gradual acquisition to
 “ the inhabitants’ ”; and in a subsequent passage he
 says: “ I conceive that Ægypt itself was a gulph
 “ formerly of similar appearance [to the Arabian
 “ Gulf], and that, issuing from the Northern Ocean,
 “ [i. e. the Mediterranean,] it extended itself to-
 “ wards Æthiopia ”. He further remarks that
 “ the Delta, as they [the Egyptians] assert them-
 “ selves, and as I myself was convinced by obser-
 “ vation, is still liable to be overflowed, and was
 “ formerly covered with water ”; which opinion is
 even more definitely expressed in a previous pass-
 age⁴, in which he relates that in the reign of Me-
 nes “ the whole of Ægypt, except the province of
 “ Thebes, was one extended marsh ”, and that “ no
 “ part of all that district which is now situate be-
 “ yond the lake of Moëris, was then to be seen, the
 “ distance between which lake and the sea is a
 “ journey of seven days ”; and in the last passage
 which I find it necessary to cite, he observes: “ In
 “ its more extensive inundations, the Nile does not
 “ overflow the Delta only, but part [also] of that
 “ territory which is called Libyan, and sometimes
 “ the Arabian frontier, and extends about the space
 “ of two days journey on each side, speaking on an
 “ average⁵.”

¹ Euterpe x.

² *Ibid.* xi.

³ *Ibid.* xv.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv.

⁵ *Ibid.* xix.

Such then were the opinions of this sagacious traveller, and also of the Egyptians themselves in his time; and how correct they are in almost every particular has been demonstrated by modern science and observation. In support of this representation, I need only refer to the thirteenth chapter of the first volume of Mr. Lyell's "Principles of Geology," in which he discusses the subject of the increase of the deltas of rivers, and indisputably establishes the fact of the gradual formation of the country of Lower Egypt by the detritus or alluvial sediment brought down by the Nile.

Herodotus further informs us, that in his time the number of the mouths of the Nile was seven; that which directed itself towards the east being called the Pelusian branch, whilst the Canopic branch was that which inclined the most to the west¹. Of the seven branches of which, 2300 years ago, the Nile thus consisted, it may be considered that two only now remain, namely, the Bolbitine or Rosetta branch, and the Bucolic or that of Damietta, —being, in fact, the two which Herodotus considered to have been formed, not by nature, but by artificial means²;—the others having become either entirely silted up, or rendered unnavigable and of trifling importance. By this decrease in the number of the mouths of the Nile, a considerable contraction, as is well known, has taken place in the extent of the Delta; which contraction, as will be

¹ Euterpe xvii.

² *Ibid.*

perceived by a comparison of the maps of ancient and modern Egypt, has been far greater towards the east than towards the west.

The cause of this diminution in the extent of the Delta, as well on the one side as on the other, arises from the natural inclination of water to run in a straight course, from which results "the tendency" of the apex of a Delta to move downwards, as remarked by Rennell, and exemplified in the ancient and modern state of the Nile below Memphis¹. The consequence is, that as the river continues to resolve itself into one channel, the side streams above the apex of the Delta are successively deprived of the current necessary for keeping them open; whence they become by degrees clogged up, and at length entirely closed. If at the same time the principal stream, from the nature of its bed, or from the configuration of the country through which it flows, be inflected more to the one side than to the other, it will follow that the land on the side towards which the course of the current is impelled, will, in consequence of the branches on that side being kept longer open by the action of the current running in their direction, encroach less upon the stream than that on the side from which the current is directed.

¹ See Mr. Yates's "Remarks on the Formation of Alluvial Deposites," in the *Edinburgh New Phil. Journ.* July 1831., under the third head "*Of Detritus conveyed by Running into Standing Water.*"

Thus, the course of the Nile below Cairo being (as will at once be perceived) towards the west, the encroachment upon the Delta in that direction is far less than on the eastern side of the river, where the direct action of the current is daily diminishing; so that the Damietta branch, like those which formerly existed further to the east, and which remain in the present day scarcely more than by name, may, probably at no distant period, be rendered entirely unnavigable, and, in the course of ages, become likewise silted up: when that time arrives, the Nile will discharge itself into the Mediterranean in one single stream, unless it should open for itself another principal channel, by widening one of the smaller branches running through the centre of the Delta. The observation made by the engineers who accompanied the French expedition to Egypt is entirely in accordance with these views; for they remarked, that throughout the Delta, there is a small inclination from east to west, and they predicted from that circumstance a diminution of water in the eastern arm of the river; which prediction has already been so far accomplished, as to render it necessary to close at low tide the canal of Menoof¹.

But there is still another cause for the greater increase of the land on the eastern side of the Delta. This is the "powerful current" which, (to use Mr.

¹ See *Mod. Trav.*, 'Egypt,' vol. i. p. 247.

Lyell's words¹), "sweeps along the shores of Africa, " from the Straits of Gibraltar to the prominent " convexity of Egypt," and which (as that geologist elsewhere observes²) " appears to prey upon " the delta of the Nile, and to carry eastward the " annual accessions of sediment that once added " rapidly to the plains of Egypt"; some portion of which sediment must, of course, be deposited about the mouths of the eastern branches of the river, thus further tending to impede their current, and to cause them, in the end, to be closed up.

Considering, then, that in the time of Herodotus, 2300 years ago, the Pelusian branch was one of the principal streams of the Nile, and that the inundations of that river sometimes overflowed the Arabian frontier to the distance of two days' journey further eastward; considering also that the causes, which, since that period, have withdrawn the waters of the Nile from the country to the eastward were in operation during the preceding ages, and were most probably attended by results even more strikingly marked than those produced during any later period of equal duration,—for " the progress of " the delta, in the last two thousand years, affords, " perhaps, no measure for estimating its rate of " growth when it was an inland bay, and had not " yet protruded itself beyond the coast-line of the " Mediterranean"³”;—although we may be unable

¹ Principles of Geology, vol. i. p. 239.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 28.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 239.

to form an accurate conception of what, in the time of Moses, 1400 years anterior to the era of Herodotus, was the actual physical condition of the Delta and the adjoining country to the east, we may yet come to a certain conclusion on one point—and it is one of the utmost importance in the consideration of the situation of the land of Mitzraim—namely, that at that early period, and not improbably during several centuries afterwards, the eastern branch of the Nile, or the gulf of the Mediterranean into which that river discharged itself, extended eastward far beyond the meridian of Suez.

Since the Israelites, then, as Major Rennell justly remarks¹, “when they *began* their march out of “Egypt [Mitzraim], must have been on the *east* “side of the Nile, for they certainly did not cross “it on their way to the Red Sea”, the result of the foregoing arguments would seem to preclude the possibility that the situation of the country of their bondage could have been anywhere within the limits of the Egypt of the present day. But there is another fact which may be adduced in confirmation of this statement. It is, that “the “French engineers discovered, when in possession “of Suez, that at a little distance to the north of “that place are marshes which extend for above “twenty-five miles, and are actually lower than “the sea, though they are not overflowed, in con- “sequence of a large bar of sand which has accu-

¹ Geogr. of Herodotus, p. 540.

“ mulated between them ; nothing therefore can
 “ be more probable,” it is argued by Lord Valen-
 tia, from whose ‘ Travels ’ this quotation is made,
 “ than that, in times so far back as the departure
 “ of the Israelites, the sea itself extended to these
 “ marshes”. This conclusion is unquestionably
 reasonable, and is no doubt entirely in accordance
 with what was actually the fact ; particularly as we
 know that the state of this country, generally, is
 such, as in the times of Necho and of Trajan to have
 permitted an union to be formed between the river
 and the Gulf of Suez by means of a canal, and even
 so recently as the year 1800², to have allowed the
 waters of the Nile, from an extraordinary inunda-
 tion, to advance within forty miles of Suez.

¹ Vol. iii. p. 356. London 1809.

² See *Mod. Trav.*, ‘ Egypt,’ vol. i. p. 69. The facts stated by Captain Burnes in a paper on the Physical Geography of Cutch, read before the Royal Geographical Society on the 23rd of December 1833, are strikingly in point, as showing, in two distinct instances, the great changes which may easily take place in the physical condition of a low and level country. The one instance is where, from the Sindians having, so lately as the year 1762, thrown *bunds* or dams across the Phurraun, (a branch of the Indus,) aided subsequently by the violent earthquake of 1819, which has elevated those dams, the waters of that river have been withdrawn from the country, and the district of Cutch next the river has entirely lost its fertility. The other instance is afforded by the *Runn*, a desert district of Cutch, fully 200 miles in length, and about 25 miles in breadth, but of which, including its various arms, the area is not less than 7000 square miles ; which, as appears from the surrounding shores, was formerly the bed of an

On the cumulative authority, then, of the facts now adduced, it may be asserted, without fear of confutation, that by no possibility could "the Land "of Mizraim," the country of the bondage of the Israelites, have been on the Isthmus of Suez, or anywhere to the westward of it within the limits of the present country of Egypt'.

The result thus obtained leads directly to the further inference, that the Gulf of Suez cannot be that sea which, by the direction and under the miraculous protection of the Almighty, was crossed by the Israelites on the occasion of their departure from Mizraim, as recorded in the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Exodus.

The argument by which this conclusion has been arrived at, however greatly at variance with the notions on the subject hitherto universally adopted, might doubtless be considered of itself sufficiently conclusive; but it fortunately happens that we possess the means of arriving at the same result

inland sea, and has acquired its present condition at a comparatively recent date, as is evident from the fact of "the remains "of iron tackling of boats and vessels [being] frequently found "on it; and also from the distinct tradition of the natives, who "even show the situation of the several ports." See an abstract of this paper in the *Athenæum* for the 4th of January 1834.

¹ There is, not improbably, sufficient ground for the conclusion, that, in the earliest postdiluvian ages, the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez were actually united; but even if this could be proved to have been the case, the fact would scarcely add strength to the position advanced above.

directly from the Scriptures themselves ; which will at least serve to satisfy the scruples of those who might at first suppose, that by disputing the traditional explanation of the Geography of the Scriptures, I was denying the authority of the Scriptures themselves.

The arguments which are thus adducible from Scripture are as follows :

The scene of the miraculous passage of the children of Israel is designated by the inspired historian as the יַם־סוּף (*Yam-Suph*¹); by which designation, and by no other, it continued to be known to the Israelites throughout the whole course of their national history². This name, it may be remarked, has been variously rendered in the Septuagint version by the expressions Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, θάλασσα Σίφ, and ἔσχατη θάλασσα ; but in the Vulgate it is (I believe invariably) translated *Mare Rubrum*, which authority has been followed by all the modern versions of the Bible, in which accordingly it is styled the *Red Sea*. In speaking, therefore, of the *Yam-Suph*, I shall use the expression '*Red Sea*' as a synonymous term. I shall at the same time, in order to avoid ambiguity, distinguish the entire sea between the coasts of Arabia and Africa, to which the name of '*the Red Sea*' is usually applied by Geographers,—and of which the *Yam-Suph*, or Red

¹ Exod. xv. 4.

² See particularly Josh. xxiv. 6.; Ps. cxxxvi. 13. 15.; and Neh. ix. 9.

Sea proper, forms a part only—by the name of the *Arabian Gulf*. So the two head gulfs, into which the Arabian Gulf is divided at its northern extremity, will be referred to respectively by the names of the *Gulf of Suez*, and the *Gulf of Akaba*, until we have determined to which of them the designation of *Yam-Suph*, or THE RED SEA, is properly applicable.

The only information respecting the situation of the Red Sea to be derived from those texts of Scripture in which that sea is mentioned in connexion with Mitzraim, and as being the scene of the miracle wrought in favour of the Israelites, is, that it lay in an eastwardly direction from Mitzraim¹; and that the Israelites, having crossed it, “went out into the wilderness of Shur²”, which, we are told, was “before Mitzraim, as thou goest toward Assyria³”.

Dismissing from our minds, for a moment, what has just been said respecting the formation of the low country in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Suez, the foregoing references to the locality of the Red Sea might be considered to be applicable either to that gulf, or to the Gulf of Akaba, according to the view which we might take of the country of Mitzraim, on the eastern side of which that sea is thus shown to have been situate. There is an-

¹ “And the Lord turned a mighty strong *west* wind, which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red sea; there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Mitzraim.” Exod. x. 19.

² Exod. xv. 22.

³ Gen. xxv. 18.

other set of texts, however, which do not refer to the passage of the Red Sea, but which describe the sea which washed the shores of Edom, as being known, in the time of Moses, in that of Solomon, and even so late as the age of the prophet Jeremiah, by the same name of *Yam-Suph*¹, which description,—as it is well known that the position of the country of Edom was to the southward of the Dead or Salt Sea²,—it is evident cannot be appli-

¹ “And when we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Ezion-gaber, we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab.” Deut. ii. 8.

“And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red sea [*Yam-Suph*], in the land of Edom.” 1 Kings ix. 26.

“Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth, at the sea side in the land of Edom.” 2 Chron. viii. 17.

“Therefore hear the counsel of the Lord, that he hath taken against Edom; and his purposes, that he hath purposed against the inhabitants of Teman: Surely the least of the flock shall draw them out: surely he shall make their habitations desolate with them. The earth is moved at the noise of their fall, at the cry the noise thereof was heard in the Red sea [*Yam-Suph*].” Jer. xlix. 20, 21.

² “Then your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the coast of Edom, and your south border shall be the outmost coast of the salt sea eastward”. Numb. xxxiv. 3.—“This then was the lot of the tribe of the children of Judah by their families; even to the border of Edom the wilderness of Zin southward was the uttermost part of the south coast. And their south border was from the shore of the salt sea, from the bay that looketh southward”. Josh. xv. 1, 2.

cable, under any circumstances, to the Gulf of Suez, but to the Gulf of Akaba, and to that alone.

If, therefore, the *Yam-Suph* referred to by Moses, by Joshua, by David, and by Nehemiah, as the scene of the miraculous deliverance of the Israelites, be not the same sea as the *Yam-Suph* mentioned in connexion with the country of Edom by Moses himself, and also by Joshua, and subsequently by the writers of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and by the prophet Jeremiah, we are led to the strange and indeed most improbable conclusion, that the two Gulfs of Suez and Akaba, which are at a distance from each other of more than a hundred and fifty miles, (being in fact further apart than the British is from the Bristol Channel, or even than the latter is from the Irish Sea in the vicinity of Liverpool; and being more distant also from each other than the Tyrrhene and Adriatic Seas on the opposite coasts of Italy, or the Egean and Ionian Seas on either side of Greece,) were, during the entire period of the existence of the Israelitish nation, not merely known by the same name, but were even perfectly undistinguishable the one from the other:—a conclusion which nothing but the gratuitous assumption that the Gulf of Suez was the Red Sea passed by the Israelites, would for a moment have allowed to be entertained.

Should the arguments and proofs already adduced be not considered even more than sufficient to rebut that assumption, and to demonstrate that the Gulf

of Akaba, and not the Gulf of Suez, is *invariably* referred to in Scripture by the designation of *Yam-Suph*, or the Red Sea,—and particularly that it is the sea which was passed through by the Israelites on their Exodus from Mitzraim,—the statement of Scripture with respect to the natural agent employed by the Almighty to effect the miraculous passage, will incontestibly establish the fact thus asserted, for the words of the text are totally inapplicable to the situation of the Gulf of Suez, and can in fact refer only to that of the Gulf of Akaba.

The words of the inspired historian in the passage alluded to are as follows: “And the Lord caused “the sea to go back [from הָלַךְ (*halákh*) to go, or as applied to waters to flow, and in the present instance to run off or recede:] “by a strong east “wind all that night, and made the sea dry land”’. In illustration of this text, Dr. E. D. Clarke instances a remarkable phænomenon which occurs in the Sea of Azof during particular seasons. His words are: “During violent east winds, the sea retires in so remarkable a manner, that the people of Taganrock “are able to effect a passage on dry land to the opposite coast; a distance of twenty versts (rather “less than fourteen miles): but when the wind “changes, which it sometimes does very suddenly, “the waters return with such rapidity to their “wonted bed, that many lives are lost”’. It must, however, be remarked, that the application of this

¹ Exod. xiv. 21.

² Travels, vol. i. p. 325. 4to edit. 1810.

observation of Dr. Clarke to the text in question, is not obvious, since the same effect which results from the action of an east wind on the head of the Sea of Azof, the direction of which sea is nearly from east to west, could not have been produced in the Red Sea, (whether that sea were the Gulf of Suez or that of Akaba,) which lies nearly north and south; and in which, consequently, the east wind, in its direct natural operation, could only have impelled the waters from the Arabian or eastern side, and have heaped them up on the Mitzritish or western side, without however at all causing the sea to recede or run off, or to become dry land, (agreeably to the words of Scripture,) so as to afford a passage to the Israelites.

But the indirect mode in which the east wind acted so as to produce the precise effects related in the text may be thus shown. The "strong east wind," which according to the words of the text "blew all that night," if produced by the action of natural causes, could not possibly have had merely a local operation, but its effects must have been sensible throughout a great extent of latitude; and as the statement of Scripture does not lead to any other inference than that the miraculous interference of the Almighty (so far at least as relates to the wind itself,) consisted in exciting, at that particular juncture, and most probably in an extraordinary degree and during an extraordinary period, the natural causes of such a wind, it is evident that

the action of the east wind would not have been confined within the limits of the Red Sea itself, but must have extended over a considerable portion, or perhaps over the whole, of the Arabian Gulf, the consequence of which would be, that the waters of the latter sea would have been driven from the shores of Arabia, westward, towards the Egyptian coast. Hence it would have resulted, that the level of the waters on the eastern side of the Arabian Gulf would (in like manner as in the Sea of Azof,) have been considerably lowered; whilst on the western side they would have been heaped up, and considerably augmented and deepened. The further consequence of this change in the level of the main sea would be, that the two head gulfs communicating with it on either side would naturally have partaken of the same variation, and they would accordingly have followed the course of those portions of the Arabian Gulf itself with which they respectively communicated. Whilst, therefore, the waters of the Gulf of Suez would have been acted upon similarly to those on the western side of the Arabian Gulf, and would have been raised far above their usual level, so as to be rendered more than ordinarily impassable; those of the Gulf of Akaba, on the contrary, would have partaken of the depression of the sea on the eastern side of the Arabian Gulf, and would thus have been placed under the very circumstances best suited for the purposes of the Almighty, —and in strict accordance with the words of Scrip-

ture, for it might be truly said that “the Lord caused “ the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that “ night, and made the sea dry land¹.”

But that the deliverance of the Israelites might not, with any reasonable pretence, be attributable, either by that “stiffnecked people” themselves or by unbelievers of after-ages, to the mere operation of simply natural causes,—although it is to be remembered that the operation of those natural causes at that particular juncture was as truly a miracle as the actual personal intervention of the Deity would have been,—the Almighty was further pleased to show His interference in a more immediate manner by causing the waters which were yet left in the sea to be “a wall unto them [the children of “Israel] on their right hand, and on their left”, so that they “walked upon dry land in the midst of “the sea’.”

Having then, as I conceive, determined beyond the possibility of doubt the true position of the Red Sea of Scripture, I may be allowed to remark, that there cannot be a more striking exemplification of the consequences of permitting any *human* authority to supersede the exercise of our reason, than the erroneous position which, down to the present time,

¹ For this argument respecting the operation of the east wind I am indebted to the suggestion of a friend, to whom I had communicated the conclusion I had arrived at respecting the true position of the Red Sea of Scripture.

² Exod. xiv. 22.

³ Exod. xiv. 29.

has been attributed to that sea. The wonder is, how an error of such moment, and one which was so easy of rectification, should, during so many ages, have maintained its ground undetected, and, as far as I have the means of judging, even without the slightest suspicion of its existence.

It is a satisfaction, however, that we at least possess the means of detecting and explaining the origin of this error, which is simply as follows: Independently of the general ignorance of the Jews subsequently to the loss of their national independence, which led them to imagine that the Egypt of Profane history was the country in which the bondage of their ancestors had taken place, we have the most convincing proof from Herodotus that in his time the existence of the Gulf of Akaba, was unknown to the Egyptians, and, *à fortiori*, to the Jews then resident in Egypt. According to his account, the sea to the east of the Arabian peninsula, (the Persian Gulf of the present day,) and also the Indian Ocean to the south of Arabia, were called by the name of 'Ερυθρὰ θάλασσα', with which sea the Arabian Gulf is correctly stated by him to have communicated. The following is his description at length of the Arabian Gulf: "In Arabia, at no great di-

¹ Clio clxxx.; Melpom. xxxvii., xxxix., and see the notes from Larcher and Bryant on the last, in Beloe's Translation. It is true that in Melpom. xli. Herodotus refers to the Arabian Gulf by the name of 'Ερυθρὰ θάλασσα, but at the same time he clearly distinguishes this from his general application of it.

“ stance from Ægypt, there is a long but narrow
 “ bay, diverging from the Red Sea [*Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα*,
 “ in this case the Indian Ocean], which I shall more
 “ minutely describe. Its extreme length, from the
 “ straits where it commences [or, more correctly,
 “ beginning from the head of the gulf¹,] to where it
 “ communicates with the main, will employ a bark
 “ with oars a voyage of forty days, but its breadth
 “ in the widest parts may be sailed over in half a
 “ day. In this bay the tide daily ebbs and flows;
 “ and I conceive that Ægypt itself was a gulph
 “ formerly of similar appearance, and that, issuing
 “ from the Northern Ocean [the Mediterranean], it
 “ extended itself towards Æthiopia; in the same
 “ manner the Arabian one so described, rising in
 “ the south, flowed towards Syria; and that the
 “ two were only separated from each other by a
 “ small neck of land².”

This statement, while it proves the general correctness of this historian's information, and also his accuracy of observation,—since the ebbing and flowing of the Arabian Gulf is a fact that would naturally attract the attention of an intelligent observer, acquainted only with the Mediterranean Sea, in which the rise and fall of the tide is scarcely perceptible,—establishes likewise the precise amount of the deficiency of his knowledge on the subject, inasmuch as his comparison of the breadth of the

¹ ἀρξαιμένω ἐκ μυχού “ si ab intimo sinus recessu proficiscaris.”
 —*Schweighaeuser*.

² Euterpe xi.

Arabian Gulf with that of the narrow valley of the Nile, and his statement that “*in the widest parts it might be sailed over in half a day,*” sufficiently demonstrate his idea to have been, that throughout its entire extent to the Straits of Babelmandeb, it was not wider than the Gulf of Suez; and that, in fact, the whole Arabian Gulf was merely a prolongation of that branch of it which was next to Egypt, namely, the Gulf of Suez itself.

We are more especially led to the conclusion that this historian, in common with the Egyptians from whom he derived his information, was ignorant of the existence of the eastern branch of the Arabian Gulf, by the further statement which he makes when describing one of the regions into which he divides the world; namely, that this region “commences in Persia, and is continued to the Red Sea [*Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα*, here the Persian Gulf]. “Besides Persia, it comprehends Assyria and Arabia, naturally terminating in the Arabian Gulph, into which Darius introduced a channel of [canal from] the Nile¹”; thus unequivocally establishing his ignorance of the existence of any division between the main land of Arabia and the peninsula of Mount Tor.

This being, then, the state of knowledge in Egypt respecting the Arabian Gulf 450 years before the

¹ Melpom. xxxix.—In quoting Beloe’s Translation of Herodotus, on account of its being the version which is best known in this country, I scarcely need protest against its many well-known inaccuracies and defects.

Christian era, we can readily understand how the Jews, who subsequently to that period resided in Egypt, and particularly in Alexandria the extreme western point of that country, should have entertained similar notions on the subject; and as they had (we know not how long anterior to the epoch of the Septuagint translation,) also adopted the idea that the Mitzraim of Scripture was represented by the then flourishing kingdom of Egypt, under the sway of the mighty dynasty of the Ptolemies,—in the face, however, of the prophecies, which had said that Mitzraim should be “the basest “ of the kingdoms¹”, and that there should “be no “ more a prince of the land of Mitzraim²,”—it is readily conceivable how the Gulf of Suez, the sea immediately to the eastward of Egypt, should have been regarded as the Red Sea in which the host of Pharaoh was overwhelmed. When once this conclusion had been formed, and the Jewish residents in Egypt had thence proceeded to determine (as they conceived satisfactorily,) the sites of the several localities connected with that miraculous occurrence, it would have been expecting too great a concession from that bigotry which unfortunately has generally characterized the Rabbins and their disciples, that they should have been induced, simply by an effort of reason, to reconsider and to impugn the authority which they had thus once recognized; so that the knowledge subsequently acquired

¹ Ezek. xxix. 15.

² Ezek. xxx. 13.

of the existence of the Gulf of Akaba would have availed them literally nothing.

Yet, however the Jews may have persisted in the error into which they had in the first instance unintentionally fallen, it is quite inconceivable how the authority of these "blind leaders of the blind" should so unhesitatingly have been followed by Christian commentators and travellers, who possessed ample means for arriving at a correct judgement, and who were not (or who at least ought not to have been) bound in the trammels which enslaved those from whom they had originally derived their erroneous information on the subject.

In thus establishing the fact that the Gulf of Akaba, and not the Gulf of Suez, is the *Yam-Suph* or Red Sea of Scripture, we at the same time obtain the strongest confirmation of the inference already drawn from the physical condition of Lower Egypt in former times, that that country is not the Mitzraim of Scripture.

The geography and history of this latter country will necessarily be the subject of a lengthened investigation, in consequence of the entirely new aspect under which, according to my views, they must be considered: but this investigation is reserved for a subsequent portion of this Work. It may, however, be advisable, before quitting the subject for the present, to advert to the positions of the several countries and remarkable places situate to the eastward of the Red Sea, the history

of which is more particularly connected with the Exodus of the Israelites.

In the first place, then, it is evident that Mount Sinai cannot by any possibility be situate within the peninsula of Mount Tor, where it has for ages been placed, and where a mountain has been gratuitously chosen as the object, in that character, of the veneration of pilgrims and of the curiosity of travellers.

The next consequence is, that we are at once relieved from the necessity of imagining that there were two countries of Midian,—the one inhabited by the descendants of the son of Abraham by Keturah, who with his brothers was sent “eastward, “unto the east country”¹”, and the other, that in which Moses dwelt when he “fled from the face of “Pharaoh”²,”—inasmuch as we are now enabled to fix upon a single country which will be found to be applicable to the circumstances of both.

The position of this country may thus shortly be shown: It is known that the district immediately to the eastward of the Dead Sea and of the Jordan, was possessed by the Moabites and Ammonites, the descendants of Lot; and as the situation of the country of the Keturites was also east of Jordan, these latter people, of whom the Midianites were a principal branch, must,—so far as they spread themselves southward,—necessarily have had their territory at the front, or to the east of the country of

¹ Gen. xxv. 6.

² Exod. ii. 15.

the children of Moab and Ammon. In thus extending themselves over the great Syrian Desert, as far, probably, as "the great river, the river Eu-phrates," the possessions of these descendants of Abraham by Keturah would have approached those of the children of Ishmael, who "dwelt from Ha-vilah unto Shur, that is before Mitzraim, as thou goest toward Assyria¹:" and, as these two people were of common origin, we can have no difficulty in conceiving that the Midianites may have become so intermixed and even amalgamated with the Ishmaelites, as to have occasioned the two races frequently to be considered as one people. That such was actually the case is, indeed, evident from the fact, that the names of these two people, the Ishmaelites and the Midianites, are in two instances used in Scripture as convertible terms; the one instance being where the "company of Ishmeelites", to whom Joseph was sold by his brethren, are in the same passage also described as "Midianites, merchantmen²;" and the other occurring where the Midianites under Zebah and Zalmunna, who were conquered by Gideon, are mentioned as wearing "golden earrings, because they were Ishmaelites³."

The situation of the country of these Midianites may be considered, therefore, to have been as it were facing the southern extremity of the Dead

¹ Gen. xxv. 18.

² Gen. xxxvii. 25—28.

³ Judg. viii. 12—24.

Sea, but considerably to the eastward of the meridian of that sea and of the head of the Gulf of Akaba: and we can thus understand how Moses, in his flight from the land of Mitzraim, which (as has been already shown¹, and as will in a subsequent Chapter be more fully explained,) extended so far eastward as to border on the Gulf of Akaba, should have retired into this identical country of Midian², without seeking for any other spot as that of his exile³.

The situation thus attributed to the land of Midian will also furnish us with the means of determining, with a tolerable degree of accuracy, the true positions of Horeb and Mount Sinai, and that by

¹ Page 178, *et seq.*

² Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro and wife of Moses, although by descent a Midianite, was also called a Cushite (incorrectly rendered an *Ethiopian* Numb. xii. 1.), on account of the country occupied by her ancestor Midian being within the territory of Cush (see Page 158.). So Abraham was in like manner called a Syrian or Aramite (Deut. xxvi. 5.), on account of his residence in Aram, although he was by descent, and even by birth, an Arphaxadite, or Chaldean.

³ By thus removing the position of Midian to a distance from the Red Sea, we are presented with an indefeasible refutation (independently of all other arguments,) of the schemes of those persons who would attribute the miraculous passage of that sea to the knowledge of its tides and of the local winds, which had been acquired by Moses during his long residence on its shores (where the country of Jethro has hitherto been considered to have been situate), by which he was enabled, as they would allege, to perform a pretended miracle.

the following train of argument. We are told¹, that whilst resident in Midian, Moses led the flock of his father-in-law Jethro אָחַר הַפְּרָבָר (*achár hammid-bár*)—"to the back side of the desert," as the expression is usually rendered, but as it should be translated in its proper geographical sense,—'to the west of the desert'; which, as regarded the direction from Midian, the point from whence Moses had departed, would be on that side of the desert which was nearest to Mitzraim. After the command of the Lord to Moses to return into Mitzraim, he first went back into Midian to his father-in-law Jethro, to acquaint him with his departure²; and then he "took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Mitzraim"³. We further learn that the Lord, agreeably to the word which He spake to Moses in Horeb, "said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses. And he went, and met him in the mount of God"⁴. The fact here established undeniably is, that Moses, in his road from Midian into Mitzraim, encountered Aaron who was coming out of the latter country to meet him, and that the place where the brothers met was "the mount of God;"—the same place "to the west of the desert" where the Lord had previously appeared to Moses "in a flame of fire out of the midst of a

¹ Exod. iii. 1.

² The Hebrew mode of describing the cardinal points has been noticed in Page 78, *note*.

³ Exod. iv. 18.

⁴ Exod. iv. 20.

⁵ Exod. iv. 27.

“bush”¹. In the absence of all reasons for a contrary opinion, we are bound, therefore, to assume, that the road which was taken by Moses on his return to Mitzraim, and in which he was thus met by Aaron, was the usual and direct road between the two countries; for on no other would they have had a chance of encountering each other without a special direction from the Almighty as to the course they were, each of them; to take; and that no such direction was given, is inferrible from the words of God unto Moses having been, simply, “Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? . . . behold, he cometh forth to meet thee².” It is consequently in the direction of this high road alone that we have to look for the precise situation of “the mount of God.” Now the dry valley between the southern extremity of the Dead Sea and the head of the Gulf of Akaba or Red Sea (which valley there is the strongest ground for believing was once the continuation of the Jordan,) is known by the names of El Ghor and El Arabâ; and towards the centre of this valley are situate the ruins of the once famed city of Petra, which, after having been for ages concealed, was not long since brought to light by the indefatigable Burckhardt. This city is in the present day a place where many caravan roads meet³; and, from its situation, it would seem that in its neighbourhood must at all times have been the prin-

¹ Exod. iii. 2.

² Exod. iv. 14.

³ See Heeren's *Historical Researches*: 'Asiatic Nations,' vol. ii. p. 104.

cipal thoroughfare between the countries which are situated respectively to the west and to the east of the Dead Sea. We shall probably be not far removed from the truth, therefore, in concluding that in this neighbourhood, being on the high road from Midian into Mitzraim, the site of Horeb should be looked for. It may even be not unreasonable to entertain the idea that the Araba (عَرَبَة *harabah*) of the Arabs, and the Horeb (חֹרֵב *khoreb*) of Scripture, may be identical; and it may consequently be regarded as a coincidence worthy of remark, that in the immediate vicinity of Petra is a mountain which the tradition of the country—and that one of no late period, since it is mentioned by Josephus, Eusebius and Jerom¹,—points out as being Mount Hor, the burying-place of Aaron, whilst a stream which runs at its base is called, after the Jewish lawgiver, *Ain Mousa*². I do not mean to assign any extraordinary value to this coincidence; but as the rock in Horeb, from which Moses miraculously caused the stream to flow, and also Mount Sinai, must unquestionably be sought

¹ See Col. Leake's Preface to Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria, &c.*, p. vii.

² "Ain Mousa is a copious spring, rushing from under a rock "at the eastern extremity of Wady Mousa."—Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 420. Col. Leake suggests (Pref. p. vii.) that Mousa is, "perhaps, an Arabic corruption of Mosera where Aaron died " (Deut. x. 6.);" but if my views respecting the geography of this particular country be correct, the necessity for such a supposition fails, since Mount Tor will have to be placed in a very different part of the Desert of Arabia.

for in this direction, this neighbourhood, if no undue importance be attributed to the tradition I have just alluded to, may deserve the attention of future investigators of this subject, and particularly that of travellers who may visit the country¹ of which it forms a part.

It is not my intention in this place to enter into the consideration of the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert; it being sufficient, for the present, to have shown that they could not have taken place within the peninsula of Mount Tor; and to record my opinion, that the several stations of the forty years' wanderings can only be looked for in *THE Wilderness* (הַמִּדְבָּר *hammidbār*)², that is, in the great *Desert of Arabia*, to the east of the Red Sea or Gulf of Akaba.

¹ That the situation of Mount Sinai was in this direction is further evident from the words of the inspired legislator in his prophetic blessing of the children of Israel: "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran" (Deut. xxxiii. 2.); in which text, by the reduplication which is so remarkable a feature of Hebrew poetry, the same place, or, more correctly, the same neighbourhood, is alluded to under different names.

In determining the position of Mount Sinai, we must not overlook the express statement of Moses, that "there are eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea" (Deut. i. 2.); from which it may probably result that its true situation will be found to be to the eastward of Petra.

² Numb. xiv. 25, *et seq.*

CHAPTER IX.

Descendants of Ham, continued.—Mitzraim :—Situation of his possessions :—His descendants :—The Lubim, Anamim, Lehabim and Naphtuhim, the progenitors of the present race of Arabs.—The Ishmaelites a Mitzritish people, notwithstanding their paternal descent from Abraham :—Consideration of the prophecies respecting Ishmael.—The Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, likewise of Mitzritish extraction.—The Pathrusim the inhabitants of the 'land of Mitzraim' of Scripture, or Mitzraim Proper.—The Casluhim, Philistim, and Capthorim.—The aborigines of the North of Africa descendants of Mitzraim.—General sketch of the origin of the various African nations.—Phut :—The progenitor of the nations in the neighbourhood of the land of Canaan who were extirpated prior to the Exodus of the Israelites.—Canaan :—His possessions and descendants.—Concluding remarks.

ALTHOUGH the African continent unquestionably is that portion of the globe which in the process of time became peculiarly, and indeed almost exclusively, the inheritance of the posterity of Ham ; yet as the progress of the several races of mankind from the centre of dispersion, subsequently to the miraculous confusion of tongues, must be considered to have been gradual, and to have taken place, in fact, under the (appointed) influence of simply natural causes¹, it is evident that none of the sons of Ham, in the first instance, could have settled anywhere within the limits of Africa.

¹ See Pages 76, 77.

The truth of this proposition, so far as it relates to the descendants of Mitzraim in particular, is further established by the results which have been arrived at in the preceding Chapter with respect to the early physical state of the country on and to the westward of the Isthmus of Suez ; from which it is manifest that these people, who have been supposed to have settled in Egypt immediately after the dispersion of mankind, could not in reality have passed into that country, until several, and probably many, ages subsequent to that epoch.

This result accords entirely with the system of Geography propounded in the present Work, agreeably to the principles of which¹ it is requisite that the original possessions of the Mitzrites should be arranged in regular order from east to west, from where they adjoin the territories of the Cushites towards the east, to where they unite with those of the Canaanites towards the west, or rather the north-west²; that is to say, over the whole of the north-western portion of the peninsula of Arabia. It is in this order, therefore, that I shall proceed with the consideration of the first settlements of the posterity of Mitzraim, and with the early history of the various races of that people.

¹ See Page 78.

² The descendants of Phut, the third-named son of Ham, would thus appear to be omitted ; but they are not overlooked, and the reason of their exclusion from any permanent territorial possessions will be explained as I proceed in this Chapter.

The descendants of Mitzraim are thus enumerated in Scripture: "And Mitzraim begat Ludim, " and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and " Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (out of whom came " Philistim,) and Caphtorim¹."

According to the arrangement above mentioned, the Ludim, the Anamim, the Lehabim, and the Naphtuhim, must all be regarded as having been people of the north-western part of Arabia, whose possessions lay next adjoining to those of the Cushites on the east. I am aware that these four races are generally deemed to have been the inhabitants of various portions of the Continent of Africa; but the scanty notices of them in Scripture are far from warranting such an assumption, and indeed, if properly considered, they lead to an entirely contrary conclusion. The Ludim in particular are mentioned, in conjunction with Cush and Phut and the Lubim, as tributaries of Mitzraim², and are described as a people "that handle and bend the " bow³." This description is entirely applicable to a people like the Arabs of the desert⁴; and it is far from improbable that they are the same people as those who are described by the name of אֲרָבִים

¹ Gen. x. 13, 14.

² Jer. xlvi. 9.; Ezek. xxx. 5.

³ Jer. xlvi. 9.

⁴ Of Ishmael it is said, that he "dwelt in the wilderness [the "desert of Arabia, see Page 196.] and became an archer" (Gen. xxi. 20.); that is, as I shall proceed to show, he became assimilated with these Mitzritish Arabs.

(*Sukkiyim*)¹, the *dwellers in tents*, who, at a subsequent period in the Sacred History, formed a part of the army with which Shishak king of Mizraim invaded Judah. Neither the Anamim nor

¹ 2 Chron. xii. 3. As the name *Cush* had erroneously been supposed to be applicable to *Æthiopia super Ægyptum*, (the Nubia and Abyssinia of the present day,) the name *Sukkiyim* was, not unnaturally, imagined by the Jews to refer to the Ethiopian people, the Troglodytes, mentioned by Herodotus (Melpom. clxxxiii.), who were so called because they lived *ἐν τρωγλαῖς*, in *caves*; and their name in the Hebrew has accordingly been supposed to be derived from the verb סָכַח (sakhakh), to *cover* or *hide*, as applicable to the nature of their dwellings.

But if (as I shall in the sequel attempt to show,) the *Cush* of Scripture was at no period identical with Ethiopia, the necessity for this assumed derivation ceases, and we are at liberty to look to the natural etymon of the word, which will far better explain its meaning than the forced interpretation given to it by the translators of the Septuagint version. This etymon I consider to be the noun סֹךְ (*sokh*), or feminine סֹכָה (*sukkáh*), a *tent*, from which the word סֻכְיִים (*Sukkiyim*) is regularly formed, as signifying *dwellers in tents*; that is to say, the people who, for ages afterwards, continued to be known by the same designation, namely the *Scenite* Arabs (from σκηνή, a *tent*), the Bedoweens of the present day, who must necessarily have formed (as *irregular horse*.) a considerable portion of the immense number of cavalry of which, it would seem, Shishak's army principally consisted.

It may be observed that these people derive their present name of Bedoweens, (i. e. *dwellers in the desert*.) from بَدَاة (badákh), a wide, extended tract of country; a *desert*.

The foregoing note forms a portion of a paper read before the Royal Society of Literature, on the 15th of January, 1834, entitled, "Reasons for believing that the Writings attributed to Manetho are not authentic."

the Naphtuhim are again mentioned in Scripture ; nor do the Lehabim לְהַבִּים (*Lehabim*) recur, unless, as is generally considered, they be the same people as the לוּבִים (*Lubim*), who are described, like the Ludim, as tributaries of Mitzraim¹.

It is these people of the north-western portion of Arabia who were the countrymen of Hagar the Mitzrite, the mother of Ishmael, and it is among them that she went with him to reside, when she was expelled from the house of the patriarch Abraham, and from among whom also she “took him a wife,” as recorded in Scripture².

This Mitzritish people, into whom Ishmael thus married, and with whom, as the Ishmaelites and the Midianites soon became identified³, this latter race also, and most probably the descendants of the other sons of Keturah, must in like manner be considered to have formed alliances, so as in the result to become altogether but one people—“the mingled “people הַחֵרֶב (*hahéreb*) that dwell in the desert” —must accordingly be regarded as being the progenitors of the present race of Arabians, who have either extirpated or absorbed into themselves the former race of Cushites inhabiting the Peninsula of Arabia, of whom I have made mention in the preceding Chapter⁴.

These people, although they glory in their de-

¹ 2 Chron. xii. 3., xvi. 8. ; Dan. xi. 43. ; Nah. iii. 9.

² Gen. xxi. 21.

³ See Page 191.

⁴ Jer. xxv. 24.

⁵ Pages 158—167.

scent from the patriarch Abraham, are in their origin essentially descendants of Ham, through Mizraim, whose blood principally must flow in their veins. As I am on this point again opposed to the opinions generally entertained, it is necessary that I should explain at length the grounds for the conclusion at which I have thus arrived.

They are as follows :—Ishmael, as being the son of Abraham and Hagar, was descended in equal degree from Shem and Ham ; that is, from the former through his father, who was an Arphaxadite or Chaldee, and from the latter through his mother, who was a Mitzrite. But whilst he was thus in blood already half a Hamite, through his Mitzritish mother, his leaving his father's house when he was most probably not more than fifteen years of age¹, and taking up his residence with his maternal countrymen, would naturally have caused him to adopt their manners, their feelings, and their language, so that he would have become a naturalized Mitzrite ; and his subsequent marriage with a Mitzritish woman would have had the effect of entirely identifying him with her nation. But this is not the only consequence : the descendants of Ishmael in the first degree, would have possessed a half part only of the blood of their father, and consequently one quarter part only of the Shemitish blood of their grandfather Abraham ; and, by their further intermarriages with the Mitzrites, this quantity of the blood

¹ Compare Gen. xvii. 21. 25., xxi. 2. 8. 14.

of Shem would have diminished upon every descent in the ratio of one half; so that in the course of a few generations it would have become inappreciable. Even an alliance between the Ishmaelites and their brethren the Keturites, or their union with the Edomites, would not have increased the purity of their blood, in as much as those races themselves were originally descended in half-degree from the inhabitants of the countries in which their progenitors had settled, and therefore these stocks would have possessed no greater quantity of the blood of Shem than the Ishmaelites themselves. The deduction hence to be made is, that the Ishmaelites became in the result identified with the Mitzrites, and they must consequently, as a nation, be considered in that light, notwithstanding their paternal descent from the patriarch Abraham¹.

The origin of the Arabians of the present day is,

¹ A familiar illustration of this argument presents itself in the instance of the descendants of a mulatto born between a white European and an African negress: the son of that mulatto by another negress (being what in our West Indian possessions is styled a *sambo*,) would scarcely be distinguishable from a pure negro; and in a generation or two more, from a similar union each time with a true negress, all indications of the mixture of white blood would be totally lost, although the progeny would be in the male line of undoubted European lineage. It is not intended by this illustration to imply that the marked difference of colour between the European and the African should be applied to the case of Abraham and Hagar, although the latter, from her more southern origin, was doubtless of a somewhat darker complexion than the former.

in the native genealogies, derived from two sources; namely, Joktan the son of Eber, and Adnan, the lineal descendant of Ishmael, (Ishmael having, as is stated, married into the tribe of Jorham the son of Joktan, whose posterity reigned in Hedjaz,) the alleged descendants of the former being designated as *al Arab al Ariba*, i. e. pure Arabs; whilst those of the latter are called *al Arab al Mostareba*, i. e. mixed Arabs¹. I have already adverted to the notion of ascribing the descent of any portion of the Arabs to Joktan², and have, I trust, sufficiently evinced its entire fallacy, notwithstanding the universal tradition of the natives themselves.

With respect to the tradition which affirms that Ishmael married into the family of Jorham, who reigned in Hedjaz, it is too much opposed to the statements of Scripture to require refutation by argument. The words of the text are, that "he [Ishmael] dwelt in the wilderness of Paran³," the position of which we know to have been in Arabia Petraea, on the road from Mount Sinai to the promised land⁴, being at least 300 miles to the north of any part of what is commonly (though probably erroneously) included in the Hedjaz⁵, and above 400 miles from the commencement of what we may term Hedjaz Proper, whilst it is full 600 miles from the particular portion of Arabia which is regarded by

¹ *Mod. Trav.*, 'Arabia', pp. 23, 24.

² Pages 112—114.

³ Gen. xxi. 21.

⁴ Numb. x. 12., xiii. 3.

⁵ See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, 8vo, vol. ii. pp. 287, 288.

the natives as the scene of the principal occurrences in the life of Ishmael¹. So entirely, indeed, is the early Arabian history founded in fable,—arising, not merely from an amplification or even from a distortion of facts, in which the truth, with care, might yet be recognized, but from the adoption of tales which cannot possibly have any foundation whatever in the real history of the country or its inhabitants, being rather the indirect results of their polytheistic mythology, united with their corruption of the Biblical History,—that I question much whether there be any portion of it upon which we may make a stand, excepting, perhaps, the allegation that there existed an aboriginal race,—Shemites, as they assert, but which I have shown to have been Cushites²,—which race was subdued if not extirpated by the present people, whom they derive from Joktan and Ishmael, but who must in reality have sprung from the eastern portion of the Mitzrites, into which Ishmael married.

That Ishmael himself and his immediate descend-

¹ The traditions of the Arabs affirm, that the Kaaba, or Beitulah, at Mekka, was reconstructed by the patriarch Abraham, assisted by his son Ishmael, on the old foundations, which had been laid by Adam (Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 297.); and the well Zemzem is believed by the Moslems to be the one which was shown to Hagar by the angel of God, as recorded in Gen. xxi. 19., (see *Mod. Trav.*, 'Arabia,' p. 246.); which well, however, the Scripture tells us, was in the wilderness of Beer-sheba (Gen. xxi. 14.), which was adjoining to the country of the Philistines (*Ibid.* ver. 32.).

² See Pages 158—167.

ants speedily formed a numerous and powerful tribe amongst his maternal countrymen, is manifest from the words of the Almighty respecting him: "Behold, " I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, " and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes " shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation¹;" from which words it may be inferred likewise, that he and his descendants obtained supremacy over the rest of the Arabians: and as they multiplied rapidly and spread widely over Arabia, and formed (as in the course of time they naturally would have done,) alliances with the various other tribes inhabiting that country, it is most probable that the far greater number, if not the whole, of the Arabians of the present day may have some portion of the blood of Ishmael in their veins; so that to these people, as being literally and truly the descendants of that patriarch, are justly and exclusively applicable the words of the angel of the Lord which were spoken to Hagar: " I will multiply thy " seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered " for multitude And he [Ishmael] will be " a wild man; his hand will be against every man, " and every man's hand against him; and he shall " dwell in the presence of all his brethren²." But that the Ishmaelites did not long continue as an entirely distinct nation from the rest of the Mitthritish Arabians, is at the same time evident from the

¹ Gen. xvii. 20.; and see also Gen. xxi. 18.

² Gen. xvi. 10—12.

fact, that whilst "the vials of the wrath of God" were poured out upon Edom, upon Moab, upon Ammon, and even upon Midian¹, the Ishmaelites, although doubtless included among "the mingled "people" mentioned by the prophets², are not in one single instance referred to expressly by name.

As I have, in adverting to the aboriginal Cushitic inhabitants of Africa, refrained from entering at length upon the subject of them³, so likewise shall I now omit the consideration of the Mitzritish races who, at a later period in the history of the world, followed in the steps of their Cushitic predecessors; it being sufficient to allude to the Ethiopians or Abyssinians of the present day, whose language, of cognate origin with the Arabic, shows, beyond the possibility of doubt, its derivation from the opposite shores of the Arabian Gulf.

I now revert once more to the subject of the immediate descendants of Mitzraim. Of these, the next in regular succession are the Pathrusim, whose country, "the land of Pathros," is throughout Scripture unequivocally connected and even identified with "the land of Mitzraim," the kingdom of the Pharaohs⁴. The only mode which pre-

¹ Hab. iii. 7.

² Jer. xxv. 20, 24., 1. 37.; Ezek. xxx. 5. ³ See Page 159.

⁴ See particularly Ezek. xxix. 14.: "And I will bring again "the captivity of Mitzraim, and will cause them [the Mitzrites] "to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation; and they shall be there a base kingdom." And see also Isa. xi. 11.; Jer. xlv. 1. 15; Ezek. xxx. 14.

sents itself to me of accounting for this particular appropriation to the country of the Pathrusim of the name of Mitzraim, is by supposing that these people were the eldest branch of the descendants of that phylarch, and that in right of their primogeniture they were more especially entitled to perpetuate among themselves the name of the head of their race; and the position of the particular country which became their inheritance greatly favours this supposition, in as much as its situation is almost central amongst those of the other Mitzritish tribes,—the Ludim, Ananim, Lehabim and Naphtuhim on the one side, and the Casluhim, Caph-torim and Philistines on the other¹. Under this view, the country of the Pathrusim, as being that which became “the land of bondage” of the children of Israel, and which throughout the whole course of the Israelitish history is referred to by the name of Mitzraim, may, in the present Work, be not unappropriately distinguished from the possessions of the other Mitzritish families by the name of *Mitzraim Proper*.

In its regular order the investigation of the particular geography and history of this country would now follow; but as the opinions which I

¹ The central position thus attributed to the eldest branch of the descendants of Mitzraim, is entirely in accordance with the examples already adduced in Pages 87, 88, of the operation of the same principle of distribution with respect to the sons of Noah and of Shem.

have already asserted, and those which I have yet to bring forward with respect to them, are so entirely novel and opposed to those which are universally entertained, and as the subject is one which, from its deeply interesting character, will necessarily require a lengthened investigation, I think it better to postpone it altogether until I have terminated the few further remarks which I have to make respecting those descendants of Ham whose possessions and history have not yet been mentioned.

Of the Mitzritish tribes, to which we now have to refer, there remain only the "Casluhim, (out of "whom came Philistim,) and Caphtorim".¹ Of the original possessions of these people our notices are but meagre. The ultimate position of the country of the Philistines to the south of the land of Canaan is, however, too well known to occasion the slightest difficulty on this head; nor need we hesitate, indeed, according to our second principle of distribution², in conceiving that the original country of the Casluhim and Caphtorim extended from Pathros or Mizraim Proper northward to the shores of the Mediterranean, the country of the latter people being, in the Scriptural language, designated as אִי כַפְתֹּר (I Caphtór) 'the sea-coast of Caphtor',

¹ Gen. x. 14.

² Page 78.

³ Jer. xlvii. 4.; usually, but incorrectly, translated the 'island' or 'country' of Caphtor. The supposition that Caphtor was the Island of Crete (see Taylor's *Calmet's Dictionary*, Art. *КАПТОР*)

out of which country the Capthorim—that is to say, the Philistines, the two names having become convertible, as was the case with respect to those of the Midianites and Ishmaelites¹,—came forth and destroyed “the Avims which dwelt in Hazerim, “even unto Azzah [Gaza], . . . and dwelt in their “stead.” We are told, indeed, that the borders of the Philistines became extended subsequently “from Sihor, which is before Mitzraim, even unto “the borders of Ekron northward”²; but it is at the same time expressly stated, that although this country was thus in the possession of the Philistines, it was “counted to the Canaanite,” and was consequently within the limits of the promised land.

Before quitting the subject of the descendants of Mitzraim, it will be proper to observe that in the same manner as the eastern division of this race of mankind, which was distributed over the north-western portion of Arabia, advanced southward into that peninsula³, so must we consider that the Pathrusim and the other tribes whose possessions were

is merely traditional, and devoid of any real foundation. That Crete may in aftertimes have been peopled from the shores of Palestine is a fact, however, not unreasonable to imagine, although it is most probable that the aboriginal inhabitants of that island were of the same Japhthitish stock as those of Greece in general.

¹ See Page 191.

² Deut. ii. 23. See also Amos ix. 7. These Avims, as I shall proceed to show, were a portion of the descendants of Phut.

³ Joshua xiii. 3.

⁴ See Page 158 *et seq.*

in the countries bordering upon the Gulf of Suez and the Mediterranean, would, under the pressure of the ordinary causes which have influenced the dispersion of mankind and in the course of time, have extended themselves westward into Africa; and as the lowlands of the Nile increased, and at a period most probably anterior to that of the progress southward of the Cushitish Ethiopians, a portion of these Mitzrites would thus have become the aboriginal settlers of Lower Egypt; whilst others would have passed still further to the westward, and have spread themselves along the shores of the Mediterranean as far as Marocco, and thence still further southward¹, along the coast of the Atlantic, probably even beyond the tropic.

In this general westerly direction, then, will have been introduced into Africa a second race of people, of a totally distinct stock from the Cusbites who entered that continent by the way of Ethiopia², and from these two sources therefore, and from them alone, must we consider the entire aborigines of that vast continent to have sprung. These two primitive races may—in a general way, and without attempting here to follow out minutely the derivation and mutual connexion of the various nations which

¹ It is far from improbable that the facility of access from Barbary to Spain may have afforded an early passage into the latter country of a portion of these aboriginal Mitzrites, as it did at a later period to the Saracens or Mahommedan Moors.

² See Pages 158, 159.

now unite to form the population of Africa—be considered as represented, in the present day, on the one hand by the Negroes, and their still more degenerate offshoots the Caffers and Hottentots, and on the other hand by the Berbers or native Moors.

This view of the subject is strikingly in accordance with the statement of the father of profane history, who, whatever may have been the data upon which he formed his opinion, must unquestionably have acquired a far more intimate acquaintance with the geography of the continent of Africa, and with the history of its inhabitants in detail, than is at all consistent with the low amount of knowledge on the subject which it has been the fashion to attribute to the Greeks of his time. His words, which deserve to be expressly recorded, are these: “Speaking with all the precision I am able, “the country I have been describing is inhabited “by four nations only: *of these, two are natives and “two strangers. The natives are the Libyans and “Æthiopians; one of whom possess the northern “the other the southern parts of Africa. The “strangers are the Phœnicians and the Greeks*’.” If to these people Herodotus had added the Arabian Mitzrites, who, prior to his time, must have followed the Cushites into Abyssinia, in the manner alluded to in the preceding Chapter of this Work², there would be absolutely nothing wanting

¹ Melpom. cxcvii.

² Page 207.

to his masterly outline of the African nations as they existed at the period when he wrote.

Since that time, the Roman colonists along the shores of the Mediterranean must have introduced a further mixture of blood among the mingled people already residing there; whilst at a far later date the irruption of the Saracens, who carried their arms and the religion of Mahommed as far as the waters of the Atlantic, and the permanent possession which they have retained of the whole of the North of Africa, has established a still more important change in the inhabitants of that portion of the continent. There is yet to be added the continual influx of Arabian merchants and others, which has taken place from the opposite shores of the Red Sea, into the countries along the valley of the Nile, and thence into the interior: and lastly, the various European settlements which have in our own days been formed along the coast on all sides, and which, although their effect upon the mass of the population may be at present insignificant, will yet—and as is confidently to be expected at no distant period,—be attended with consequences far more beneficial and important to the inhabitants of Africa than those which have ensued upon the entrance of any of the races who have preceded them; for by the introduction among them of the light of the Gospel, and of the train of blessings with which sooner or later it is certain to be accompanied, we have the strongest grounds for the persuasion that,

by the Divine mercy, that curse will be removed which during ages has hung over the greater portion of the degraded descendants of Ham ; and thus that this grand division of mankind will be restored to an equality with the happier descendants of Shem and Japheth.

I have already mentioned¹ that it is not intended in this Work to treat of the history of the inhabitants of Africa, regarded as forming a class ; and in returning in this place to the necessary consideration of this particular subject, I have been led into the discussion of it further than I had at first intended. Before entirely leaving it, I must remark that in the imperfect sketch which I have thus attempted to give of the origin of the various African nations, it has not been in the least intended to determine the filiation of any particular portion of them, excepting only in those cases where the derivation is too manifest to be mistaken. Should however the conclusions which have thus been deduced from the Scriptural history of the Dispersion be found to be correct, the first approach will, I trust, have been made towards the establishment of the true principles upon which the investigation of this very interesting subject should be conducted.

Having arrived at the north-western extremity of the possessions of the descendants of Mitzraim, the regular order of distribution would naturally lead us

¹ Page 159.

to seek for those of the posterity of Phut, (the next-named of the sons of Ham,) in the countries immediately adjoining the territory of the Mitzrites towards the north and north-west. But an insurmountable objection presents itself to this location, which is, that the possessions of the descendants of Canaan, the last-named son of Ham, extended southward as far as the "brook of Mitzraim¹," so that it is physically impossible that the descendants of Phut should have had their dwelling where, by the theory, they ought to have had it, namely, between the land of Mitzraim and that of Canaan. It might hence be argued that this exception, by showing that our principles of distribution are not universally applicable, goes far to invalidate them; but the explanation which it is proposed to give of the causes which led to the exclusion of the descend-

¹ נַחַל מִצְרַיִם (*ndchal Mitzráim*), Numb. xxxiv. 5. In the translations, this stream is generally called 'the river of Egypt,' but most incorrectly; since, independently of the error in rendering 'Mitzraim' by 'Egypt,' the true meaning of the word נַחַל is a *valley, brook, or mountain torrent* (See Gesenius's *Hebrew Lexicon*). In treating, in the Eleventh Chapter of this Work, of the boundaries of Mitzraim Proper, not only shall I attempt to demonstrate that the brook of Mitzraim, or Sihor as it is not unfrequently called, was certainly not the Nile, but I shall also advance the opinion that it was not even the stream El Arish or Rinocorura, (as it is very frequently considered to have been,) but the *Wady Gaza*, the stream in the immediate vicinity of the town of Gaza, and between 30 and 40 miles to the north-eastward of El Arish.

ants of Phut from any permanent territorial possessions, will not merely obviate this apparent objection, but, by the irregularity which exists in this particular instance, will afford, I trust, the most convincing proof of the stability of the principles upon which the distribution of mankind is discussed and explained in the present Work.

In the progress southward of the descendants of Ham from the land of Shinar,—the *officina gentium* of the whole world,—but before they had extended into the peninsula of Arabia, or had reached the Mediterranean to the westward, the possessions of the children of Phut must, on our principles, be considered to have been ranged in regular order, between those of the Mitzrites on the one side, and those of the Canaanites on the other, within the limits of the Syrian Desert and the north of Arabia. This location of Phut is in no manner at variance with the scanty references which we find made to the name in the Scriptures, for in three places where it occurs¹ it is mentioned, in conjunction with Lud, as referring to a people tributary to Mizraim. In two other texts, however, the name is mentioned in a way which leaves us quite in doubt as to the country or the people to which it was intended to apply; it being, in the one case, joined with Paras (Persia) as forming part of the army of Tyre², and in the other as being in the army of

¹ Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5; Nah. iii. 9. ² Ezek. xxvii. 10.

“Gog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal¹”; but in both these instances the great variety of nations that are named together are enumerated apparently without any geographical connexion between one another, so that probably no difficulty ought to arise simply on account of these two texts. These scanty notices in Scripture of the name of Phut would appear, however, to be totally inconsistent with the notion that the descendants of that phylarch were the possessors of a country which was situate in the immediate neighbourhood of the land of Canaan, and of which the position lay directly between Canaan and the original territories of the Mitzrites, and through which, consequently, the Israelites, upon their return out of Mizraim, must necessarily have passed.

But if we consider who were, in fact, the original possessors of the country which I thus allot to the descendants of Phut, and what we find recorded in Scripture as having been their fate previously to the time of the Exodus of the Israelites, all doubts and difficulties upon the subject will cease; and not only so, but we shall have discovered the solution of the only point which was wanting to connect and complete the entire system of Sacred Geography.

The aboriginal people whose possessions lay between the countries of the Mitzrites and the Canaanites were, as we find recorded in various places

¹ Ezek. xxxviii, 5.

in Scripture, "the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaïm, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaim, and the Horites in their Mount Seir¹," who were in the first instance smitten by "Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him²," and who, together with the Zamzummims, the Anakims, and the Avims, were subsequently extirpated by the Edomites, the Moabites,

¹ Gen. xiv. 5, 6.

² The names of the countries of "Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of nations" (𐤁𐤓𐤌𐤍 *goim*), who made war with the kings of the Asphaltite Pentapolis, "four kings with five" (Gen. xiv. 1—9.), do not appear at all reconcileable with the notions of Sacred Geography adopted in this Work, or with any others which have come to my knowledge, if it be assumed that 'Shinar' and 'Elam' are the countries bearing the same names which are mentioned in other parts of Scripture; for it seems scarcely possible that a king of Shinar, (supposing it to be the country of the Dispersion, or that of Nimrod's kingdom,) and the chief of the descendants of Elam, one of the heads of the Shemites, should have been two of the four petty rulers who fought (apparently not on very unequal terms,) with the five kings of the cities of the plain, and who were pursued and defeated by Abram, with his three hundred and eighteen followers (Gen. xiv. 14.). I may be mistaken, but it certainly appears to me that the 'Shinar' and 'Elam' mentioned in this place are not identical with the places of the same names which occur in the other portions of Scripture; and if it be true that the Book of Genesis was the composition of different persons, and was written at different times, and *consequently in different places*, as I have advanced the opinion in Pages 116—121, there appears to be no reason against the supposition that these names, as used in the passage in question, and in the other parts of Scripture alluded to, are applicable to widely different localities.

the Ammonites, and the Philistines¹; and of whom the Amalekites, who dwelt “in the land of the south²,” and who were discomfited by the Israelites under Joshua³, were a portion still remaining in the land at that epoch.

Hence the opinion may be advanced, with every appearance of probability, that these people were the descendants of Phut, who for their excessive wickedness were subjected to a sentence of extermination as positive as that which was subsequently pronounced against the Canaanites themselves; and that the agents who were employed by the Almighty for their destruction were the descendants of Lot and Abraham, and likewise the Philistines, who usurped the possession of the countries of the descendants of Phut at a time when “the iniquity “of the Amorites” and the other nations of the Canaanites was “not yet full⁴.” That the iniquity of the nations who were displaced by the Ammonites, Moabites and Midianites must have been far more grievous than that of their brethren and neighbours the Canaanites, is a fact which is to be inferred from the Scriptures themselves; for we cannot otherwise account for the destruction to which they were devoted at so early a period: and that they were actually fallen to a dreadfully corrupt and degraded state, is manifest from the previous vengeance which had been taken, by the personal intervention of the

¹ Deut. ii. 12. 19—23.

² Numb. xiii. 29.

³ Exod. xvii. 13.

⁴ Gen. xv. 16.

Almighty himself, upon the inhabitants of the cities of the plain¹, who must be considered to have been the descendants of Phut. Under this view we may probably be able to account also in a satisfactory manner for the introduction amongst the Moabites and Midianites of the licentious and obscene worship of Baal-Peor², by conceiving that these latter people, like the Israelites in aftertimes when the land of Canaan had been given to them as an inheritance, “forsook the Lord God of their fathers, “. . . . and followed other gods, of the gods of the “people that were round them””, that is to say, of the degraded Phuites; whence it resulted that they in their turn were doomed to undergo a punishment similar to that which had been inflicted upon the nations who had preceded them in the possession of their territories, and upon whom they had been made the instruments of Divine vengeance, before they had themselves fallen so deeply from the knowledge and the worship of the true God.

By this hypothesis, not only is an origin given to the aboriginal people who manifestly were in this country anterior to the time of Abraham³, but from the fact of their extirpation we are also able to account for the omission of Phut in the territorial division of the earth; and thus we have an irrefragable proof of the system of orderly arrangement in which the various races of mankind, and

¹ Gen. xix. 24, 25.

² Numb. xxv. 1—18.

³ Judges ii. 12.

⁴ Gen. xiv. *passim*.

the countries peopled by them, are named in the great Scriptural Canon of early Geography.

Of the country allotted to the descendants of Canaan, our notices in the Hebrew Scriptures are far more particular than those of any other of the races of mankind, from the fact of that country having from the first been the land of promise to Abraham and his seed¹, and afterwards, upon the fulfilment of that promise, the native country of the Israelitish nation. The land of Canaan, on account of its thus being the object of peculiar interest to the Jews, and from its subsequently becoming the birthplace of our blessed Lord, and the scene of His miracles and sufferings 'in the flesh,' has acquired also the highest claims upon the attention of Christians; and the particular history and topography of this country have consequently received, in all ages, the marked attention of commentators and travellers. Little, therefore, would seem to be wanting in our knowledge on this particular subject; and yet, although it must be admitted that there are some fixed points with respect to which it is impossible to err, there is reason to believe that, from the ignorance of those who took upon themselves to determine the positions of the remarkable localities of this country, subsequently to the destruction of the Jewish nation, and from the superstitious credulity of the

¹ Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 14. 17.

historians and pilgrims who followed them, there will be found to prevail almost as many errors in the Topography of the land of Canaan as have been shown to exist in the Geography of the Scriptures generally.

It is not intended, however, to enter here into this particular subject, further than to observe that the first step towards attaining correct notions with respect to the true localities of the countries and places situate within the limits of the promised land, is to allow ourselves to be guided by the same principles which have directed us with respect to the settlements of the other races of mankind; and by ranging, accordingly, the possessions of the descendants of Canaan in the regular order in which they are named in the Geographical Table which constitutes the tenth chapter of Genesis.

These descendants of Canaan are thus enumerated: “ And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and
 “ Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the
 “ Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the
 “ Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and
 “ the Hamathite: and afterward were the families of
 “ the Canaanites spread abroad. And the border of
 “ the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to
 “ Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom,
 “ and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even
 “ unto Lasha¹.” With respect to these names it is to be remarked, that in the instance of Sidon

¹ Gen. x. 15—19.

(and in that alone,) the geographical arrangement of the different races of mankind is departed from; but the correctness of the principles of that arrangement would seem by this departure to be only the more positively established, from the fact of the primogeniture of Sidon being (as I should contend on account of the irregularity in this particular instance) expressly mentioned.

The names of the other descendants of Canaan, however, follow the general principles; and accordingly the territories of the descendants of Heth, as being the first named, will have to be placed at the extreme south of the land of Canaan, that is, commencing from Gaza¹, where the 'brook of Mitzraim'² was their boundary in that direction, and from thence the possessions of their brethren will have to be ranged from right to left in regular order northward, until we reach the country of the last named, the Hamathites, in whose territory "the entrance of Hamath"³ was the northern extremity of the land of Canaan, as it was also that of the possessions of the children of Israel.

Having thus terminated the consideration, in regular succession, of the possessions of the descendants of Ham, I may be allowed to observe that the results which have been arrived at, not merely with respect to this grand division of man-

¹ Gen. x. 19.

² See Page 215, *note*.

³ Numb. xxxiv. 8; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Kings xiv. 25.

kind, but with relation to the descendants of Shem also, will, I trust, sufficiently establish the correctness of the principles governing the distribution of mankind which have been enunciated in this Work¹. The consideration of the descendants of Japheth, and of the countries which were peopled by them—"the sea coasts of the Gentiles²,"—is reserved for another volume : respecting them I will now merely observe, that the determination of their several possessions will lead to the consideration of nations which would seem exclusively to belong to the province of Profane History ; but we shall find that the investigation of their history is strictly within the scope of the present Work, when we reflect that the Bible is in reality the first and principal volume of the Universal History of Mankind ; a fact which, although denied by few, is not sufficiently regarded, and is indeed at times entirely lost sight of, by those who treat of the nations

¹ See Page 78.

² יַבְשֵׁת הַגּוֹיִם (*iyé haggóim*), Gen. x. 5., usually rendered 'the *isles* of the Gentiles'; but the expression is more properly applicable to the *coasts* of Asia Minor, where, according to the system of Geography proposed in this Work, and not at any greater distance from the centre of dispersion, the seaport of Tarshish (Jon. i. 3.), and the 'sea coasts' (יַבְשֵׁת *iyé*) of Chittim and Elishah (Ezek. xxvii. 6, 7.), will have to be placed. The Greek mythological fable of the marriage of Iapetus with Asia, the daughter of Oceanus (Apollod. lib. i. cap. 2. sec. 3.), may probably be intended in some manner to allude to the original settlement of Japheth and his descendants within this maritime country Asia (Minor).

whose early history is not immediately connected with that of the Israelites.

As has been already mentioned, the particular geography and history of the country of Mitzraim Proper has still to be discussed ; but before entering upon that highly interesting subject, another yet remains, namely, the investigation of the languages spoken amongst the various descendants of Ham, which will form the subject of the succeeding Chapter.

CHAPTER X.

The Hamitish languages; their classification:—Cushitish family of these languages;—Those of Egypt, Nubia, and the Centre and South of Africa.—Mitzritish family;—Consists of what philologists have hitherto called the ‘Semitic’ languages;—Reasons for this change of nomenclature.—Consideration of the confusion of tongues at Babel:—Opinion asserted as to its permanent character;—Hypothesis proposed to explain the formation and classification of the languages of the whole earth.—The Arabic language necessarily of Mitzritish origin.—The Hebrew language also Mitzritish, and acquired by the Israelites during their residence in Mitzraim;—Confirmation of this opinion afforded by the Berber language of Northern Africa.—Hypothesis that the Basque tongue (if really not of Japhthitish origin,) is also Mitzritish, proposed as an *Experimentum Crucis* for the trial of the system propounded in this Work.—The early portions of the Book of Genesis, and the Book of Job, translated into Hebrew from the original Shemitish languages.—The designation ‘Aramean’ improperly applied to the Biblical Chaldee:—That language not vernacular in Chaldea, but merely a corrupted dialect of the Hebrew.—The Syriac language a representative of the Hebrew in a still more corrupted state;—Suggestion that it may in part have been introduced by the Ten Tribes of Israel during the Assyrian captivity:—Consideration of the situation of the countries of their captivity, and especially of the situation of Media;—Hypothesis proposed that a great portion of the early converts to Christianity were the Gentilized descendants of the Ten Tribes.—Mitzritish languages of Abyssinia.—Mitzritish derivation of the Berber and other dialects of the North of Africa.—Canaanitish languages.—Concluding observations.

THE languages spoken among the descendants of Ham must be considered as corresponding with the

three principal families of which his posterity consisted, and may accordingly be divided into three groups, namely, the Cushitish, the Mitzritish, and the Canaanitish.

The origin which, in a former Chapter of this Work¹, has been attributed to the Egyptians, will naturally require that the language spoken by them should be referred to the first of these families, namely, the Cushitish. Of this language in its original state our certain knowledge may be said to be nothing, the only means which we at present possess of endeavouring to form any idea of its character and structure being through the medium of the more recent Coptic; which, as the native Cushitish language of Egypt must have received very considerable modification from the introduction of the language of the Mitzritish invaders and conquerors of that country, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, must be far from presenting us with anything like a copy of the original from which it was primarily derived. Without attempting to determine what may have been the actual amount of the change which was thus effected in the language of Egypt, we may, arguing from the analogy of other languages which have been compounded under similar circumstances, be led, however, to offer the opinion, that in the same manner as the modern Persian has been formed by the admixture of the Arabic with its ancient Per-

¹ See Pages 159—161.

sic base, and as the English has resulted from the addition of the Norman French to its Anglo-Saxon radical, so would the Coptic, whilst it retained the general character and grammatical structure of its Cushitish original, have had its vocabulary enriched and modified by the accession of a considerable number of Mitzritish terms. The investigation of this subject would, under any circumstances, be one of considerable nicety, and of no small difficulty; and it becomes more especially such when we take into consideration the fact that the compound dialect which thus sprung from the union of the languages of Egypt and Mitzraim, underwent a still further change from a mixture of Greek terms, which must inevitably have been introduced into it during the many centuries that the Greeks had a footing in Egypt, and especially during the existence of the dynasty of the Ptolemies; so that it may, perhaps, be almost, if not entirely, an useless labour to endeavour, after the lapse of so many ages, to bring it to any satisfactory conclusion.

In the same family with the aboriginal Egyptian tongue, must be comprised the Nubian and other languages of Ethiopia, where they have not been supplanted by the Mitzritish dialects of the second race of people, who entered Africa in the same direction as their Cushitish predecessors¹; and to it are likewise to be referred the dialects of the

¹ See Page 207.

majority of the various black races who inhabit the central and southern portions of that vast continent. Whether in the south of Arabia or on the western side of the Peninsula of India any remains are preserved, in the present day, of the Cushitish language which was aboriginal in the former country, and must have been carried into the latter¹, is a question of which our existing means of inquiry will probably not allow the determination.

The next class, that is to say, the Mitzritish family of the Hamitish tongues, I consider to be formed, however paradoxical the statement may appear, of those languages which have usually, or I may say indeed universally, had attributed to them a Shemitish origin, and to which, in fact, the particular designation of 'Semitic', or 'Shem-*'itish*', has been applied by philologists. These are the Hebrew, the so-called Chaldee and Syriac,—or, as those two dialects are otherwise styled, the Eastern and Western Aramean,—the Arabic, and the Ethiopic of Abyssinia.

My reasons for referring these languages to the Mitzritish group require to be stated at length; but before proceeding to do so, I must be permitted to allude to the able analysis which has been given of them by the Rev. W. D. Conybeare, in his "Elementary Course of Lectures, on the Criticism, Interpretation, and Leading Doctrines of the Bible," recently published; a work which has come

¹ See Page 166.

before me whilst the manuscript of these sheets was finally revising for the press. The subject is discussed by that eminent natural-historian and scholar in accordance with the received opinion that these languages are of Shemitish origin; but the facts to which he adverts in connexion with them, and with the languages of "the Canaanitish nations and the Phœnicians, who" (as he most correctly represents) "assuredly spoke dialects of "the same mother speech"; and his observations relative to the Coptic and Berber languages (to which, as I proceed, I shall have occasion more particularly to refer,) afford the most important illustration and confirmation of the hypothesis respecting their origin which I now propose.

My reasons for attributing a Mitzrite, and therefore Hamitish, origin to the so-called Semitic languages, are as follows: When the Almighty, for his own good purposes, was pleased to call Abraham from his native country, the land of the Arphaxadites or Chaldees, first into the country of Aram, and afterwards into that of Canaan, one of two things must necessarily have had place; either that the inhabitants of these latter countries spoke the same language as himself, or else that he acquired the knowledge of the foreign tongues spoken by these people during his residence in the countries in which they were vernacular. That they all made use of the same language cannot be imagined.

¹ p. 94.

Even if it be assumed that the descendants of Arphaxad, Abraham's ancestor, and the Aramites, in whose territories Terah and his family first took up their residence, spoke the same language, or, at the furthest, merely dialects of the same original Shemitish tongue, we cannot suppose that this language would have resembled those which were spoken by the Hamitish Canaanites and Philistines, in whose countries Abraham afterwards sojourned, unless we at the same time contend that the confusion of tongues at Babel was practically inoperative; a conclusion, I apprehend, in which we should be directly opposed to the express words of Scripture: "And the whole earth was of one language [שִׁפְחָה] *sapháh*, 'lip'], and of one speech [דְּבָרִים] *debarím*, 'words'] . . . And the Lord said; Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language [lip]; . . . Let us go down, and there confound their language [lip], that they may not understand one another's speech [lip]. . . . Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language [lip] of all the earth¹."

¹ Gen. xi. 1—9. The difficulty which has existed in accounting for the manifest resemblance between the so-called Semitic languages and the Hamitish dialects of Canaan and Phœnicia, has led even Mr. Conybeare to depart from the generally sound principles of criticism and interpretation which he has laid down, so far as to say, "There seems no good reason to ascribe diversities of language to the original ramifications of the Noachian family; whether we ascribe that diversity to the dispersion of Babel, or, with many orthodox commentators, suppose the miracle then

We have no alternative, therefore, as it would seem, but to consider (as, in fact, is the plain and

“ recorded to have consisted rather in a temporary confusion of
 “ mind, producing as its effect a corresponding confusion of ex-
 “ pression, rather than to any miraculous change in the perma-
 “ nent dialects, and refer their subsequent diversities to the ope-
 “ ration of gradual causes arising from long separation, distant
 “ emigrations, and new associations, constantly modifying the
 “ simplicity of earlier language. Whichever of these views we
 “ may adopt, there seems no authority whatever for attributing
 “ distinct tongues to the immediate families of Noah’s first de-
 “ scendants, rather than to subsequent causes, which may have
 “ blended together in a course of common emigration the mem-
 “ bers of different Noachian houses.” (*Lectures, &c.* pp. 94, 95.)

But I feel persuaded that this instructed divine will, upon further consideration, admit that the idea of an absolute and permanent change of dialect is more strictly in accordance with the literal meaning of the Scriptural account of the confusion of tongues, than the supposition that the consequences of that miraculous occurrence were of a temporary nature only, and that the whole of the present diversities in the languages of the world are to be referred to the gradual operation of subsequent causes, however necessary it may have been considered to qualify that literal meaning in order to obviate the difficulties which were imagined to attend it. And, indeed, the difficulties consequent upon the supposition that the confusion of tongues at Babel was not of a permanent character, are even greater than those which the contrary opinion has appeared to involve; for how, upon such a supposition, are we to explain the process by which has arisen the manifest want of connexion between the Arabic and cognate tongues, and the Indo-European or Japhthitish languages of the surrounding countries of India, Persia, Media, Asia Minor and Greece,—which process, unquestionably, cannot have been one of gradual change arising from ‘ long separation and distant emigrations,’—whilst the Celtic, the Teutonic, and the Russian, all

obvious interpretation of the circumstances,) that Abraham having travelled from his native place (a which languages have manifestly been subjected to the operation of those causes in the highest degree, still retain the characteristics of those other Japhthitish tongues from which during so many ages they have been altogether separated?

In the Scriptural account of the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of mankind from Babel, we are told that before the nations were divided in the earth after the Flood, "the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech" (Gen. xi. 1.); and that "the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth" (Gen. xi. 9.); to explain which account in its plain and obvious sense, and at the same time not to preclude the induction which asserts the subsequent operation of natural causes, the following hypothesis may be proposed, namely: That the dispersion of mankind was produced by the miraculous establishment of a marked and permanent division between the three principal families, and this by the means recorded in Scripture, that is to say, the confusion of their languages, "so that they might not understand one another's speech" (Gen. xi. 7.); and that subsequently to this fundamental tripartite division of the languages of mankind, corresponding, in fact, with the tripartite division of the earth itself among the descendants of Noah (see Pages 72—77.), all the existing dialects have originated from the operation of simply natural causes, in the same manner as the dispersion itself continued to proceed when once the primary bond of union among the three principal races had been broken. Under this view the languages of the earth, like all the races of people among whom they are spoken, must be reducible to three distinct groups; and from what has resulted from the philological researches of the present day, there is every reason to believe that this will be the ultimate conclusion upon the subject. The Japhthitish class (comprising the so-called Indo-European family),—whether spoken by the descendants of 'Gomer and Ma-

distance of above five hundred miles) to 'the south country,' the land of the Philistines, where he "so-journed many days¹," he and his family would have acquired the language of the people amongst

'gog and Madai' in Eastern Asia, or by those of 'Javan and Tubal and Meshech and Tiras' in Asia Minor and Europe,—has been already sufficiently analysed to admit of its rank being determined in the table of the languages of the earth. Its division into families corresponding with the heads of the various Japhthitish races may not be readily accomplished, but it would seem to be a desideratum, as affording a highly interesting and valuable confirmation of the system according to which the 10th Chapter of the Book of Genesis appears to have been written. The Hamitish class will consist:—of the Cushitish family of the languages of Upper Egypt and Central and Southern Africa;—of the Mitzritish family of the Arabic, and its derivative the Ethiopic of Abyssinia; the language of Mitzraim Proper, and its representative the Hebrew with its two dialects the Chaldee and Syriac; and the Berber and other native languages of the North of Africa, together, probably, with the *Basque* also (see Pages 241—243.);—and of the Canaanitish family, of which the only fragments still preserved are the Phœnician significant proper names mentioned by Sanchoniatho, and the specimen of the Punic or Carthaginian language exhibited in one of the plays of Plautus. The Shemitish class of languages yet remains, which must be deemed to consist, generally, of the Chinese, the Polynesian languages of the South Seas, and the Mexican and other American dialects: with this class, however, philologists are confessedly far less acquainted than with either of the other two.

Whether or not, when an intimate knowledge of these three primary classes of the languages of the earth shall have been acquired, they will be found to be reducible to a common standard, is a question the resolution of which, however important in itself,

¹ Gen. xxi. 34.

whom they thus took up their residence. But it may be objected that Abraham and his descendants, although living in a foreign country, and necessarily speaking the language of that country in their com-

is not essential at the present stage of our inquiry into their origin; but it may be observed, with reference to it, that the same Almighty power which first imparted to Adam the faculty of speech, may subsequently have caused each of the three principal races of his descendants to adopt a language of a totally different structure to those of the others; nor is the instantaneous impartation to them of languages of which they had no previous knowledge more wonderful, or further beyond the range of mere human reason and understanding, than the miraculous gift of tongues which was poured upon the first Apostles of the Christian church, of which we are told "*suddenly* there came a sound from heaven, "as of a rushing mighty wind, and they were all filled "with the Holy Ghost, and *began to speak with other tongues*, as "the Spirit gave them utterance" (Acts ii. 2—4.); the main difference in the results of these two special interventions of the Almighty being, that in the former instance the knowledge of the previous language, which was common to all mankind, must at the same time have been miraculously removed (from two at least of the three races), 'so that they might not understand one another's speech,' whilst in the latter instance the Apostles' acquaintance with their native tongue was still continued to them, in order that they might not be deprived of any means of making known to the world 'the wonderful works of God.'

I shall have occasion to enter more at length into the subject of the languages of mankind, after I have entirely terminated the investigation of the origin and progress over the earth of the various races among whom they are spoken: I did not, indeed, intend to refer to them in this place, but the subject which required this note has led me thus far to explain my views respecting their classification.

munications with its inhabitants, would also have retained the Aramitish tongue spoken in Haran ; and that the intercourse between the two countries having been kept up, first by the marriage of Isaac with his cousin Rebekah, and subsequently by that of Jacob also with his cousins Leah and Rachel, and more especially from the circumstance of Jacob's having so long resided in Padan Aram, and of all his children, with the exception of Benjamin, having been born there, the *family* language of Jacob at the time of his return into ' the south ' country ' must indisputably have been the Aramitish. It may be argued further, that although for the purpose of holding communication with the Canaanites and the Philistines it was necessary to understand their languages also, yet that the language most familiar to Jacob and his household continued to be the Aramitish, until the period when they all left Canaan to go down into Mitzraim ; and hence it might be contended that no good reason exists for opposing the generally received opinion that the Hebrew is the same Aramitish tongue which was taken by the Israelites into Mitzraim, it being only necessary to suppose that the language was preserved substantially without corruption during the whole time of their sojourning in that country.

But even admitting this argument, which however I am far from allowing to be conclusive, how are we to explain the origin of the Arabic lan-

guage? This is clearly not of Aramitish derivation. It is the language which was spoken by the countrymen of Hagar, amongst whom Ishmael was taken by her to reside, and with whom he and his descendants speedily became mixed up and completely identified, in the manner which has been explained at length in the preceding chapter¹. Among these people it is not possible that the slightest portion of the Aramitish tongue of Abraham should have existed before the time of Ishmael; nor can it be conceived that the Mitzritish descendants of the latter would have acquired that language through him, even supposing (though I consider it to be far from an established fact,) that the Aramitish had continued to be the *only* language which was spoken by Abraham's family during the whole of his residence in the south country among the Canaanites and Philistines; and supposing, also, that Ishmael acquired a perfect knowledge of that language, *and of no other*, (which however is very improbable, his mother being a Mitzrite,) from the circumstance of his childhood having been passed in his father's house.

I apprehend, indeed, that the Mitzritish origin of the Arabic language is a fact which cannot be disputed; and if this fact be conceded, there remains no alternative but to admit,—indeed it is a mere truism to say,—that the Hebrew, which is a cognate dialect with the Arabic, must be of com-

¹ Pages 201—207.

mon origin with that language, and consequently of Mitzritish derivation also. And, in truth, when we consider the subject dispassionately and unbiassed by the assumptions (for they are nothing more,) that the Hebrew tongue must necessarily be of Shemitish derivation, because the Israelites who spoke it were descended paternally from Shem, and that it possesses a peculiar character on account of its having been chosen by the Almighty as the medium through which His law should be promulgated,—although there is no such peculiar sanctity or merit attributed to the Greek language in which has been preserved to us the Gospel “of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises¹”,—we can have no difficulty in conceiving how a family, like that of Jacob, going down to settle in a foreign country, and forming alliances with the inhabitants of that country, should, in the course of a couple of centuries, have lost their own language and have adopted that of the people amongst whom they had become domiciled².

I must observe, in anticipation of any objection that might be advanced with respect to the ex-

¹ Heb. viii. 6.

² It may be remarked in illustration, that the French Huguenots who came over into England about the year 1685, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and by whom a sort of colony was formed in Spitalfields, have in less than a century and a half lost almost everything derived from the country which they left, except their names.

clusiveness of the Israelitish nation, and to the command which they received not to unite themselves with other nations, that that command was not given to them until subsequently to their departure from Mitzraim; and that it would seem to have been intended to apply, principally, if not entirely, to the idolatrous inhabitants of the land of Canaan¹, and to the Moabites and Ammonites,—who independently of their inveterate animosity to the Israelites, which of itself appears to have been sufficient to cause their exclusion², must be considered to have become contaminated with the sins of the still more degraded Phutites whom they had extirpated³,—and not so entirely to the Edomites and Mitzrites⁴: and, in fact, it is evident that an union with strangers was not interdicted at the period immediately previous to the Exodus, for the Israelitish lawgiver himself was married to a Midianitess or Cushite. Indeed, even if it be contended (though certainly not upon any Scriptural evidence,) that during the whole period of the residence of the Israelites in Mitzraim, no matrimonial alliances took place between them and the natives of that country, it is still manifest from the total silence of the Scriptures with respect to the extraction of the wives of Joseph's eleven brethren who went down into Mitzraim with their husbands⁵, that these mothers of

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 12—17.; Deut. vii. 3—5.

² Deut. xxiii. 3—6.

³ See Pages 218—220.

⁴ See Deut. xxiii. 7, 8.

⁵ Gen. xlv. 26.

the tribes of Israel could not have been brought from Aram as Rebekah and Leah and Rachel had been, (or indeed from any other foreign country,) but must have been natives of the 'south country', where Jacob and his sons were resident¹. Hence it results,—and the fact is one which is highly deserving of observation,—that the descendants of these eleven patriarchs, so far from being of pure Shemitish extraction, were, even in their origin, descended in equal degree from Ham;—and this entirely independent of the further admixture of Hamitish blood which they may justly be considered to have acquired from their alliances with the people of Mitzraim;—so that a Jew of the purest and most unadulterated lineage must in blood be, *at the least*, as much a descendant of Ham as of Shem.

It is further to be borne in mind, that the heads of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh were, manifestly, as much of Mitzritish as they were of Israelitish extraction; and, doubtless, in education and in manners, as well as in language, they bore a far greater resemblance to the Mitzrites than to

¹ That they were of Philistine and not of Canaanitish extraction is however to be inferred, from the circumstance, that alliances between the descendants of Abraham and the daughters of Canaan were from the commencement interdicted (Gen. xxiv. 3.; xxviii. 1, 6, 8.); and also from the fact, that in those cases in which this law was infringed, and connexions formed between the sons of Israel and the Canaanitish women, the occurrence is expressly recorded (Gen. xxxviii. 2.; xli. 10.).

their paternal relations,—their father Joseph having become a naturalized Mitzrite, whilst their mother, the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On, was herself a native of the country : and it is, indeed, likewise to be considered that, from the circumstance of the members of the family of Jacob being the near relatives of him whom Pharaoh had put “ over “ all the land of Mitzraim¹”, added to the respect² in which, on account of their occupation, they were held by the Mitzrites, the latter would, during the life of Joseph at least, have eagerly courted an alliance with the Israelites, and marriages between the two people would probably have continued to be formed until the time when “ there arose up a new “ king over Mitzraim, which knew not Joseph³.”

I consider, then, that the Hebrew in its original form was the language spoken in Mitzraim Proper at the period when the Israelites were resident in that country ; and that, having been adopted by

¹ Gen. xli. 43.

² I must reserve for my next Volume the arguments to show, that the notion that ‘ every shepherd [was] an *abomination* unto ‘ the Mitzrites,’ arises from the circumstance of the word תועבה (*tohebâh*) Gen. xli. 34. having been understood in a secondary sense, which in the course of time became exclusively attached to it, to the entire exclusion of the meaning which I conceive it to have possessed originally. The use of the Latin word *sacer*, (of which the original meaning is ‘ sacred’,) in the secondary sense of ‘ cursed’, may be cited in illustration as a precisely analogous example of this kind of change in signification.

³ Exod. i. 8.

them to the exclusion of their paternal language, the Aramitish, and to the exclusion also of the Canaanitish or Philistine dialect acquired by their progenitors during their previous sojourn in the south country, it was subsequently taken out of Mitzraim with them on their Exodus, and continued to be their native tongue upon their establishment in the land of Canaan. The fact of the striking coincidences which may be found in the language of the Berbers in northern Africa with the languages of cognate origin with the Hebrew¹, is in the highest degree confirmatory of the Hamitish origin which I attribute to the whole of them; and it becomes the more particularly so, on the consideration that I derive the Berbers themselves directly from the country where I conceive the Israelites to have acquired their language. But an *experimentum crucis* by which my theory may be tried, not merely as relates to the Hamitish origin of the Hebrew tongue, but also as regards the general derivation of the languages of the whole earth, will be afforded, probably, by the Basque language, which, Mr. Conybeare observes, is "restricted to a narrow corner of the Bay of Biscay," and is (as far, of course, as is at present ascertained,) "perfectly unrelated to any other known tongue²." I have not the most remote acquaintance with this language, but from Mr. Conybeare's assertion respecting it, I take for granted that its total want of connexion

¹ See Conybeare's *Lectures*, &c., p. 96.

² *Ibid.* p. 93.

with the Japhthitish Celtic dialects of the surrounding countries of Europe is indisputably established. That it can have been derived from the primitive language spoken by the descendants of Shem is almost impossible, for there seems to exist no means of explaining how any branch of that race could have reached the coasts of Spain, except across the Atlantic from the continent of America, to arrive at which continent they must first have traversed the Pacific from the shores of China; which process, although perhaps it may be barely possible, is utterly out of the bounds of every probability. According to my hypothesis, therefore, this language must be of Hamitish origin; and the only process by which we can account for the introduction of a language of this class into Europe in this direction, is by supposing, as I have already suggested¹, that some of the aborigines of Barbary crossed over into Spain before the arrival in that country of the Japhthitish Celts; and that, whilst the major part of them were extirpated by or become absorbed in the latter more powerful race, a portion of them were shut up in the mountains of Biscay, where, subject of course to the continual variations which time alone, independently of all other causes, must unavoidably have occasioned, their descendants have preserved their language to the present day. Under this view, the Basque tongue (assuming always that it is not reducible to

¹ Page 211, *note*.

any Japhthitish original,) must be of Mitzritish derivation; and its connexion with the other languages of the same family is accordingly to be sought through the Berber dialect of the North of Africa. It may, perhaps, be considered that I am unnecessarily hazarding the theory which I am advocating by attempting, in this instance, to carry it too far; but I feel persuaded that the principles upon which I have arrived at the opinions asserted by me are either founded altogether on error, or must else possess such a general character of truth as will allow of their being subjected to a test like that now proposed.

But to resume the particular subject of the Hebrew language. The Mitzritish origin which has thus been attributed to it will require us to consider that those portions of the Scriptures which were written in Ur of the Chaldees and in Padan Aram,—that is to say, the earlier portions of the Book of Genesis and the Book of Job¹,—were, subsequently to the going down into Mitzraim, translated into Hebrew out of the original languages in which they were composed. The only objection which would present itself to such a conclusion is, that the proper names mentioned in those books, and more especially the names of the descendants of Abraham, are *significant* in the Hebrew tongue, which, it may be argued, they would not have continued to be in any other language than

¹ See Pages 117, 118. 151.

that in which they were originally imposed; but this argument is far from conclusive, for significant appellations have in all ages and in all countries been translated out of one language into another;—as we see especially instanced in the Greek, into which language many of the Hebrew names mentioned in the New Testament have been rendered¹;—and the argument becomes altogether unavailing, if we suppose that the names of the descendants of Abraham at least were originally given in the language of the south country, which language, as it was cognate with that of Mitzraim Proper, (both being members of the Hamitish class,) must have resembled it very closely². In fact, notwithstanding the admission which has been made in the preceding pages, of the possibility of the Aramitish having continued to be the family

¹ For example, the Hebrew names Cephaz (a stone, or rock), and Tabitha (a doe), are in the Greek Scriptures translated Πέτρος and Δορκάς. So also the distinguishing appellation of our Lord and Saviour, מְשִׁיחַ (Meskiah), the Anointed, or Messiah, is rendered Χριστός, CHRIST, even in those cases in which it is employed as a proper name.

² The derivative Canaanitish dialect of Carthage retained, even so late as the time of Plautus, a strong resemblance to the Mitzritish Hebrew, (see Conybeare's *Lectures*, &c. p. 95, note); and from the Phœnician significant proper names which, together with their meanings, are preserved by Philo Biblius in his translation of Sanchoniatho, it is manifest that the affinity between the early Mitzritish and Canaanitish languages must have been most intimate. This remark is made upon the supposition that the language spoken by Abraham and his family in the south country

language of Abraham after he had taken up his residence in the south country, it is a far more reasonable assumption that the necessity for using the Canaanitish or Philistine language in all communications with the natives of that country, during the period of upwards of a century and a half which elapsed between the time of Abraham's arrival there and that of Jacob's visit to Padan Aram, would have caused the vernacular Hamitish language of the south country to become that also of Abraham and his immediate descendants ; so as to have rendered it more familiar to Jacob than the Aramitish language spoken by the descendants of Nahor, which was acquired by him during his twenty years' residence among them.

In conclusion, therefore, the opinion thus offered that the Hebrew language is of Mitzritish derivation, whilst it is entirely in accordance with the principles promulgated in the present Work, would seem to remove many of the difficulties which have attended the idea of its Shemitish origin ; and on the other hand I am not aware that any objection can be supported against it¹.

was of Canaanitish derivation ; but it is far more probable that they adopted whilst therein the language of the Philistines, (see Page 240.,) who, as a Mitzritish people, must have spoken a dialect still more closely allied to the language of Mitzraim Proper. Under this view of the case, the proper names of the descendants of Abraham would have been equally significant in the Hebrew and in the Philistine language.

¹ It has been imagined that the language spoken by Joseph

Intimately connected with the Hebrew language are the two dialects bearing the names of Chaldee and Syriac. These have latterly been called by philologists the Eastern and Western Aramean, it being contended that the former name of Chaldee

whilst in Mitzraim and that used by his brothers must have been widely different, because "he spake unto them by an interpreter," literally "an interpreter [was] between them," (Gen. xlii. 23.): on the other hand it is argued (see Bagster's *Comprehensive Bible*, note, *loc. cit.*) that מְלִיץ (*mellitz*) does not mean an *interpreter* in the usual sense, but an officer like the *Kal Hatzé*, or 'voice of the king' of the Abyssinian court, mentioned by Bruce, who is the medium through whom that monarch addresses any persons who are before him. But whichever of these views be adopted, the fact appears to have been overlooked, that although Joseph's brethren knew not that he understood or overheard them, because the *mellitz* (the interpreter or officer) was between them, yet as there is nothing in the Scriptural statement to lead to the supposition that they spoke entirely apart from Joseph and the *mellitz*, the latter individual it is evident must have both overheard and understood them, and they must consequently have been fully aware that by his report Joseph might be made acquainted with what they said, just in the same way as if he himself overheard them. Is not the following, however, the proper explanation of the transaction? Joseph, having resided in Mitzraim above twenty years, and having become a naturalized Mitzrite, may not have been known to foreigners otherwise than in the character of a native, and he may indeed have been desirous, as a matter of policy, that his foreign extraction should be concealed. Hence in his communications with his brethren, who came before him as natives of the adjoining country of the Philistines, he may have thought fit to employ an interpreter to translate their rustic dialect of the south country into the more polished language of Mitzraim Proper;—for we may well imagine that notwithstanding

has been misapplied, “ inasmuch as the Chaldæans, “ though on the dissolution of the first Assyrian “ empire they occupied Babylonia, appear to have “ been a race of foreign conquerors¹ ;” and that consequently their name could not correctly be given to that language which has been looked upon as the vernacular tongue “ spoken by the posterity “ of Aram, the fifth son of Shem, who occupied “ the countries bordering upon the Euphrates and “ Tigris² .”

But it is to be seen whether the name ‘ Ara- ‘ mean ’ is not more incorrectly applied to the dialect which is now under consideration than even the designation ‘ Chaldee ’ ; for, if my views upon the subject are correct³, the application of the name of Aram to any portion of Mesopotamia is a fun-

the common origin and closely intimate connexion of the two tongues, they may each, when spoken, have been as unintelligible to the natives of the other country as we find instanced in so many of the cognate dialects of Modern Europe. But whilst the brothers thus spoke to Joseph through the interpreter in the language of the south country, they may also have conversed among themselves in the Aramitish tongue of the country in which they had been born ; and as they may have had reason to know that the interpreter was not acquainted with that language, so neither could they have had the slightest ground for imagining that Joseph, whom they looked upon as a native Mitzrite, would understand them,—since even for the purpose of communicating with them in their adopted language of the south country, he seemed to require an interpreter.

¹ Conybeare’s *Lectures*, &c., p. 95.

² *Ibid.*

³ Pages 122—133.

damental error in the geography of Sacred History, arising from the incorrect translation in the Septuagint version of the name of Padan Aram, the name of Aram having been, in fact, confined to the country afterwards known as Syria Proper or Cœlo-syria; so that, even admitting the appellation of Aramean or Aramaic to be entirely appropriate to the language which, in the time of our Saviour, was spoken in the country of Aram, or Syria, the application of such a designation to the dialect which is considered to have been vernacular in Mesopotamia at the period of the Captivity is manifestly improper.

The intimate connexion of the Chaldee and Syriac with the Hebrew plainly demonstrates that they are of common origin with that language, or, in other words, that they belong to the Mitzritish family; and hence it results that they cannot be the primitive tongues which were spoken in the countries where they were afterwards employed; that is to say, the former in the country of the descendants of Aram, and the latter in the land of the Arphaxadites or Chaldees, the aborigines of both those countries being of Shemitish extraction.

It will be asked, Whence, then, are these two dialects derived? With respect to the so-called Chaldee, which is supposed to be the vernacular tongue of Chaldea or Babylonia, and to have been acquired by the Jews during their captivity therein, I answer, that in the same manner as it has been demon-

strated that it was not the language of the Shemitish aborigines, so neither could it have been that of the subsequent inhabitants of Babylonia, who—as evinced by the native names which are preserved in the Scriptures, and by the characters (namely, the Cuneiform,) inscribed upon their bricks and signets, which are identical with those which have been deciphered upon the architectural remains at Istakhr¹, establishing the fact that their language was related to the Zend or ancient Persian²—were of Japhthitish origin; being, as I should contend, of that race which, so early as the time of the patriarch Abraham, descended from the mountains to the north of Mesopotamia, and thence overran the whole of Persia and India, in the manner which has been briefly alluded to in a former Chapter³. The discussion of the particular history of this people must be deferred until the next Volume of the present Work, in which the subject of

¹ The ruins at Istakhr are generally supposed to represent the famed city of Persepolis, of which the palace was burned by Alexander; but it may be doubted whether the true site of that city does not lie much further to the north-west: see Page 258, *note*.

² See the Treatise “*On the cuneiform character, and particularly the inscriptions at Persepolis, by G. F. Grotefend,*” in the Appendix to Heeren’s *Historical Researches, ‘Asiatic Nations,’* Oxford, 1833, vol. ii. pp. 313—360: and see also a paper “*On the ancient inscriptions of Persepolis. By the Rev. John Kenrick, ‘M.A.,’* published in the *Philosophical Magazine and Annals, N.S.,* vol. v. pp. 321—331.

³ Page 111.

the descendants of Japheth will be treated of at length, and in which their languages also will be considered in detail: the subject is here referred to merely for the purpose of rendering intelligible the hypothesis which I would propose respecting the real character of the Chaldee dialect, in which a portion of the Books of Ezra and Daniel are written; which is, that it is nothing more than the native Hebrew of the Jews, debased, probably, in itself, and further corrupted by an admixture of the Japhthitish language of Babylon, which was acquired by them during their residence in the country of their captivity¹.

¹ Maimonides, in his *Yad hakhazakáh*, chap. 1. sect. 4., in explaining the origin of the eighteen blessings or daily prayers of his nation, the composition of which is by the Jews attributed to Ezra, says: כיון שגלו ישראל בימי נבוכדנצר הרשע נתערבו בפרס ויון ושאר האומות ונולדו להם בנים בארצות הגוים ואותן הבנים נתבלבלה שפתם והיתה שפת כל אחד ואחד מעורבת מלשונות הרבה וכיון שהיה מדבר אינו יכול לדבר כל צרכו בלשון אחת אלא בשיבוש שנאמר ובניהם חצי מדבר אשדודית ואינם מכירים לדבר יהודית וכלשון עם ועם ומפני זה כשהיה אחד מהן מתפלל תקצר לשונו לשאול חפציו או להגיד שבח הקדוש ברוך הוא בלשון הקדש עד שיערבו עמה לשונות אחרות " When the Israelites were " exiled in the days of the wicked Nebuchadnezzar, they became " mixed with the Persians [Parás], the Greeks [Yaván], and other " nations: and they begat children in the countries of the Gen- " tiles, and the language of the children became confused, and " their speech compounded of many languages; so that when any " of them spake, he could not express all he required in one lan-

The expression אַרַמִּית (*Aramith*)¹, applied in several places in Scripture² to the language made use of by the Babylonians in their communications with the natives of the countries conquered by them, so far from proving that language to have been vernacular either with the conquerors or with the conquered, leads, in fact, to the directly contrary inference; for had such been the case, there would not seem to be any reason for so express a reference to its employment: and I should say, indeed, that the more reasonable inference respecting it is, that it was the language then spoken in Aram, which was adopted by the Babylonish conquerors, for the sake of convenience, in precisely the same manner as the Persian is employed by the British as the official medium of communication with the natives of India. Neither does the fact of a portion of the Books of Ezra and Daniel being written in the so-

“ guage alone, but in a corrupt idiom: as it is said [Neh. xiii. 24.],
 “ ‘And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod; for they
 “ ‘knew not how to speak in the Jewish language [alone], but in
 “ ‘a [mixed] language of the one and the other people.’ Hence,
 “ when any one offered up his prayers, he was at a loss for lan-
 “ guage [lit. ‘his tongue became short’] to express [ask] his de-
 “ sires, or to speak the praises of the Holy One (blessed be He)
 “ in the holy tongue, which caused other languages to be mixed
 “ with it.” This statement, and particularly the text referred to
 by Maimonides, are entirely confirmatory of the view taken by
 me of the origin of the Biblical Chaldee.

¹ In the translations Συριακή, ‘in Syriac’.

² 2 Kings xviii. 26.; Ezra iv. 7.; Isaiah xxxvi. 11.; Dan. ii. 4.

called Chaldee dialect establish that language to be the identical one in which those communications took place, but rather the contrary ; for it is expressly stated that that language was the *Aramíth*, that is to say, the language of Aram or Cœlosyria, which could not be that which was spoken in Babylonia either by the captive Jews or by the natives themselves¹.

The Syriac, which in the time of our Saviour unquestionably was spoken not only in Aram Proper,

¹ Without pretending to offer an entire explanation of the miraculous writing which appeared upon the wall at 'Belshazzar's 'impious feast' (see Dan. v.), I may be allowed to suggest that the inability of "the wise men of Babylon,"—"the astrologers, "the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers,"—either to "read the writing, or to make known to the king the interpretation thereof" (ver. 7, 8.), may possibly be accounted for simply by the fact, that the words "*Mené, mené, tekél, upharsín*" are 'pure Chaldee', as it is improperly styled; that is to say, they are altogether of that debased Hebrew dialect which was spoken by the Jews during their captivity. On the supposition, therefore, that the words were written plainly and distinctly in that dialect, and in the characters which were at that time in use among the Jews, it is manifest that no native Chaldean or Babylonian could have understood or even have deciphered them, unless he was at the same time acquainted with the language and written characters of the Jewish captives. The narration is, however, susceptible of an entirely different explanation, namely, that both the language and the writing were of a supernatural character; and that the knowledge of them was communicated by the Almighty to the prophet Daniel alone; in which case, the words given in the Bible will be merely the *expression* in the Babylonian Jewish ('Chaldee') language, of the sense of 'the writing' on the wall.

but also in Palestine, is usually deemed to be the primitive language spoken in Padan Aram in the patriarchal ages ; but, as I have remarked¹, to this dialect a Mitzritish origin must be attributed, equally with the Hebrew and its derivative the Chaldee or Babylonian Jewish ; since it cannot possibly be the representative of the language spoken by the Aramitish aborigines, which must necessarily have been of Shemitish derivation. Nor is it reasonable to imagine that a country which, for more than ten centuries previously to the Christian era, had been subjected to invasion and occupation by foreign conquerors,—the Israelites², the Assyrians³, the Babylonians⁴, the Persians⁵, the Greeks⁶, the Romans⁷, and lastly the Arabians⁸,—should have preserved its language unaltered and unaffected. As well might we suppose that our native England, after having been successively in the occupation of the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, should retain the language which was spoken by the aboriginal Britons, previously to its first invasion by Julius Cæsar.

The Syriac being, then, unquestionably of Mitz-

¹ Page 249.

² 2 Sam. viii. 6.; 2 Kings xiv. 28.

³ 2 Kings xvi. 9.

⁴ Judith ii. 27.

⁵ Universal History, book i. chap. v. sect. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Aretas king of Arabia (that is, of Arabia Petræa, of which the capital was Petra, see Josephus, *Antiq.*, lib. xiv. cap. i. sect. 4.; *Wars of the Jews*, lib. i. cap. vi. sect. 2.,) was king also of Damascus in the time of the Apostle Paul. 2 Cor. xi. 32.

ritish derivation, it will be closely accordant with the truth to regard it merely as the representative of the Hebrew language, in a yet more degraded form than its sister dialect the so-called Chaldee, resulting from the corruption of the parent language by the Canaanitish and Phœnician dialects, and also by the Mitzritish language of the Arabians, who had gradually encroached upon the surrounding countries, and who were in possession of Damascus at the commencement of the Christian era. At all events it is evident that under no circumstances can the Syriac be the Aramitish language which was spoken by Laban's family; for in consequence of the many changes which had occurred in the country where that primitive language had been spoken, it must have become extirpated long anterior to the time of our Saviour¹.

It is, indeed, a question highly deserving of consideration, whether the introduction of this Mitzritish

¹ The only expression preserved in the Scriptures which is unquestionably of Aramitish derivation, is (if I mistake not) **יְגַר שְׁהָדוּתָא** (*yegár sahaduthá*, Gen. xxxi. 47.), which by Jacob is rendered in the Mitzritish tongue spoken by him **גַּלְהֵד** (*galhéd*), 'the heap of witness'. In the Book of Job (chap. xvi. 19.), of which the original was also Aramitish, we meet with **שְׁהֵד** (*sahéd*), as meaning 'a witness', and the word nowhere else occurs in Scripture. The occurrence of this Aramitish word in these two places alone, is of the highest importance as an argument in support of the opinion asserted in Page 151, that the Book of Job was originally written in Aram in the language of that country, and was brought from thence by Jacob, and trans-

dialect into Syria and the surrounding countries may not have been occasioned, in a very considerable degree, by the transportation into those countries of the ten tribes of Israel, by Pul, by Tiglath-pileser, and by Shalmanezzer, kings of Assyria¹, who carried them away, "and placed them in Halah and " in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities " of the Medes²;" the people who were brought by the latter monarch to supply the place of the Israelites whom he had thus carried away, having been taken "from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and " from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sephar- " vaim³." Without attempting to determine with accuracy the precise localities either of the countries into which the Israelites were transported, or of those from whence were brought the people who were made to supply their place, (which countries may probably, in part at least, be considered to be identical,) I must remark that the notion that the ten tribes of Israel were carried into countries far to the east of their native land, is in great measure founded upon what I conceive to be an entire misconception respecting the situation of the *Media*,

lated into Hebrew. It is far from improbable that there may occur other Aramitish words in the early Hebrew Scriptures; and it is, indeed, possible that the word קִשְׁיָטָה (*kesitáh*) may be of Aramitish origin, notwithstanding the Arabic derivation which, upon the authority of Gesenius, has been attributed to it in Page 54.

¹ 1 Chron. v. 26.; 2 Kings xv. 29.; xvii. 6.

² 2 Kings xvii. 6.

³ 2 Kings xvii. 24.; and see Isaiah xxxvii. 12, 13.; Ezra iv. 9, 10.

both of Sacred and of the earliest Profane History ; —upon which subject, although it does not properly belong to this portion of my Work, it is necessary that I should here make the following brief remarks.

Media is usually supposed to have consisted of a considerable portion of the Persian empire of the present day¹, and there is no doubt that, when in the process of time its limits had become extended by the conquest of the neighbouring countries, this application of the name of Media was perfectly correct. In the times, however, anterior to the period when Herodotus wrote, the country bearing that name was not only much less extensive, but its true position was much further westward than it is usually placed; for its boundary towards the west was, as we are told by Herodotus, the river Halys, which divided it from the empire of the Lydians², and its capital Ecbatana lay to the south of the Euxine, and not far distant from that sea³; and its particular locality is even more absolutely determined by the words of Scripture, which place it in the immediate vicinity of “the kingdoms or “Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz; . . . , the nations “ [who] with the kings of the Medes “” formed the

¹ In the late Major Rennell's large map of the Comparative Geography of Western Asia, 'Great Media' is made to extend southward beyond 34° N. lat., and eastward beyond 52° E. long.

² Clio lxxii.

³ Clio cx.

⁴ Jer. li. 27, 28. See also Page 15.

“assembly of great nations from the *north* country”, who were made the instruments of ‘the vengeance of the Lord’ upon the devoted City of Babylon.

These observations respecting the situation of Media are introduced here for the purpose of establishing in some degree what I conceive to be the fact, that the countries into which the Israelites were carried into captivity were altogether (and probably even considerably,) to the westward of the meridian of the western side of the Caspian Sea*. We know that a portion at least of the ten tribes returned from their captivity into their native country, and indeed it is most probable, as

* Jer. i. 9.

* I have already adverted (Pages 19—22) to the existing error with respect to the former limits of the Persian Gulf. If my views upon this subject be correct, it will follow that all the countries, places, and rivers, northward and eastward of that gulf, of which the situations have been determined by the late Major Rennell and other geographers, (principally upon the assumption that no material change has occurred in the geography of this part of the world,) have all been placed much further to the south-east than accords with the truth. Thus the positions in the maps, of Susiana, and its capital Susa on the Eulæus (Shushan, in the province of Elam, by the river of Ulai—Dan. viii. 2.); Persis, with its capital Persepolis; Media, and its cities Ecbatana and Rages;—will all have to be placed *probably* as far as two hundred miles to the north-west of the spots where they are usually considered to be situate. These important changes, united with those which have been suggested (Page 75, *note*.) respecting the countries surrounding the Palus Mæotis, and the

Major Rennell observes¹, that the whole of the inhabitants of Israel were not carried into captivity; but under any circumstances we may conceive that a very great number of those who had thus been placed in foreign countries, would have become established in them, and would have formed relations which (in spite of the love for the land of his fathers of which nothing can divest the Israelite,) would have induced a disinclination to seek an immediate return to their native country.

These Israelites, although, as we well know, they had departed widely from the pure worship of Jehovah,—for it was in consequence of their sinfulness alone that the Almighty had withdrawn His protection from them, and given them for a prey

views under which I propose that the kingdoms of Mizraim and Egypt should be considered, will require that the Geography of early Profane History should be remodeled upon almost as extensive a scale as that upon which the Geography of Sacred History has in the present Work been attempted to be arranged. In my second Volume I purpose to consider this subject more in detail.

I am not prepared to assert that the City of Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar is not represented by the ruins near Hillah to which its name has been attributed; but I think that an investigation of this subject, having reference to the different light in which the geography of this particular neighbourhood is placed by the system I have proposed, will become necessary before it can be absolutely affirmed that the locality of that mighty city has been correctly determined.

¹ *Geogr. of Herodotus*, p. 400.

to their enemies,—and although in their captivity they “did eat of the bread of the Gentiles¹ ;” yet, as is most probable, many of them still continued in some degree “to keep the law and the commandments, and to show themselves merciful and just².” At all events, it is quite certain that the descendants of these Israelites, degraded as most of them may have become, could not altogether have lost the recollection of the God of their fathers ; and consequently they must have been in a far better state of preparation for receiving the pure light of the Gospel than the Pagans by whom they were surrounded ; whilst at the same time even in the minds of those who had not yet forgotten that their forefathers had been chosen by the Lord “to be a special people unto Himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth³,” the peculiar characteristics of the Israelitish Church would have become so weakened and modified, that in them the opposition to the new dispensation, which was manifested by the *Jews* generally, would probably not have existed.

The gentilized descendants, therefore, of the ten tribes of Israel,—as well those who had returned to their native country then known by the name of “Galilee of the Gentiles⁴,” as also those who continued in the land of their captivity,—having thrown off that national obstinacy which, even to the present

¹ Tobit i. 10.

² Tobit xiv. 9.

³ Deut. vii. 6.

⁴ Matth. iv. 15.

day, precludes the inflexible Jew from receiving another faith, would, in the same condition as that of Cornelius, who “feared God with all his house, “which gave much alms to the people, and prayed “to God alway¹,” have been in that very state of preparation which probably best fitted them for the reception of the truths of the Gospel; and it is they, consequently, who may be regarded as having formed a considerable portion of the early converts to the Christian religion.

Since, also, the denunciation of the Lord upon His once favoured nation—“among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest²,”—had already begun to operate, and the Israelites, deprived of their hereditary possessions in the land of promise, had become wanderers upon the face of the earth, and, from their retaining no permanent settlements, had devoted themselves almost exclusively to trade;—as we find the Jews also have continued to do since the loss of their national independence;—it may further be imagined that the descendants of the ten tribes would, in the prosecution of their commercial pursuits, have spread themselves, in the course of time, into the rich and flourishing country of Asia Minor, which lay immediately adjoining to Media and the north of Mesopotamia, where they had first been carried into captivity; and thus in Asia Minor also, the first Christians—“the strangers [who

¹ Acts x. 2.

² Deut. xxviii. 65.

“ were] scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia¹ ;” and the members of “ the seven churches which are in Asia² ”— may possibly have consisted in great part of the same Gentilized Israelites.

It is generally considered that these primitive converts consisted principally of Judaized Gentiles, and not of Gentilized Jews or rather Israelites, as I conceive they were. It is far from being my intention to assert that many of the former also may not have existed ; but it is certainly scarcely to be imagined that whilst the Jewish nation was daily falling, not only into decay, but also into contempt among the surrounding nations, they should have met with many converts to their religion ; and this the more especially when we consider the difficulties which were placed by the Jews in the way of proselytism, notwithstanding their apparent desire at all times to conform to the Law. This observation, however, is not intended to apply to the descendants of the ten tribes, to whom the God worshiped by the Jews was not an ‘ unknown god,’ and of whom, consequently, many may have been desirous of reentering into communion with that Church which, even in its degraded state, was, in the profession of its faith in One God, immeasurably superior to the pantheism and idolatry which characterized the Heathen world. It is perfectly intelligible, therefore, how, in the time of our Sa-

¹ 1 Peter i. 1.

² Rev. i. 4.

viour and his Apostles, there may have existed among the Gentilized descendants of the ten tribes many proselytes to the Jewish Church, who, from the religious feeling which had prompted them to join that Church, may be conceived to have been among the first to receive also the blessings of the Christian dispensation; whilst on the other hand the idea that proselytism to the Jewish Law should have been adopted (at least to any great extent,) among the idolatrous heathens, appears to be one which upon consideration cannot be retained.

The suggestions here offered respecting these early members of the Christian Church are advanced in the hope that the subject may receive the attention of those who are far more fitted to discuss it than I am; and I will refrain from saying more respecting them, than that should they be found to possess any considerable degree of truth, they will doubtless have the effect not only of presenting the early history of the Christian Church in a light in which (I believe) it has not hitherto been regarded, but also of requiring the prophecies respecting the restoration of Israel to be subjected to a fresh investigation, with reference to the particular interpretation,—that of their full accomplishment in times now long past, namely, at the establishment of Christianity,—which they will thus receive.

But to return once more to the consideration of the Hamitish languages. The course by which the

Mitzritish dialects of Tigré and Amhara in Abyssinia have been derived from the opposite shores of the Arabian Gulf, is sufficiently evident to render unnecessary in this place the investigation of them in detail¹.

On the northern coast of Africa, the progress westward of the Mitzritish people who entered that continent by the way of Lower Egypt would have introduced their languages also in the same direction; and the "striking coincidences [which] "may be found in the language of the Barbers"², with the so-called Semitic family, are, as has already been observed³, convincing proofs of the correctness of the hypothesis which attributes a Mitzritish origin to these people⁴. How far the tribes speaking dialects derived from this source may in the present day extend southward into the interior of Africa, is a question which is as unnecessary to be considered here, as it is beyond my ability to discuss.

The subject of the last family of the Hamitish languages, namely, the Canaanitish, will need but little discussion. The sole language of this family of which any remains now exist is the Phœnician. With respect to this language, Mr. Conybeare remarks, that "the only fragment of this still preserved is the specimen of its Punic or Carthaginian daughter, exhibited in one of the plays

¹ See Page 207.

² Conybeare's *Lectures, &c.*, p. 96.

³ Page 230.

⁴ See Pages 210, 211.

“ of Plautus, the Pœnulus ’,” which, as he justly observes, “ sufficiently proves the character of the “ language:” but it must not be overlooked that we have a more direct memorial of the ancient Phœnician language in the significant proper names mentioned by Sanchoniatho, of which the meaning is preserved by Philo Biblius, and which far more completely establish the intimate connexion between that language and the Hebrew: for example, Βεελάμηγ (Heb. בַּעַל-הַשָּׁמַיִם *Báhal-hasshamádim*), ‘ the Lord of Heaven ’; Συδύκ (Heb. צַדִּיק *tsaddík*), ‘ the Just ’; Δαγών (Heb. דָּגָן *dagán*), ‘ Bread-corn ’; Μούθ (Heb. מוֹת *máveth*), ‘ Death ’; Ζωφασημίν (Heb. צִפְיֵי-הַשָּׁמַיִם *tzophé-hasshamádim*), ‘ the ‘ overseers of the heavens ’; Ἰεοῦδ (Heb. יְהוּדָה *ya-khíd*), ‘ an only son ’; &c.

Between the Mitzritish family of languages and those spoken among the descendants of Cush, an affinity, near or remote according to the circumstances under which both have been placed, should in like manner be distinguishable³; and when the

¹ *Lectures, &c.* p. 95.

² From צִוְפֵה (*tzóphek*), ‘ a watchman, or looker out. ’—1 Sam. xiv. 16.

³ The following observations of Dr. Pritchard, cited by Mr. Conybeare in his *Lectures, &c.* p. 104, are highly philosophical, and, with the exception of one point which I shall immediately notice, they are also in accordance with the opinions asserted by me: “ No sufficient comparison of the Egyptian and other “ Northern African dialects with each other and with the Semitic “ [Mitzritish] languages has been made to allow of any general

subject shall receive the more particular consideration of philologists, I have entire confidence that the result will establish the fact, that the common origin of all the languages and dialects spoken among the descendants of Ham will be at least as plainly evidenced as is that of the various tongues belonging to the numerous and widely spread descendants of Japheth.

“ statement as to their relations. I may however observe, that
 “ those who have denied that any affinity can here be traced appear rather to have presumed the fact than to have proved it.
 “ The affinity of some striking words among the personal pronouns in the Egyptian and Hebrew languages is such as to
 “ excite a strong suspicion that more extensive resemblances
 • “ exist, though it does not appear probable that the idioms of
 “ Northern Africa are even so near related to the Semitic [Mittish], as the latter are to the Indo-European languages.”

From the last proposition here advanced by Dr. Pritchard I must however express my entire dissent; for the common origin which I attribute to the idioms of Northern Africa, and the so-called Semitic languages, must necessarily lead to a more intimate connexion between those two groups, as being both of Hamitish derivation, than can possibly exist between any of the individual languages composing those groups and the Indo-European languages, which, as belonging to the Japhthitish class, are of a totally distinct origin.

CHAPTER XI.

Position and extent of Mitzraim Proper.—Egypt not the Mitzraim of Scripture :—Mitzraim altogether to the eastward of the Isthmus of Suez.—Proofs in support of the distinction between the two countries :—No river crossed at the Exodus by the Israelites or by Pharaoh and his host ;—The Horse a native of Mitzraim, and not of Egypt ;—Mitzraim beyond the reach of the Nilotic inundations ;—The land of Goshen not a separate district, but a central and integral part of Mitzraim ;—The Nile not the *yeôr* (or river) of Mitzraim ;—Proofs that the name Sihor is not applicable to the Nile ;—Sihor and the brook of Mitzraim identical ;—The position of this stream wrongly placed by Rhinocorura ;—The *Wady Gaza* its representative at the present day ;—Consideration of the *yeôr* (or river) of Mitzraim ;—Suggestions relative to the physical changes in this river and in the country of Mitzraim generally ;—The fertility of Mitzraim dependent upon artificial and not upon natural means of irrigation ;—Conclusion from the entire body of evidence that Mitzraim is not Egypt.—Boundaries of Mitzraim Proper ;—Its geographical definition.—Egypt the Cush of the later portions of Sacred History :—Proofs from Scripture ;—Confirmation from the book of Judith.—Consideration of the prophecies relating to Mitzraim ;—Their incorrect application to Egypt.—Summary investigation of the Topography of Mitzraim Proper.

IN a former Chapter¹ I have stated it to be my conviction that the country known by the name of Egypt “ is not the *Mitzraim* into which Abraham “ went down, and after him Jacob and his family,

¹ Page 167.

“ and out of which Jehovah brought the children
 “ of Israel ; nor is it the kingdom of the Pharaohs
 “ of a subsequent period ; neither, consequently,
 “ can it be the country which was the object of the
 “ denunciations of the prophets.”

Assertions like these, which are so entirely opposed to universal belief, and the consequences of which, if they can be supported, must be of such weighty and pervading importance in the future consideration of Scriptural History and in the interpretation of the many prophecies relating to Mitzraim, ought not, I am well aware, to be made but after mature deliberation, and upon the fullest and most unequivocal evidence. The deliberation has not been wanting : nor will the reasons, I trust, which have led to my conclusions be found deficient in force ; although it must be for others, rather than for myself, to determine whether or not they are altogether valid and entirely sufficient to establish the assertions which have been founded upon them.

Before proceeding to detail these arguments, it will, in the first place, be advisable, in order to obviate the possibility of misconception as to my proposition that Egypt is not Mitzraim, to explain that by the expression ‘ Egypt ’ I mean the country to the westward of the Isthmus of Suez, to the exclusion of the desert to the eastward, which extends as far as the confines of Palestine, and which, although included territorially within the government of

Egypt, cannot properly be said to belong geographically to that country ;—the tract of country south of the Dead Sea, lying between Palestine and Egypt, and at the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf, being in strictness included within that division of Arabia which went formerly by the name of Arabia Petræa¹.

It is within this country to the eastward of the Isthmus of Suez that I conceive the kingdom of Mitzraim Proper to have been situate ; and it is to this country alone that I deem the limits of that kingdom to have been confined until subsequently^{*} to the Exodus of the Israelites. In process of time it is indubitable that the dominions of the Pharaohs extended to the westward, far within the limits of the adjoining country of Egypt ; but the results of my investigation of the subject lead me to express the opinion that at no period of the Scriptural history is the country of Mitzraim referred to therein, to be considered as extending beyond the easternmost branch of the Nile.

It must, I apprehend, be admitted that in a preceding chapter² it has been demonstrated that the Gulf of Akaba, and not the Gulf of Suez, is the

¹ See *Modern Traveller*, 'Arabia,' p. 3. According to Herodotus, the extent of Egypt was "from the bay of Plinthene to "lake Serbonis" (Euterpe vi.), almost directly to the north of the head of the Gulf of Suez, where he considers Arabia to have terminated (Melp. xxxix.).

² Pages 177—189.

Red Sea which was crossed by the Israelites upon the occasion of their Exodus. This fact is of the utmost importance in establishing the position of the land of Mitzraim, for we have the evidence of Scripture that that country was close upon the western coast of the Red Sea¹; and the deduction which is thence to be made, united to the other facts which have been adduced with respect to the ancient physical state of Lower Egypt, and the further extent northward of the Gulf of Suez in former times², ought of themselves to be almost, if not entirely, sufficient to establish the truth of the proposition already stated, "that by no possibility could the " land of Mitzraim, the country of the bondage of " the Israelites, have been on the Isthmus of Suez, " or anywhere to the westward of it within the " limits of the present country of Egypt³;" and hence the inevitable result, that the Egypt of Profane History and the Mitzraim of the Hebrew Scriptures are distinct countries.

But although I feel persuaded that the force of these arguments, taken separately, will not be denied, yet so deep is the impression in the minds of all that Egypt and Mitzraim must be identical,—so entirely have all the circumstances predicated of the one country been regarded not merely as applicable to, but as absolutely satisfied by, the attributes and history of the other,—that I cannot

¹ See Page 178., and the text (Exod. x. 19.) there cited.

² Pages 168—176.

³ Page 176.

expect an assent to be at once given to the conclusion which, if the truth of my premises be admitted, must unavoidably follow, namely: that notwithstanding the preconceived notions which have been formed upon the recognised authority of ages, the 'land of Mitzraim' of the Scriptures is NOT represented [by the Egypt of Profane History and of the present day;—that the people of the two countries, however they may subsequently have become mixed and amalgamated together¹, are in their respective origins essentially distinct;—and that in the future consideration of ancient History a place must be afforded to a mighty kingdom, of the separate existence of which all traces have been during ages lost, and of whose history no memorials are now extant, (or probably, are likely ever to be discovered,) excepting the few notices of it which are to be found in the Sacred Writings and in the historical records of the Israelitish nation.

Proofs, however, abound in the Scriptures for establishing the truth of these assertions; and the only matter of astonishment is, that so many ages should have elapsed without their having been brought forward for the purposes to which they are now intended to be applied. In citing and interpreting these Scriptural evidences, it is almost needless to say that the authority of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament is altogether discarded, as being absolutely worse than useless,—

¹ See Pages 227, 228.

the fallacious identifications of that version being in fact the principal, if not the sole ground-work of all the error which exists, not only with respect to this particular subject, but as regards the Geography of Sacred History generally: nor, in the investigation of the subject, is any dependence to be placed upon traditionary guides or heathen authorities, wherever they in the least stand opposed to the authoritative statements of the Biblical History.

The inference has already been drawn¹, that the land of bondage of the Israelites was altogether to the eastward of the most eastern branch of the Nile, from the fact of no mention being made of any river having been crossed by them at the period of their Exodus, which circumstance, had it really occurred, could not have failed to be mentioned, or to be in some manner alluded to; and this inference is confirmed by the facts expressly recorded, that Pharaoh “made ready his chariot, “and took his people with him: and he took six “hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of “Mitzraim, and captains over every one of them: “... and he pursued after the children of Israel: “... and overtook them encamping by the sea².” which facts can lead to no other conclusion than that no river whatever was crossed either by the Israelites or by their pursuers; for it would have been impossible that the chariots, at least, should have passed it without far more preparation than

¹ Page 174.

² Exod. xiv. 6—9.

was likely, or even possible, to be made for so immediate a pursuit¹.

¹ A cogent argument against the identity of Mitzraim and Egypt is derivable from the frequent mention of the *horse* in connexion with the former country (see Gen. 1. 9.; Deut. xvii. 16.; Isaiah xxxi. 1. 3.); and also from the fact that Mitzraim was at all times famous for horses,—Solomon having “had horses brought out of Mitzraim” (1 Kings x. 28, 29.), and Shishak king of Mitzraim having come up against Jerusalem “with twelve hundred chariots, and threescore thousand horsemen” (2 Chron. xii. 3.: see on this text, *ante*, Page 200, and the note there):—for Mitzraim, as being properly an Arabian country and adjacent to the great desert, would have been entirely suited to the habits of that animal, and might consequently have been possessed of horses from the earliest period; whilst Egypt, having been peopled by the Cushites from the south, (see Pages 159—161.) and being separated from Arabia by the sea, is not likely to have possessed horses (at all events not in any great number), until, in process of time, those animals were introduced into Africa by the way of Mitzraim and the Isthmus of Suez. Many of the hieroglyphical characters of the ancient Egyptians, and also many of the symbols of their gods, having been formed from the representations of the animals most familiar to them, it would naturally be inferrible, upon the supposition that Egypt was the country of Mitzraim in which the horse was common as early as the time of Joseph, that the form of that animal, or of some part of it, should be of frequent occurrence among the hieroglyphics. But such is not the case; for although M. Champollion in his *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique*, gives the *horse* (Nos. 329. and 330. in the Plates,) and also the *quadriga* (No. 331.) as ‘caractères figuratifs’,—being what Dr. Young styles pictural characters,—yet (unless I am misinformed,) these figures are met with but rarely in the hieroglyphical inscriptions, nor does the horse appear in the Pantheon of Egypt, among the animals known to occur in that country: which facts are directly opposed to, and would seem to be

But not only must the position of the country which was visited by the great progenitors of the

conclusive against the notion that the horse was, from the commencement, known among the Egyptians; and consequently appear to afford a strong confirmation of the absolute distinction which I conceive to exist between them and the Mitzrites.

I feel that I shall be liable to be misunderstood, unless I at once explain a little more in detail my notions with respect to this distinction between Mitzraim and Egypt. I will further state, therefore, that I conceive that the practice of embalming the dead was not a native Egyptian custom;—for the Ethiopians, from whom the Egyptians were derived, preserved their dead, as Herodotus tells us (*Thalia xxiv.*), in cases of *θαλος**;—but was introduced into that country by the Mitzrites (among whom we know it was customary in the earliest periods: see *Gen. 1. 2, 3. 26.*) at the time of their invasion of Egypt, under the mighty Shishak or one of his immediate predecessors. This invasion I conceive to be referred to as that of the *Hyksos* in the legendary writings which bear the name of Manetho, and in which the histories of the Egyptians, the Mitzrites, and the Israelites are all mixed up in the most discordant and incredible manner. I shall have occasion, in my next Volume, to discuss this subject at length; and it is only necessary to observe in this place that, if it be established that Mitzraim and Egypt are not identical, and consequently that the Israelites never were in the latter country, it must inevitably follow that the fragments bearing the name of

* And see to the same effect the statements of Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. §. 15.; and Strabo, lib. xvii. §. 23. It is suggested to me by my friend Mr. Brayley jun., of the London Institution, that the *θαλος*, respecting the nature of which much doubt and difference of opinion have existed, was probably *massive stalagmitical Arragonite*;—that kind of calcareous or oriental alabaster of which is formed the celebrated sarcophagus discovered by Belzoni at Thebes in what is regarded to have been the tomb of Psammuthis, and now preserved in the museum of Sir John Soane.

Israelitish nation, and which continued to be the residence of their descendants, until, “ in the fourth

Manetho, cited by Josephus and Eusebius, in which the fact of the residence of the Israelites in Egypt is expressly stated, must be altogether apocryphal*. Hence also it results that the Israelites were not employed in building the Pyramids; which conclusion is entirely reasonable, for it does not appear how the erection of these vast edifices of *stone* can properly be attributed to people whose lives were made bitter “ with hard bondage, in “ mortar, and in *brick*”. (Exod. i. 14.)

It is to be noticed as a remarkable fact, and one that is entirely in accordance with the opinion here advanced as to the Mitzritish origin of the practice of embalming, that no mummies appear to have been found “ beyond Egypt, south of Philæ and the “ cataracts” (see Heeren’s *Historical Researches*, ‘ African Nations’, vol. i. p. 393.). On the other hand, the practice of embalming would seem to have existed not only in Mitzraim Proper, but likewise among all the Mitzritish nations extending along the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, and yet further to the west among the Guanches of the Canary Islands.

It may further be observed, as a corollary upon the independent origin thus attributed to the process of embalming the dead and

* In the paper read before the Royal Society of Literature, on the 15th of January 1834, before alluded to, (see Page 200, *note*,) I committed the error of treating an interpolated note in Scaliger’s ‘ Fragments of Eusebius’ and Syncellus’s ‘ Chronography’, as if it were a portion of the original dynasties of the kings of Egypt attributed to Manetho. This error was acknowledged by me in a ‘ Note’ upon my former paper, read before the same Society on the 19th of February following; when I at the same time explained that, although my views with respect to that passage would require modification, my arguments against the authenticity of Manetho’s writings were entirely unaffected by the necessity of relinquishing the opinion I had at first been led to form respecting it.

“ generation¹,” they came again into the land of promise, have been to the eastward of the most eastern branch of the Nile, but it must have been situate also entirely beyond the reach of the Nilotic inundations : for it is manifest that a country which, during several months of the year, was covered with the waters of the Nile, would have been quite unadapted for the permanent residence of a pastoral people, such as Jacob and his family were when they went down into Mitzraim², and such as the Israelites continued to be until the period of the Exodus, at which time they possessed “ flocks and “ herds, even very much cattle³.”

It may, however, be objected that this argument establishes nothing as to the situation of Mitzraim generally, since it might be the fact, that the land of Goshen (or of Rameses, as it is also called⁴,) was a pastoral district beyond the reach of the Nilotic inundations, whilst the rest of the kingdom of Mitzraim was situate at a distance to the west of Goshen, and consequently within the range of those inundations ; but such a view of the question will be found to be untenable, for,—independently of the hieroglyphical writing respectively, that the coexistence of the two in the mummies which have been brought to Europe, will establish for those mummies a date posterior to the Mitzritish invasion of Egypt. It is probable, also, that the two distinct Mitzritish and Ethiopian processes of preserving the dead were combined, in the preparation of the Egyptian mummies.

¹ Gen. xv. 16.

² Gen. xlv. 32.; xlvii. 1—6.

³ Exod. xii. 38.

⁴ Gen. xlvii. 11.

the contradiction in imagining that Pharaoh, if he had been the king of that country of which the chief blessing is the Nile, and the fertility of which is solely owing to the yearly increase of the river; would have described as "the best of the land"¹ that district of his territories which alone was not possessed of that inestimable benefit,—it is manifest from the statement of the occurrences which took place in Mitzraim immediately preceding the Exodus of the children of Israel,—such as the daily interviews between Pharaoh and Moses², and more especially the rising up of Pharaoh upon the destruction of the firstborn³, and his calling for Moses and Aaron *by night*, and saying unto them: "Rise up, and *get you forth from among my people*, both ye and the children of Israel⁴;" and the facts of the urgency of the Mitzrites generally for the departure of the Israelites out of the country⁵, and of the latter spoiling the Mitzrites, according to the word of the Lord: "every woman shall borrow [ask] of her neighbour and of her that sojourneth in her house"⁶,—that the land of Goshen or of Rameses, 'the best of the land', was an integral, and, as I should contend, a central and principal part of the kingdom of Mitzraim. Hence it follows, that if the former was not subject to the inundations of the Nile, the latter also, or under any circumstances

¹ Gen. xlvii. 6, 11.² Exod. vii., viii., ix., x., *passim*.³ Exod. xii. 30.⁴ Exod. xii. 31.⁵ Exod. xii. 33.⁶ Exod. iii. 22.

the major part of it, must in like manner have been free from their operation¹.

It will be asked, and doubtless with no small degree of surprise, whether, then, I mean to contend that the Nile was not the river by the brink of

¹ Bryant remarks in his *Mythology*, and Mr. Conder cites the remark with approbation (*Mod. Trav. 'Egypt'*, vol. i. p. 70.), that "it seems pretty plain, from the tenor of Scripture, that they [Jacob and his family] came into a vacant, unoccupied district; and, as it was the best of the land, there is no accounting for its being unoccupied, but by the secession of the Cuseans, whose property it had lately been." But assuredly there is no Scripture warrant for such an assumption. It is merely said that the children of Jacob asked of Pharaoh, and were permitted by him, to "dwell in the land of Goshen" (Gen. xlvii. 4. 6.);—that Joseph "gave them a possession in the land of Mitzraim, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses" (Gen. xlvii. 11.);—and that "Israel dwelt in the land of Mitzraim, in the country of Goshen; and they had possessions therein" (Gen. xlvii. 27.): from which texts,—even assuming that the land of Goshen had been vacated by the secession of any foreign invaders, (the story of which as given in the so-called writings of Manetho I believe however to be an entire fable,) and that the natives of Mitzraim would have allowed 'the best of the land' to remain uninhabited during even a short period of time, (which is incredible,)—there is no authority whatever for the opinion that Jacob's family, of whom, "besides his sons' wives, all the souls were [only] threescore and six" (Gen. xlvii. 26.), 'came into a vacant, unoccupied district'; nor any reason for the notion that the Mitzrites would have ceded to them the exclusive possession of the whole of a large province, even if it had been vacated by the expelled usurpers, who, as we are told by Manetho, (in Josephus, *contra Apion*, lib. i. cap. 14.) were "not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand."

which Moses was exposed by his mother¹, and of which the waters were turned by him to blood “in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants²”; to which I distinctly answer, that in my opinion the river which is the subject of those portions of the Scriptural History could not possibly have been the Nile, either in its main stream or in any of its branches.

For the proper consideration of this subject, it is necessary to divest the mind of the impressions which it has received (and which, I confess, it will with difficulty give up,) respecting the identification of the Nile with the river mentioned in the first two books of the Pentateuch, and then simply to inquire whether there be any real Scriptural evidence for the conclusion that the Nile is that river: and I fearlessly assert, that there will be found none whatever; and that this identification, like that of Egypt with the land of Mitzraim, has first been taken for granted, and then the construction of the various texts of Scripture in which the river of Mitzraim is mentioned adapted to coincide with the received notions.

The name exclusively applied in the Books of Genesis and Exodus³ to the river running through Mitzraim is יַעֲרֹן (*ye'or*), which name has been considered by philologists to be a word of Egyptian

¹ Exod. ii. 3.

² Exod. vii. 20.

³ Gen. xli. 1—3.; 17, 18.; Exod. i. 22.; ii. 3. 5.; vii. 15—25.

origin, especially applicable to the Nile¹. There are, however, sufficient texts in Scripture² to show that this exclusive appropriation of the word is not warranted; and, indeed, I cannot but think that it would never have been contended for, had it not been assumed that this *yeór* must of necessity be the Nile³. In the later portions of the Canon of Scripture, where *yeór* and its plural *yeorím* are of frequent occurrence as applied to the rivers of Mitzraim⁴, it might indeed with much appearance of reason be contended that those words are referrible to the Nile, and to the various branches of

¹ See Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.*, art. יָאֵר.

² See Job xxviii. 10.; Isaiah xxxiii. 21.; xxxvii. 25.; Dan. xii. 5, 6, 7.

³ In the account of the first of the 'plagues of Mitzraim' we find it stated: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Mitzraim, upon their streams (נְהַרֹתָם *naharothám*), upon their rivers (יְאֵרֵיהֶם *yeorehém*), and upon their ponds (אֲגַמְיָהֶם *agmehém*), and upon all their pools [collections] of water, that they may become blood:" (Exod. vii. 19.), where, if the words נְהַרֹתָם (*neharóth*), יְאֵרֵים (*yeorím*), and אֲגַמְיָם (*agamím*) be considered (which it would seem they ought to be) as placed in the order of their relative importance, it would result that the *yeór* must be looked upon as being of an inferior character to the *nahár*; and seeing that *nahár* is from its derivation a *stream*, or natural river of flowing water (from נָהַר *nahár* 'to flow'), it is far from unlikely that *yeór* may, in contradistinction to *nahár*, mean an artificial water-course, a *canal*: (compare Job xxviii. 10.)

⁴ See especially Ezek. xxix. 3, 4, 5.; Nah. iii. 8.

that river running through the Delta ; but the texts from the contemporaneous writings of the prophets Isaiah and Daniel¹, in which the same expressions clearly refer to other rivers, are quite sufficient to rebut any such assumption, and to establish the fact that at that late period of the Scriptural history also, the words had not any such exclusive appropriation.

But it will be objected that the name 'Sihor' (שִׁיחֹר *Shichór*) is unquestionably referrible to the Nile, and to that river alone. Notwithstanding, however, the authority of the Vulgate translation, in which *Shichór* is rendered 'Nilus', supported too by the opinions of Calmet² and of Gesenius³, it may upon the proper consideration of the several texts in which that name occurs, be shown—and that independently of all other arguments—that the name Sihor is not in any instance applicable to the Nile.

The name Sihor occurs (I believe) in Scripture in four places only. In two of them⁴ it is clearly applicable to the southern limit of the land of Canaan,—'the brook of Mitzraim,' of which I shall

¹ See Page 280, *note*.

² In Isaiah xxiii. 3.

³ See Taylor's *Calmet's Dictionary*, art. EGYPT, BROOK, OR RIVER OF: the editor however is opposed to that opinion.

⁴ *Heb. Lex.* art. שִׁיחֹר. The same opinion is also maintained by Mr. Conder in his *Mod. Trav.*, 'Egypt,' vol. i. pp. 4, 5; where he cites other authorities.

⁵ Josh. xiii. 3.; 1 Chron. xiii. 5.

have occasion next to speak,—so that these two texts need not be further noticed here. The next in order of these passages, however, is not so clear in its application, and appears, indeed, to be that upon which the notion has been supported that Sihor must be the Nile. The words of it are “And by great waters the seed of Sihor, the harvest of the river, is her revenue; and she is a mart of nations’ :” in the construction of which ‘the seed of Sihor’ is taken to mean the corn of Egypt, which was transported by sea from the mouths of the Nile; and in the Vulgate the name Sihor is accordingly translated *Nilus* as just observed. But as the subject of the prophecy is ‘the burden of Tyre,’ the immediate connexion of the words of the text with the Nile is not apparent; nor do I understand how the harvest of this river could be the revenue of that city. So far, indeed, am I from considering that the Sihor here referred to can be the Nile, or any other river either of Egypt or of Mitzraim, that I should rather deem it to be the Shihor-libnath of another part of Scripture², which was a river within the possessions of the tribe of Asher, towards the extreme north of the land of Canaan; and as that river was in the immediate neighbourhood of Tyre, and at the period when the prophet uttered his denunciations against that city was doubtless within its territory, ‘the harvest of the river’ (whatever

¹ Isaiah xxiii. 3.

² Josh. xix. 26.

that harvest might be,) would with strict propriety be designated as 'her revenue'.

The remaining text in which the name Sihor occurs is that in the second chapter of the prophet Jeremiah², wherein it is said: "And now, what hast thou to do in the way of Mitzraim, to drink the waters of Sihor? or what hast thou to do in the way of Assyria, to drink the waters of the river?" where again, Sihor is regarded by critics to be the Nile. But if we consider the meaning of the passage, we shall perceive that it is an injunction to the Israelites not to quit the country which had been promised to Abraham and his descendants, the limits of which were "from the stream of Mitzraim unto the great river, the river Euphrates"³ (or rather not to go after the idolatries of Assyria and Mitzraim, the neighbouring countries,) by crossing the boundary on either side. Under this view, if Sihor be intended to mean the Nile, the paral-

¹ The Shihor-libnath is supposed to be "the river Belus, out of the sands of which glass was first made," (see Gesenius's *Heb. Lex. in loc.*): hence the expression 'the seed of Sihor, the harvest of the river,' might be imagined to signify the sand of that river, which was exported beyond sea for the manufacture of glass, and which "vessels from Italy continued to remove for the glass-houses of Venice and Genoa, so late as the middle of the seventeenth century." (*Mod. Trav.*, 'Palestine,' p. 26.) To this idea, however, it would perhaps be objected that the manufacture of white or transparent glass, for the making of which this sand was used, could scarcely have been known in the time of the prophet Isaiah.

² Jer. ii. 18.

³ Gen. xv. 18.

lelism of the passage is entirely lost; for whilst 'the river,'—that is the Euphrates¹,—is truly described as being 'in the way of Assyria,' or between Israel and that country, the Nile, so far from being 'in the way of Mitzraim,' is altogether to the westward of it. Hence the 'brook of Mitzraim,' the stream running at the south of the promised land, and being its boundary 'in the way of Mitzraim,' can alone be the stream which is referred to by the prophet under the name of Sihor.

The result of the consideration of these texts would therefore appear to be, that the term 'Sihor' (excepting in the one instance in which it refers to Shihor-libnath) is identical with the 'brook of Mitzraim,' the boundary stream between the countries of the Canaanites and the Mitzrites, and which subsequently became yet better known as the southern limit of the country of the Israelites generally, and of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah in particular².

¹ See Isaiah vii. 20.; Ezra viii. 36.: see also Page 133.

² It is manifest that under no circumstances can this stream be taken for the Nile, since the name נַחַל (*náchal*), 'a brook,' is totally inapplicable to that river; besides that by the various texts in which it is named its situation is absolutely determined as being *immediately* on the southern border of the promised land. See Numb. xxxiv. 5.; Josh. xv. 4.; 2 Chron. vii. 8.; Isaiah xxvii. 12.: and see 1 Kings iv. 21. In Amos vi. 14. this stream is called 'the brook of the wilderness' or 'desert'; which designation is perfectly appropriate to it, as the desert begins immediately to the south of Palestine. In one text (Gen. xv. 18.) the term

I have already explained¹ how the name of this stream 'the brook of Mitzraim' has in the several translations of the Old Testament been improperly rendered 'the river of Egypt': upon this subject therefore it is unnecessary to dilate; but before entirely quitting it, it will be advisable to endeavour to determine the actual position of the stream thus designated.

Upon the authority of the Septuagint version the brook of Mitzraim has been considered to be the stream flowing in the neighbourhood of the town of Rhinocorura, the El Arish of the present day. But this identification, little as it is removed from error, is still, in my opinion, not strictly correct, for we are told that "the border of the Canaanites was "from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza";" so that unless we suppose that the limits of the country which was prophetically divided by Moses among the tribes of Israel² were not the same as

נְהַר מִצְרַיִם (*nehár Mitzráim*) is used; which has given rise to the opinion that, in this instance at least, a different stream is referred to, namely, the Nile (see Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.* art. נְהַר) : but independently of the objections which, from the views taken by me of the subject, necessarily present themselves to such an application of this name, it may be remarked that although the word *náchal*, 'a brook,' cannot be employed to signify a river or large stream, there seems no impropriety in the application of the generic name *nahár* (from נָהַר *nahár* 'to run', or 'flow',) to any stream, whatever its magnitude.

¹ Page 215, *note*.

² Gen. x. 19.

³ Numb. xxxiv. 2, *et seq.*

they were when the promise was made to Abraham that his seed should possess it¹, we are precluded from coming to any other conclusion than that the stream or brook of Mitzraim was in the immediate vicinity of Gaza; and this being the case, it must have been, not the brook near El Arish, but the *Wady Gaza*, a stream which flows from east to west immediately to the southward of Gaza². The fact recorded in Scripture that the Philistines, having crossed "Sihor, which is before Mitzraim³," established themselves in a portion of the promised land "even unto the borders of Ekron northward," where they possessed five cities, of which Gaza was the southernmost,—which territory, notwithstanding its occupation by these invaders, continued, however, to be "counted to the Canaanite⁴,"—would seem absolutely to confirm the identification of the Wady Gaza with Sihor, the brook of Mitzraim.

The foregoing consideration of the true signification of the expressions 'the brook of Mitzraim' and 'Sihor,' and of the position of the stream to which those designations are applied, cannot be regarded as a digression from the main subject, since it has tended to remove all doubts as to the decided impropriety of applying either of those appellations to the *yeór* (or river) of Mitzraim, and thus to leave entirely open the inquiry as to what in the present

¹ Gen. xv. 18.

² See Page 215, *note*.

³ Josh. xiii. 3.

⁴ Josh. xiii. 3. And see Page 210.

day is the representative of this latter stream. This question is one, however, which cannot be at all satisfactorily answered without a particular investigation of the country through which that river once flowed, and which now represents the desolate and deserted kingdom of Mitzraim : nor until that investigation has been accomplished can it justly be said that the non-existence of a river in the present day, is a proof that no such river could have existed in the time of the Pharaohs ; knowing, as we do, the vast physical changes which take place (even before our eyes) in other parts of the earth's surface, and considering also that in that particular country important alterations have indubitably been effected merely by the change which has taken place in the coast line by the gradual advance of the land upon the sea, and also by the equally progressive encroachment of the sands of the desert ; whilst it may not even be unphilosophical to imagine that some more considerable geological change in the surface of the country has taken place, in order to carry completely into effect the denunciations of the Lord, " And the waters shall fail from the sea, " and the river shall be wasted and dried up¹."

¹ Isaiah xix. 5. It is indisputable that, before the destruction of the cities of the plain, the Jordan held its course to the head of the Gulf of Akaba ; and there is reason also to believe that the Bahr-bela-mayeh, ' the river without water ' , to the west of Egypt, was once the channel of an actual river,—possibly of a principal branch of the Nile.

But whatever may have been the precise situation of the *yeór* (or river) of Mitzraim, it is certain that the country through which it flowed was altogether beyond the reach of the Nilotic inundations, not merely on account of the total unfitness for the permanent pasture of the flocks and herds of the Israelites, which would have ensued had it been subject to be periodically overflowed, but also from the circumstance that had it been exposed to those inundations, the description given of it by the inspired legislator of the Israelites, and the marked distinction made by him between Mitzraim and the land of Canaan, would be totally inapplicable. His words to the children of Israel are¹: “ For the
“ land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as
“ the land of Mitzraim, from whence ye came out,
“ where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it
“ with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the
“ land, whither ye go to possess it, is a land of
“ hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain
“ of heaven: a land which the Lord thy God careth
“ for: the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon
“ it, from the beginning of the year even unto the
“ end of the year.”:—from which declaration it would appear, that the grand distinction between the promised land and the country of Mitzraim, as regarded the productions of Nature, was, that in the former country vegetation was produced by natural means; that is to say, ‘ by the rain from heaven ’;

¹ Deut. xi. 10—12.

whereas in the latter it was principally by artificial irrigation,—by the ‘watering with the foot,’—that the abundant harvests were produced, which caused Mizraim to be the place of refuge for the pastoral people of the country to the north-east, in the times of scarcity to which they were at all times subject from the deficiency of water¹.

Indeed, from the emphatic declaration of Moses, it seems certain that the country watered by the Nile could not be that which had just been quitted by the people under his charge; for if there be a land which may be regarded as being blessed (so far at least as relates to its means of production);—if there be one, of which it may be said, not merely that ‘the eyes of the Lord are always upon it,’ but that it is more especially in His hands, it is the country of Lower Egypt, respecting which it was asserted 2300 years ago by the most venerable of the historians of heathen antiquity,—and his words remain as entirely applicable to the country down to the present time—“The people who possess that district, [the country below Memphis,] of all mankind, and even of all the Ægyptians, enjoy the fruits of the earth with the smallest

¹ See Gen. xii. 10.; xlii. 1. *et seq.*: and see also Gen. xxvi. 2. The value of water in ‘the south country,’ and the difficulty of obtaining it, are facts which are well known in the present day, and which are shown to have been of equal moment in the time of the patriarchs by the disputes for the possession of wells which took place between their followers and the Philistines. See Gen. xxi. 25—30.; xxvi. 15. *et seq.*

“ labour. They have no occasion for the process
“ nor the instruments of agriculture usual and ne-
“ cessary in other countries. As soon as the river
“ has spread itself over their lands, and returned
“ to its bed, each man scatters the seed over his
“ ground, and waits patiently for the harvest¹.”
On the other hand, as regards Mitzraim, it must be
considered that it was solely by the superior know-
ledge of agriculture possessed by the natives of that
country, and their elaborate system of irrigation, that
they were enabled to ensure not only the abund-
ance, but also the certainty of their crops ; whilst
by the reverses to which in its decline the country
became subjected, and the consequent neglect of
the artificial means which were necessary to secure
its productiveness, the land of Mitzraim, like many
other countries throughout the East which were
formerly noted for their fertility, is now “ desolate,
“ and the country . . . destitute of that whereof it
was [once] full².”

Upon the serious consideration, therefore, of the
proofs which have thus been adduced, I cannot an-
ticipate the possibility of a denial of the only con-
clusion which appears to be derivable from them :

¹ Euterpe xiv.

² Ezek. xxxii. 15. The want of rain, for which Mitzraim was remarkable (see Zech. xiv. 18 ; and compare Deut. xi. 10—12.), and which has usually been considered as a confirmation of the identification of that country with Egypt, is not peculiar to Egypt, but is common also to the flat and desert country to the eastward.

namely, that the position of the kingdom of Mitzraim must necessarily have been not only to the east of the north-eastern branch of the Nile, but also altogether beyond the range of the Nilotic inundations. We have consequently the means afforded us of determining with almost absolute certainty the limits within which this country must have been comprised; for its western boundary would thus have been the Gulf of Suez, and from thence across the Isthmus of the same name as far as the Mediterranean: on the other hand, its boundary eastward would, as has already been shown, have been the Gulf of Akaba or Red Sea¹; and whilst to the southward its extent must necessarily have been limited by that of the Peninsula of Mount Tor; it would to the northward have been bounded by the Mediterranean on the one part, and by the territories of the Philistines on the other. This latter fact, indeed, is manifest from the text, “ And
“ it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people
“ go, that God led them not through the way of the
“ land of the Philistines, although that was near;
“ for God said, Lest peradventure the people re-
“ pent, when they see war, and they return to Mitz-
“ raim: but God led the people about, through the
“ way of the wilderness of the Red sea².”

Mitzraim Proper may consequently be correctly defined to be that portion of Arabia Petræa which lies between the two head gulfs of the Arabian Gulf,

¹ Page 178.

² Exod. xiii. 17, 18.

(the Red Sea of geographers,) and which extends northward from thence to the Mediterranean and the confines of Palestine.

From the limits thus attributed to Mitzraim, it might at first sight seem inferrible that Egypt is not named in the Scriptures of the Old Testament; but such an inference, I apprehend, would be incorrect, for it can be shown, I think, that Egypt is that country which is not unfrequently referred to in the writings of the prophets and later historians by the name of כּוּשׁ (*Cush*).

The grounds for this opinion of course require to be stated: they are briefly as follows:—In the twenty-ninth chapter of the Book of Ezekiel this passage occurs: “And I will make the land of Mitzraim utterly waste and desolate, from Migdol “ Seveneh (מִגְדוֹל מִסֵּנֶה *Migdól Sevenéh*) even unto “ the border of Cush¹.” As the meaning of this passage has been considered exceedingly doubtful, and as it has accordingly received various constructions, it will be necessary to consider the different opinions upon the subject, and to endeavour to determine what is really its proper signification. The first translation of the passage that I

¹ Ver. 10. In the authorized version the words are ‘from the ‘tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia;’ but differing so entirely as I do from this translation of the passage, I am compelled to alter it as above; or rather I should say to restore the names to the original Hebrew, which indeed is the only correct course to be pursued with respect to all proper names. See Page 10, *note*.

will comment upon is that which is advocated by Gesenius¹, namely, 'from Migdol to Syene'; *Sevenéh* being, as he asserts, in the form of the accusative case, and signifying therefore 'to Syene': but I should say, that the genius of the Hebrew language would seem not to allow of such a construction; for that whether *Migdól* be rendered 'a tower' or be left untranslated as a proper name, it must be either in apposition with the word *Sevenéh*, or else in the state of construction². In the former case *Sevenéh* will be added to *Migdól* for the purpose of designating the particular place intended, and the two words will have to be read, either as a compound proper name 'Migdol-Seveneh,' or, translating the former word, 'the tower Seveneh': whilst in the latter *Sevenéh* being in the possessive or genitive case, the meaning will be either 'Migdol of Seveneh' or else (and perhaps the more properly of the two) 'the tower of Seveneh'.

The last of these constructions is that which is adopted in the text of our authorized version, and also in the Vulgate; nor could any absolute objection be maintained against it, were it not that in both these versions the Hebrew word *Sevenéh* is rendered 'Syene,' meaning, of course, the city of that name (now Assuan) at the southern extremity of Egypt, on the confines of Nubia or *Æthiopia super Ægyptum*; which rendering, however, is evidently incorrect, for in consequence of it the passage be-

¹ *Heb. Lex.*, art. סֹנֵה.

² See Lee's *Heb. Gram.*, 2nd edit. p. 284. *et seq.*

comes altogether unmeaning, 'the tower of Syene' and 'the border of Ethiopia' (as it is translated) being in fact identical¹.

Considering, however, the word *Sevenéh* as having no reference whatever to Syene in Upper Egypt—which under my hypothesis respecting Mitzraim it clearly cannot have;—and regarding it united to *Migdól* as being the name of a place within Mitzraim; and knowing also that, whatever may be the actual position either of Migdol Seveneh or of the border of Cush, the latter of these expressions must be applicable to the more remote boundary of Mitzraim, whilst the former is intended to describe the nearer limit of that country;—it is evident that the direction of Migdol Seveneh must have been to the east of Mitzraim: and further, as we know that Migdol at the head of the Red Sea² (a city of which name was in existence in the time of the Prophet Jeremiah³,) was, from its position, necessarily at the extreme eastern limit of Mitzraim, there seems the strongest reason for believing that this Migdol and the Migdol Seveneh of the prophet Ezekiel were identical⁴.

But even were the fact otherwise, (though I am

¹ The Septuagint has ἀπὸ Μαγδωλοῦ καὶ Συήνης, 'from Magdolos and Syene'; but there seems no ground whatever for the insertion of the conjunction, which is wanting in the Hebrew.

² Exod. xiv. 2.

³ Jer. xlv. 1; xlv. 14.

⁴ In all countries the occurrence of the names of cities and places compounded of the word 'castle' or 'tower' and some term of designation, is too familiar to require more than the present allusion to it.

at a loss to discover any reasonable pretence for so thinking,) it is at all events manifest that the term *Migdól Sevenéh* is used by the prophet to describe the nearer or eastern limit of Mitzraim. Hence it follows that, as his object was to express the denunciations of the Lord against the whole extent of that devoted country, the expression 'the border of Cush' employed to describe its further or western limit, can be applicable to no other country than Egypt, which lies directly and immediately to the westward of Mitzraim.

Under this view, "the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Cush: that sendeth ambassadors by the sea¹," must be understood to mean the maritime country of Lower Egypt; and its rivers (נְהַרִים *neharím*) to signify the branches of the Nile forming the Delta; which explanation of the words of the prophecy (although

¹ Isaiah xviii. 1, 2.; and see also Isaiah xlv. 14; Zeph. iii. 10; and Ezek. xxx. 9; and particularly the last. It may be objected that the text, "Can the Cushite (כּוּשִׁי *Cushi*) change his skin?" (Jer. xiii. 23.) cannot possibly allude to the natives of Egypt, but must refer to the black Ethiopians alone: to which I will reply, that, from the concurrent voice of antiquity from Herodotus (*Euterpe civ.*) downwards, it is certain that the ancient Egyptians, if not actually *black*, had an extremely dark complexion, as in fact a people who came from the south (see Pages 159—163.) would naturally have been; so that the words of the prophet might well be applied to them. On the other hand, the Mitzrites would not have been of darker complexion than their neighbours the Jews themselves.

I presume not to say that it is absolutely the true construction of them,) appears to be far more intelligible than any interpretation in which Ethiopia is regarded as being the Cush which is named by the prophet.

It cannot be expected that much information is to be derived from heathen sources in support or in explanation of the hypothesis thus enunciated respecting Mitzraim and the Cush of the later portions of the Scriptures ; but a very remarkable confirmation is to be found (where its discovery might certainly least be expected) in the apocryphal Book of Judith,—a composition which, whatever may be its character in other respects, is unquestionably of importance as an historical memorial of high antiquity.

In the first chapter of Judith, in the account which is there given of the various nations that had become subjected to Nabuchodonosor, Mitzraim, which is mentioned as being one of the tributaries of that mighty monarch, is described as extending as far as “the borders of Cush”¹—being a

¹ The Book of Judith is not preserved in the original Jewish language in which it was written, but is known to us only through the Latin version of Jerome, and the Greek Septuagint translation. In Jerome's version (which, according to his own statement in his Preface, is only a paraphrase,) the passage to which the words cited by me belong is compressed, so as to leave out the parts materially affecting the present subject. In the Septuagint, however, from which our English translation is made, the whole passage as relates to Mitzraim stands thus: . . . καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ

similar expression to that which is employed by the prophet Ezekiel to describe its further boundary ; —and, as it were to render it impossible that the

Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Ταφνὰς, καὶ Ῥαμεσσή, καὶ πασαν γῆν Γεσέμ ἕως τοῦ ἔλθειν ἐπάνω Τάνεως, καὶ Μέμφεως, καὶ πάντας τοὺς καπικούντας τὸν Αἴγυπτον ἕως τοῦ ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς Αἰθιοπίας (chap. i. ver. 9, 10.).

Now, in order to obtain correct ideas of what places these proper names are respectively intended to represent, it is necessary that they should be freed from the secondary meanings which, in consequence of their translation, have become attached to them ; and this, of course, can only be done by restoring them to their expression in the language of the original. This is a task of comparative ease ; for without entering into the question as to whether the Septuagint translators of the Book of Judith were the same individuals as those by whom any portions of the canonical books were translated, it is sufficient to be assured that throughout the entire Septuagint version of the Bible, both in the Canonical and in the Apocryphal portions of it, the same principles of construction and interpretation must, generally, have prevailed ; and accordingly we may be satisfied that, however the true significations of the proper names in the original may have been misunderstood, they had some fixed representatives throughout the Greek translation.

In the passage in question, therefore, the *ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου*, being the same expression as is found in the Greek of Gen. xv. 18, and 1 Kings viii. 65, must be considered to be a translation of *נְהַר מִצְרַיִם* (*nehâr Mitzráim*) or *נַחַל מִצְרַיִם* (*náchal Mitzráim*) the stream or brook of Mitzraim (see Page 284, note) ; so *Γεσέμ*, as in Gen. xlvi. 1, is Goshen ; *Τάνις*, as in Numb. xiii. 23, is Zoan ; *Μεμφίς*, as in Hosea ix. 6. and Isaiah xix. 13, is Moph or Noph ; *Τάφνες* and *Ῥαμεσσης* are evidently Tahpanhes and Rameses ; whilst *Αἴγυπτος* and *Αἰθιοπία* are well known to be the representatives of the Mitzraim and Cush of the Hebrew Scriptures. The passage may be considered, therefore, to have stood in the

precise extent of this further boundary of Mitzraim should be misunderstood, the expression 'the borders of Cush' is varied in a subsequent verse of the same chapter for the more definite one of "the borders of the two seas". This latter expression must, in fact, be regarded as conclusive upon the subject; for in its application to the further boundary of the Egypt of Profane History its meaning becomes perfectly unintelligible; whilst, as applied to the further limit of Mitzraim Proper, no words could possibly better describe the Isthmus of Suez, which is bounded by the 'two seas' on either side, that is to say, the Mediterranean on the north, and the Gulf of Suez on the south².

- original as follows: "and the brook of Mitzraim, and "Tahpanhes, and Rameses, and all the land of Goshen until you come beyond Zoan, and Moph, and to all the inhabitants of "Mitzraim, until you come to the borders of Cush."

The application of these names to existing localities will depend upon the general system of Scriptural Geography which may be entertained by geographers and Biblical critics. The use which I shall make of them will be shown in Page 310.

¹ Ver. 12.

² It will, perhaps, be considered to be reasoning in a circle, first to adduce the Book of Judith as an authority in support of my views, and then, upon the fact of its coincidence with them, to found an argument in favour of the antiquity and historical authority of that book. But it may, notwithstanding, be fairly argued, that if my hypothesis relative to Mitzraim be correct, the entire coincidence with that hypothesis of the passage which I have cited from the Book of Judith, is evidence that the original text of that book was of a date anterior to the reception among the Jews of the erroneous notions respecting that country which

How wonderfully the prophecies respecting Mitzraim have been fulfilled will be instantly manifest, even to those who possess only the most general and indefinite acquaintance with the state, both past and present, of the barren and desolate tract of country which is now the representative of that once flourishing kingdom ; whilst how totally inapplicable those prophecies are to Egypt itself, must be equally apparent, notwithstanding the particular application to that empire which during ages they have received.

Nothing, indeed, can occasion greater astonishment, and nothing can evoke feelings of more profound humiliation on account of the extreme fallibility and imperfection of the 'light of nature' and of all merely human wisdom, than the reflection that the many prophecies respecting the devastation and utter desolation of Mitzraim have been considered as literally fulfilled and manifestly accomplished in the subsequent fate and condition of Egypt,—notwithstanding the direct and unequivocal contradiction which evolves from such an interpretation. To demonstrate the truth of this observation, I will

are promulgated in the Septuagint translation : for had the writer conceived (as his Greek translator evidently did,) that the country subjected to Nabuchodonosor was Egypt, he would never have employed the expressions 'the borders of Cush' and the 'borders of the two seas' as synonymous terms to designate its further limit ; since, as applied to that country, the two expressions would be inconsistent with each other, and the latter of them, indeed, would be altogether unmeaning.

instance a few only of the principal predictions ; although, indeed, they all might be adduced, and would all be found to be equally wanting in their application to Egypt, or, under any circumstances, to be far more applicable to Mitzraim than to that country. Thus, for example, the words, “ The river “ shall be wasted and dried up’ ”, have been held to refer to the Nile ; and yet, during the 2500 years which have elapsed since the period when those words were uttered, that mighty river has continued to roll its waters to the sea, without diminution, and substantially without change:—so the prophetic announcements, “ The sceptre of Mitzraim shall “ depart away””, and “ There shall be no more a “ prince of the land of Mitzraim””, have been applied to Egypt, although those announcements were followed by the accession of the powerful *native*† dynasty of the descendants of Lagus, who retained

¹ Isaiah xix. 5.

² Zech. x. 11.

³ Ezek. xxx. 13.

⁴ In order to *force* the meaning of the prophecies respecting Mitzraim, it has been necessary to treat the Ptolemies, not as ‘princes of the land of Egypt’, but as an intrusive foreign dynasty, notwithstanding their naturalization, and their Egyptian descent during the period of nearly three centuries. The absurdity of such a procedure is manifest ; for if a foreign rule consists, not merely in the subjection of one country to the dominion (and, as too often happens, to the tyranny) of another,—as may be instanced in the cases of the North of Italy under Austria, and Poland under Russia,—but in the foreign extraction of the prince himself, then was France under Napoleon, and then is Sweden under Charles John, subject to foreign rule : or, to place the absurdity of such a proposition in even a stronger light, the kings

the sceptre of that country during nearly three whole centuries:—and, in like manner, the denunciation upon Mitzraim, “It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations”¹; has been considered to be accomplished in the subsequent state of Egypt, in spite of the facts, that under the sway of the Ptolemies that country attained a higher degree of opulence and splendour than it had probably ever possessed under any preceding monarchs;—that during the peaceful and happy reign of Philadelphus it “was the first power by sea, and one of the first by land, in the world”²;—and that under his successor, Evergetes, its empire actually extended over the whole of the then known portions of the continents of Africa and Asia³.

of England of the House of Brunswick, by the same line of argument, are foreign rulers, and will continue to be so for nearly two centuries longer; and yet, only forty-seven years after the accession of that House, our truly *native* sovereign George the Third (English in his virtues, and English also in his faults!) could use those memorable words: “Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton.”

¹ Ezek. xxix. 15. ² Heeren's *Manual of History*, p. 254.

³ For a most able summary of the history of the Ptolemies, and of the wealth and power of Egypt whilst under their sway, see Heeren's *Man. of Hist.* pp. 247—268. The nations which Egypt ruled over at the period when the sceptre of that kingdom was in the hands of Ptolemy Evergetes appear, from the monument

Without entering into any details respecting the state of Egypt since the time of the Ptolemies, and particularly during the period when it was under the dominion of its mighty soldans, let us fairly consider what has been the real fate and condition of that country, which has, down to the present time, been deemed to have continued under a special and peculiar curse ; and we shall find that, notwithstanding even the misgovernment and oppression of its Mahommedan rulers, it has always been flourishing, has always been of importance, and has, in fact, at all times borne a rank among nations far above that of any of the surrounding countries ;—which countries, whilst they have been equally subjected to the oppressions and calamities which have befallen even Egypt itself, have enjoyed none of the natural blessings which have always been possessed, and are still continued to be retained, by that more favoured country.

erected by that monarch at Adule, to have been the following : Libya, (that is to say, Western Africa as far as Cyrene,) Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Lycia, Caria, Cyprus, and the Cyclades ; also the whole of Syria as far as the Euphrates, and most of the maritime countries in Asia Minor, from Cilicia to the Hellespont ; subsequently, his victories extended beyond the Euphrates, into Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persis, Susiana, Media, and as far as Bactria ; and also over the whole of the western coast of Arabia, from Leuke Kome to the southern point of Arabia Felix ; whilst in the south were subjected to his arms modern Abyssinia, Sennaar, and Darfur, and the mountainous country to the south, beyond the fountains of the Nile. See Heeren, *ut supra*.

It will be proper to observe, that the country which in the Scriptures of the Old Testament is called Mitzraim, and which continued to be a separate kingdom until the accomplishment of the prophecies which had foretold its destruction, became under the Ptolemies, and even previously, merged in the adjoining kingdom of Egypt. In the time of our Saviour, therefore, the country into which, by the Divine direction, Joseph fled with "the young child and his mother¹," and which must *necessarily* have been the identical country of Mitzraim that had been the subject of the previous Scriptural history and of the prophecies, would have been properly described by the name of Egypt, as then actually forming a part of that country. It is almost needless to add that under no circumstances is there the slightest ground for the supposition that the flight into Egypt was into any portion of Egypt Proper.

In my next Volume I shall attempt to sketch out the history of the kingdom of Mitzraim as distinguished from that of Egypt; and I shall at the same time have occasion to enter, in part at least, into the history of the latter country also. In so doing, although probably I may not be able entirely to connect with the authoritative statements of Scripture many portions of the history of Egypt contained in the writings of the heathen historians Herodotus and Diodorus, of which writings, from

¹ Matth. ii. 13—15.

their comparatively recent date, there would, *prima facie*, scarcely seem reason to doubt the general veracity, yet I trust that I shall have it in my power to show that those two sources of information are not so entirely irreconcilable with one another as they have hitherto been regarded.

Before quitting, for the present, the subject of Mitzraim, it will however be advisable, in order to complete the geographical description of that country, to bring together in a concise form the information which is derivable from Scripture respecting the cities and places within its limits.

In the first place then, Zoan, which was built seven years after Hebron in Canaan¹, would appear to be the city which was the scene of the miracles wrought in the sight of Pharaoh, for the Psalmist refers² to the "marvellous things" which the Lord did "in the land of Mitzraim, in the field [שְׂדֵה] " *sedéh*, cultivated country] of Zoan": which city, as it was at that period the residence of Pharaoh³, must be deemed to have been also the capital of his kingdom. We know further, that this city was upon the brink or in the immediate vicinity of the *yeór* (or river) of Mitzraim⁴; and hence it is far from improbable that the expression 'the cultivated 'country of Zoan' may be intended to apply to the fertile land of Goshen or Rameses, surrounding the capital, in which the Israelites were located⁵.

¹ See Numb. xiii. 22.

² Ps. lxxviii. 12.

³ Exod. vii. 23.; ix. 33.

⁴ Exod. vii. 15.; viii. 20.

⁵ See Page 277.

As early as the time of Joseph there was also, as we are informed¹, another city of Mitzraim, named On; and subsequently to the decease of that patriarch the Israelites built the two "treasure cities, "Pithom and Raamses"² for their oppressor Pharaoh. At the period of the Exodus we are further made acquainted with Migdol, and Baal-zephon (בַּהַל-צֶפְהוֹן *Báhal-tzephón*)³; both of which places

¹ Gen. xli. 45.; xli. 20.

² Exod. i. 11.

³ Exod. xiv. 2. 9.; Numb. xxxiii. 7. This place is usually considered to have derived its name from the god Baal, who is supposed to have been specially worshiped there (see Bagster's *Comprehensive Bible*, on Exod. xiv. 2.; and Taylor's *Calmet's Dict.*, art. BAAL-ZEPHON); but there appears no ground whatever for the assumption that in the time of Moses the Mitzrites worshiped that god, or indeed for believing that at that early period they had become so degraded as actually to be idolaters. That they, as well as the surrounding nations, were rapidly falling from the purity of that Church of which, in common with the other descendants of Noah, they had originally been members, is quite certain; but although it would seem that Pharaoh and the Mitzrites knew not the Almighty by his name *JEHOVAH* (Exod. v. 2.), yet I cannot discover any real authority in Scripture for the opinion that they were idolaters: neither did they become so, probably, until by the conquest of Egypt they were made acquainted with the idols of that country and adopted their worship, in precisely the same manner as the Moabites and Midianites adopted the worship of the gods of the Phutites (see Pages 219, 220.), and the Israelites that of the gods of the Canaanites. The word אֱלֹהִים (*elohím*) is in several places rendered 'a god' or 'gods' (see Exod. vii. 1.; xxi. 6.; xxii. 8.); but I conceive that אֱלֹהֵי (*elohai*), of which *elohím* is merely the plural form, would be more correctly translated 'a prince', 'judge', or 'ruler'; that is to say, 'one who is the object of reverence': whence (and especially as a

must have been at the extreme east of Mitzraim, and on the shores of the Red Sea (the Gulf of Akaba), for the Israelites had already journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, and thence to Etham¹, before they were commanded to “turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth², between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon³.”

At a much later period in the Scriptural History of Mitzraim, that is to say, in the time of the prophetic writers of the Old Testament, we find that,

pluralis excellentiæ) it is also applied to the Almighty. The word ‘Lord’, as at present used, would seem best to convey the meaning of *elôah*, whether in its natural or in its spiritual application. I may remark further, that the word שֹׁפֵטִים (*shephatím*) in Exod. xii. 12., Numb. xxxiii. 4., is equally incorrectly translated ‘gods’. In the margin of our authorized version, ‘princes’ is suggested, which is unquestionably correct; for the meaning of the term שׁוֹפֵט (*shophét*) is ‘a judge’ or ‘ruler’, in which sense it is employed throughout the Book of *Judges* (Heb. שׁוֹפֵטִים *Shophetím*):—see especially *Judges* ii. 16—19. This subject, generally, will be further discussed in my succeeding Volume.

With respect to the expression ‘Baal-zephon’, its signification appears to be simply ‘the place of the north’, the word בַּעַל (*báhal*) being repeatedly employed in geographical names to denote merely their locality, and having in that sense the same signification as בֵּית (*beth*): e. g. Baal-tamar (*Judges* xx. 33.) ‘the place of palms’: Baal-perazim (2 Sam. v. 20.) ‘the place of breaches or scatterings’: and see particularly *Baal-meon* in *Ezek.* xxv. 9., which in *Jer.* xlviii. 23. is called *Beth-meon*.

¹ Exod. xii. 37.; xiii. 20.; xiv. 2.; Numb. xxxiii. 5—7.

² פִּי־הַחִירוֹת *Pi-hakhiroth*, ‘the mouth or entrance of the caverns’: from חוֹר *chor*, or חַר *khur*, ‘a hole or cavern’.

³ Exod. xiv. 2.: and see ver. 9.

in addition to the ancient cities of Zoan¹, On², and Migdol³, that country possessed also the cities of Tahpanhes⁴, Beth-shemesh⁵, Phi-beseth⁶, Sin⁷, Noph⁸, and No⁹; of which Tahpanhes would appear to have then been the capital and royal residence of the Pharaohs¹⁰, and “populous No (נֹאֲמֹן) *No-amón*), that was situate among the rivers (אֲרָיִם) *yeorím*), that had the waters round about it, whose “rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the “sea””, may with great probability be supposed to have been situate in that portion of Mitzraim which was intersected by the artificial canals which gave fertility to that country, whilst at the

¹ Isaiah xix. 11. 13.; xxx. 4.; Ezek. xxx. 14.

² Ezek. xxx. 17.: by a different punctuation called *Aven*.

³ Jer. xlv. 1.; xlv. 14.; *Migdól Sevenéh*, Ezek. xxix. 10.; xxx. 6.—See Pages 292—294.

⁴ Jer. ii. 16.; xliii. 7—9.; xlv. 1.; xlv. 14.; Ezek. xxx. 18. (*Hanes*, Isaiah xxx. 4.?). This city probably derived its name from Tahpenes, the queen of the Pharaoh who was contemporary with David (see 1 Kings xi. 19, 20.); unless, indeed, Tahpenes were a family name among the kings of Mitzraim, as Rameses would appear to have been from as early a period as the building of the ‘treasure city’ of that name.

⁵ Jer. xliii. 13.; literally ‘the house or city of the Sun’: in Greek *Heliopolis*.

⁶ Ezek. xxx. 17.

⁷ Ezek. xxx. 15, 16.

⁸ Isaiah xix. 13.; Jer. ii. 16.; xlv. 1.; xlv. 14, 19.; Ezek. xxx. 13, 16.: called also *Moph* in Hosea ix. 6.

⁹ Jer. xlv. 25.; Ezek. xxx. 14, 15, 16.; Nahum iii. 8.

¹⁰ Jer. xliii. 8—10.

¹¹ Nah. iii. 8.

same time it lay near to the shores of the Mediterranean¹.

Of these cities, built as they most probably were of brick,—for although not actually expressed, it must unquestionably be implied that Pithom and Rameses were built of that material², whilst we

¹ The notion that the city of Thebes in Upper Egypt was No, is altogether irreconcilable with the Scriptural description given of this latter city; and I really cannot understand (not, perhaps, how through ignorance the identification was first adopted, but) how, when there existed no want of learning upon the subject, such an identification should have been retained. I perceive, however, in Mr. Long's Map of Ancient Egypt, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, that in addition to Diospolis the Great, or Thebes, another Diospolis, or No, is also (doubtfully) marked within the Delta, at no great distance from the mouth of the Mendesian branch of the Nile; which evidently shows that geographer's suspicion of the incorrectness of the locality generally attributed to No. The error upon this subject arises from the word **אֲמוֹן** (*amón*), added to the name of this city, in the text above cited, having been deemed to be an epithet derived from the god Ammon, who was especially worshiped at Thebes. But the connexion with the god Ammon is altogether imaginary, for the real meaning of the word is the same as that of **הָמוֹן** (*hamón*) 'a multitude', the **א** and **ה** being interchanged, as is common in the Hebrew (see Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.* art. **אֲמוֹן**, II.); so that the expression means simply 'populous No', as, in fact, it is translated in the authorized Version. The expressions **אֲמוֹן מִן־נֹ** (*amón min-No*), Jer. xlvi. 25., and **נֹ הָמוֹן** (*hamón No*), Ezek. xxx. 15., establish the correctness, in this point, of the authorized Translation,—the meaning of both being, 'the multitude of No', as it is also given in that Version.

² See Exod. i. 14.; v. 7—19.

also know that bricks were made in Tahpanhes in the time of the prophet Jeremiah¹,—it is scarcely to be expected that substantial and well-preserved memorials should have existed through ages, like those of the stone erections of the adjoining country of Egypt; so that, even if upon a closer investigation of the country to which they belong any remains of these cities should yet be discovered, we can scarcely expect that the means will be afforded us of identifying and correctly distinguishing them². But without a particular acquaintance with the country, an approximation may be made towards determining the positions of several of these cities; for we know that Migdol was at the northern extremity of the Gulf of Akaba, and Zoan upon or near the *yeór* which flowed through Mitzraim; whilst, as Pithom and Rameses (or the latter at least,) were built in the province of Goshen or

¹ Jer. xliii. 9.

² Some of these names are supposed to be merely different appellations of one and the same city; for instance, On and Bethshemesh: but it is much to be doubted whether two totally distinct names were at one time applicable to the same place. In Taylor's *Calmet's Dictionary*, (art. *AMMON*), No and Noph are considered to be identical; but this is totally irreconcilable with Ezek. xxx. 13—16, (and particularly the last verse,) where the two names are mentioned together as applicable to two different cities; in addition to which the names נֹ (No) and נֹפִ (Noph) are manifestly dissimilar in the Hebrew, however they may resemble each other in their appearance in English, and even in sound.

Rameses, in which Zoan was situate, those cities, therefore, were doubtless at no great distance from that capital.

An important guide in determining the relative positions of the several divisions and places of Mitzraim, would appear to present itself in the passage which I have cited from the Book of Judith¹; in which passage, as the various places out of Mitzraim are mentioned in regular order from north and east to south and west, we may fairly conclude that “ the stream of Mitzraim, and Tahpanhes, and Rameses, and all the land of Goshen until you come beyond Zoan, and Noph, . . . until you come to the borders of Cush²”, or “ of the two seas³”, are named in regular order in the direction above alluded to : under which view Tahpanhes would be the city of Mitzraim nearest to Judea ; Zoan, as I have already remarked, would be within the land of Goshen, towards the centre of the country ; and Noph would be the last city of Mitzraim westward, before reaching the Isthmus of Suez and the confines of Egypt.

¹ See Page 296, *note*. ² Judith i. 9, 10. ³ Judith i. 12.

APPENDIX A.

OF THE SITE OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN, AND OF THE
RESIDENCE OF MANKIND BEFORE THE FLOOD.

IN the second chapter of this Volume¹, the opinion is expressed that “ if the names of the countries mentioned in the Book of Genesis in connexion with Eden, be those of countries existing and known under those names when that book was composed, and if their correct situations be discoverable, it would seem that the locality of the habitation of our first parents might yet, at least approximately, be ascertained.” At the time when that opinion was formed, I had no intention whatever of attempting to proceed with the subject, or of entering at all into the investigation of any matters connected with the history of the antediluvian world: for I felt (as indeed I still continue to feel) the many difficulties which attend it. During the construction, however, of the Geographical Sketch of the Dispersion of Mankind which is prefixed to this Volume, I found, on

¹ Page 14.

referring to the late Major Rennell's valuable Map of the Comparative Geography of Western Asia, from which the outline of that Sketch is in great part compiled, that the two rivers Al Huali and Khabour,—the one of which, in accordance with the principles of Geography enunciated in this Work, 'compasseth the whole land of Havilah', whilst the other 'compasseth the whole land of Cush',—have their rise in the immediate vicinity in which are also the respective sources of a branch of the Tigris and a branch of the Euphrates¹.

This remarkable coincidence has led me to infer that the garden of Eden must have been situate where the heads of these four rivers are found; and, if I am not mistaken, the position thus resulting as being that of the residence of our first parents (whatever difficulties,—and there are many,—may yet attend the full consideration of the subject), is far more reconcilable with the Scriptural History than any other locality which has been attributed to it.

Having hence been led to the more particular investigation of the Scriptural History contained in the second, third, and fourth chapters of the Book of Genesis, so far as that History relates to

¹ By an accurate admeasurement upon Major Rennell's Map, the distance between the head of the Khabour and that of the River Kokdje (the branch of the Tigris)—being the two which are the most remote from each other—does not exceed eighteen geographical miles.

the geography of the antediluvian world, I have now to detail the results at which I have arrived in doing which I will confess that I am (as will be perceived,) far from being able to offer, or even to attempt, an explanation of all the circumstances connected with it: nor, considering the mysterious nature of that early portion of the Sacred History, are the suggestions which I have now to offer advanced with that degree of confidence which I feel that I am justified in entertaining with respect to the opinions announced in the body of the present Volume.

In the first place, then, we are told that “the Lord God planted a garden eastward (מִקְדָּם *mik-kédem*) in Eden; and there He put the man whom “He had formed”¹: the literal meaning of which statement would seem to be, that in a country bearing the name of Eden, and lying to the eastward of the place in which that statement was written,—the locality of which country was (apparently) well known both to the writer of that early portion of the Book of Genesis, and likewise to the persons for whose immediate information it was written,—the Lord formed a residence for Adam, suited to his wants, and adapted to the circumstances under which he had been created.

Now since this portion of the Book of Genesis was, as I would contend, written in Ur of the Chal-

¹ Gen. ii. 8. See, as to the proper signification of the preposition *מִקְדָּם*, Page 15, *note*.

dees, at a period anterior to the call of Abraham¹, it follows that the country of Eden in which the garden was thus planted, must have been to the eastward of Ur; and upon reference to the Map at the commencement of this Volume, it will be seen that the position resulting from the union of the heads of the four rivers, is directly eastward of the spot where I conceive Ur to have been situate².

It is next said that “a river (נַחַדְר *nahdr*) went “out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence “it was parted, and became into four heads”³; respecting the meaning of which passage, I can only say that, in itself, it is entirely beyond the reach of my comprehension: still, from it, combined with the four verses which immediately succeed it, the Scriptural History may not unreasonably be understood to mean, that in the country of Eden, in which the garden was situate, and most probably in the immediate vicinity of that garden, four different rivers had their rise:

The Sacred Record then proceeds to describe these four rivers, which it does in terms which (as it would seem,) could only have been used by the inspired writer under the consciousness that the localities which he was describing were familiar to those for whom his relation was intended.

His description of the first of these four rivers is as follows: “The name of the first is Pison: that is

¹ See Pages 116—121.

² See Pages 107, 108.

³ Gen. ii. 10.

“ it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold ; and the gold of that land is good : there is bdellium¹ and the onyx stone².” I have already detailed the grounds upon which I have arrived at the conclusion that the land of Havilah, or Ophir, was at the head of the Persian Gulf³ ; and as the Al Huali, or Hermas, is the river which then had its course to the sea in the neighbourhood of this land of Havilah⁴, it results that that river is the representative of the Pison.

Of the second river it is said : “ And the name of the second river is Gihon : the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush⁵.” Here again the position of the country which, as I have shown, constituted the whole land of Cush at that early period of the world’s history⁶, determines, apparently, the identity of the river Khabour with the Gihon.

Of the remaining two rivers it is said, “ And the name of the third river is Hiddekel (חִדְקֵל *Khiddékel*, *i. e.* the Tigris) : that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river

¹ בְּדִלְחָה (*bedólakh*): in the Arabic (see Gesenius’s *Heb. Lex. in loco*) and in Diodati’s Italian version, rendered ‘pearls’; which interpretation of the word seems extremely reasonable, seeing that pearls are yielded in abundance by the Persian Gulf, at the head of which the land of Ophir or Havilah was situate.

² Gen. ii. 11, 12.

³ See Pages 114, 115.

⁴ See Page 113.

⁵ Gen. ii. 13.

⁶ See Page 157, and the *note* there.

“ is Euphrates (פֶּרַת *Peráth*)¹.” These rivers are well known²; and the only difference which exists between the opinion which I have to advance with regard to them, and that which is usually entertained, is, that I conceive those names respectively to have been originally attributed, not to the principal streams to which throughout their course they have since been applied, but to the minor branches rising in the neighbourhood of the garden of Eden, which were better known in Ur than the main streams themselves.

According, therefore, to the train of reasoning here adopted, the garden of Eden will have to be placed in the country in which the sources of these four rivers are found; and as it is manifest that a locality which gives rise to four streams having their courses in different directions, must be of great altitude relatively to the surrounding country, the conclusion to be come to upon the subject would appear to be that its position was somewhere within the range of mountains bearing at the present day the name of *Karadjeh Dagħ*, which forms the geographical anticlinal line between the two great rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and their respective tributary streams.

Assuming this, then, to be the position of the

¹ Gen. ii. 14.

² The identification of the *Khiddékel* with the Tigris is established by Dan. x. 4; and that of the *Peráth* with the Euphrates, by numerous texts of Scripture,—see, among others, Gen. xv. 18.

residence of Adam whilst in a state of innocence; there would seem to be no difficulty in determining the locality of the country into which he was driven after the Fall; for we are told that the Lord “drove out the man; and He placed *at the east* of the “garden of Eden cherubims, and a flaming sword “which turned every way, to keep the way of the “tree of life¹.” from the literal construction of which words it results that the direction in which Adam was driven out was *eastward* from the garden. By reference to the Map it will be seen, that by going even a very short distance from the neighbourhood of the heads of the four rivers, the course of Adam and his wife would have been through some pass of the mountain chain into the country now known as the province of Diarbeker; and as, according to the words of the text, his return westward (and it may not unreasonably be imagined that of his descendants also) was prevented by supernatural means, it would seem that, after the Fall, this country of Diarbeker must have been the first residence of mankind.

Subsequently to the occurrences in the lives of Adam and Eve, and in those of their two sons, Cain and Abel, which are related in the first fifteen verses of the fourth chapter of Genesis,—the consideration of which is beyond the scope of the present observations,—it is said, that “Cain went out from “the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land “of Nod, on the east of Eden².” that is to say, he

¹ Gen. iii. 24.

² Gen. iv. 16.

went eastward, not of the garden,—for Adam had already left that behind him to the west,—but of the country in which Adam then resided, and which, consequently, was the land of Eden,—the garden which God planted “in Eden” having been to the extreme west of that country. Whilst, therefore, Cain and his descendants dwelt in the land of Nod on the east of the country of Eden, Adam and his posterity through his third son, Seth, may be deemed to have continued to reside in the country of Eden itself; both the one and the other of those countries being, according to the line of argument here adopted, within the province of Diarbeker*.

Whether down to the period of the Flood the whole human race continued to reside within the countries which are thus considered to have been the primitive settlements of their progenitors, is a question which we do not at present seem to possess the means of solving: but, even admitting that they spread into other countries, it can scarcely be imagined that their migrations were very widely extended; so that, under any circumstances, the province of Diarbeker must be regarded to have been the nucleus of the antediluvian world.

¹ Gen. ii. 8.

² There does not appear to be any objection to the supposition that the Eden of Genesis is the same country as that which is referred to under the same name in the later portions of the Hebrew Scriptures: see 2 Kings xix. 12.; Isaiah xxxvii. 12.; Ezek. xxvii. 23. It would seem, however, to be a different place from Beth Eden (translated ‘the house of Eden’), mentioned in Amos i. 5.

APPENDIX B.

OF THE FLOOD¹.

IN whatever way it may have been attempted to explain the mode in which it seemed meet to the Almighty to bring about the destruction of mankind, as recorded in the seventh chapter of the Book of Genesis, two distinct secondary natural causes are considered to have been in operation; namely, the rising of the waters from below,—that is, either from the sea, or else out of the abyss supposed to be within the bowels of the earth,—and the descent of the rain from above: which opinion has arisen, chiefly, if not entirely, from the construction which has been put upon the words of the text, “All the fountains of the great deep [were] broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened*.”

The total inability to reconcile the Scriptural account of this awful visitation of the Divine wrath as generally understood, with the results of modern geological research into the changes which have taken place upon the earth’s surface, has eventually

¹ The present article is founded upon the contents of a paper already published in the *Imperial Magazine* for July 1833, 2nd series, vol. iii. pp. 313—315, entitled ‘FOUNTAINS OF THE GREAT DEEP. A critical Inquiry into the meaning of this Scriptural expression, in Gen. vii. 11, &c.’

² Gen. vii. 11.

caused the consideration of this subject to be in the present day tacitly relinquished by the major part of the scientific world; and in the minds of many the feeling has been induced that this portion of the Holy Scriptures, if not actually untrue, is of such a character as will not permit it to stand opposed to what are conceived to be the established truths of science.

It is, however, to be seen whether the attributing the destruction of mankind at the Flood to the operation of two distinct natural agents, has not arisen from a construction of the Scriptural statement, which neither the literal meaning of the particular passage above cited, nor the general indications of the entire History, can be deemed to authorize: and whether, in fact, by divesting the Scriptural narrative of the traditional interpretation which it has, for ages past, received, it will not be found that only one natural instrument is referred to as having been employed by the Almighty to cause the destruction of His sinful creatures,—and that that instrument was simply, ‘*the RAIN from heaven*’.

The words of the text in question, which have been translated ‘the fountains of the great deep’, are in the original Hebrew *מַעְיִנוֹת תְּהוֹם רַבָּה* (*mah-yenóth tehóm rabbáh*). Without entering into any discussion as to whether a great abyss may or may not exist beneath the surface of the earth,—respecting which it may be observed, however, that the Sacred Records afford no authority whatever for its

existence,—it is sufficient to say that the meaning of the word תְּהוֹם (*tehóm*) may, wherever it is used throughout the Scriptures, be satisfied by interpreting it ‘a collection of waters’; it being, as Gesenius observes¹, a poetical expression for מַיִם (*mdim*). Hence the meaning of the words *tehóm rabbáh* will be ‘the great collection of waters’, that is to say, *the SEA*: and consequently the words *maḥyenóth tehóm rabbáh* will signify ‘the fountains ‘of the sea’.

This being, then, the literal interpretation of the words of the text, divested of every secondary meaning which has been attached to them, the next point to be ascertained is what is meant by the expression, ‘the fountains [*i. e.* the sources] of the ‘sea’. The opinion which I would offer upon this point is, that they are simply *THE CLOUDS*,—from whence the waters of the sea are supplied, and which are themselves in turn renewed by the exhalations from the ocean; as is beautifully expressed by ‘the Preacher’ in his description of the perpetual renovation of all nature: “All the rivers run “into the sea; yet the sea is not full: [*for*] unto “the place from whence the rivers come, [*i. e.* the “*clouds*,] thither they return²”. In fact, I conceive that the two parts of the sentence, ‘the ‘fountains of the great waters were broken up’, and ‘the windows of heaven were opened’, are

¹ *Heb. Lex.* art. תְּהוֹם: and see particularly Deut. viii. 7.

² Eccles. i. 7.

nothing more than two different modes of expressing the same idea; it being in strict accordance with the genius of the Hebrew language to make use of a duplication of expression, where the idea and sentiment are (to all appearance) single.

It is scarcely necessary to adduce examples of what must be familiar to the minds of all who are in the least degree conversant with the phraseology of the Hebrew Scriptures, especially with that of the poetical compositions which they contain; but two parallel passages may be adduced, not merely as being striking examples of the same verbal reduplication, but as confirming also the construction which is thus put upon the words of the text in question. The one of these passages is, "When He established the *clouds* above: when He strengthened the *fountains of the waters* (עִינות תְּהוֹם) *henóth* (*tehóm*)¹"; the other is, "By His knowledge the *waters* (תְּהוֹמוֹת) *tehomóth* are broken up, and the *clouds* drop down the dew²".

It appearing, then, that the literal interpretation of the words of the text will permit of the construction that *the rain from heaven* was the sole natural means by which the Flood was produced, it is to be seen how far such a construction is in accordance with the other portions of the Scriptural account of that miraculous occurrence. In the first place, then, in the command given to build the Ark, the words of the Almighty to His servant Noah are,

¹ Prov. viii. 28.

² Prov. iii. 20.

“ And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters
 “ (מַבּוּל מַיִם *mabbúl máim*) upon the earth, to de-
 “ stroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from
 “ under heaven ; and every thing that is in the
 “ earth shall die¹” : which awful denunciation is
 repeated upon the subsequent command to enter
 the Ark, and (as it were) with an express explana-
 tion of what is intended by the previous expression
mabbúl máim ‘ a flood of waters ’. In this latter
 text the words of the Almighty are, “ For yet seven
 “ days, and I will cause it to *rain* upon the earth
 “ forty days and forty nights ; and every living
 “ substance that I have made will I destroy from
 “ off the face of the earth²” : the only legitimate
 inference from which declaration is, that the Flood,
 —miraculous and supernatural as we know it to
 have been in its origin, and mighty as it was in its
 operation and in its results,—was a *flood of RAIN*
 alone.

The Scriptural narrative then proceeds as fol-
 lows : “ And it came to pass after seven days, that
 “ the waters of the Flood were upon the earth. In
 “ the six hundredth year of Noah’s life, in the se-
 “ cond month, the seventeenth day of the month,
 “ the same day were all the fountains of the great
 “ waters broken up, and the windows of heaven
 “ were opened : and *the rain* was upon the earth
 “ forty days and forty nights³” : in which statement

¹ Gen. vi. 17.² Gen. vii. 4.³ Gen. vii. 10—12.

it is manifest that no reference is made to any other secondary means for causing the destruction of mankind than 'the *rain* [which] was upon the 'earth forty days and forty nights'; and which rain, from what must be deemed to be the plain and natural construction of the whole passage, was produced by the breaking up of the fountains of the great waters and the opening of the windows of heaven. The validity of this construction would seem, however, to be absolutely established by the repetition subsequently made as to the duration of the rain: "And the *Flood* (*mabbúl*) was forty days "upon the earth"; by the comparison of which with the former passage, it is manifest that 'the rain' and 'the Flood' are synonymous expressions¹.

I shall refrain from citing at length the minute description which is given of the gradual rise of the waters until they attained their greatest height², and of their subsequent equally gradual decrease³; which is utterly irreconcilable with the notion that the Flood was accompanied by any violent and abrupt convulsion of the globe, supposed to have been occasioned by the breaking up of the fountains of

¹ Gen. vii. 17.

² The word מַבּוּל (*mabbúl*) is derived from the verb יָבַל (*yabál*) 'to flow'; or (in the same sense as the Arabic *wabl*, 'to rain violently'. The name יָרַח בּוּל (*yeráhk bül*) 'the 'month of rain', given in 1 Kings vi. 38. to the eighth month of the year, Marchesvan, points to the same signification.

³ Gen. vii. 17—20.

⁴ Gen. viii. 1—14.

the great deep; and than which, indeed, nothing can more accurately describe the progress and the consequences of a tremendous flood of rain¹.

The words of the Almighty in His covenant with Noah and his sons upon the cessation of the Flood are recorded to have been, “. . . I do set my bow
 “ in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a co-
 “ venant between me and the earth. And it shall
 “ come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the
 “ earth, [*i. e.* when it shall *rain*,] that the bow
 “ shall be seen in the cloud: and I will remember
 “ my covenant, which is between me and you and
 “ every living creature of all flesh; and the waters
 “ shall no more become a flood [*mabbúl*] to destroy
 “ all flesh”²:—that is to say, ‘the *rain* shall never
 ‘ again increase to that extent’: which words would
 seem to establish the truth of the hypothesis which
 is here advanced, namely, that from the literal
 construction of the whole Scriptural History of the
 Flood, the natural means by which it was produced
 was ‘the rain from heaven’ alone.

¹ The hypothesis that the Flood was caused by the sudden elevation (‘upburst’) from beneath what was then the sea, of a new system of mountains, and the consequent agitation and change of level of the waters of the ocean,—an hypothesis which is favoured by some modern Geologists,—is not only opposed to the express words of Scripture as regards the natural means by which the Flood was occasioned, but is also totally at variance with the Scriptural account of the gradual advance and recession of the waters.

² Gen. ix. 13—15.

But it may be objected that the words of the Almighty to Noah,—“The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them אֶת־הָאָרֶץ (*eth-hadretz*) with [as it is translated,] the earth”,—establish the fact that a destruction of the frame of the earth did actually take place; which could not have occurred had ‘the rain from heaven’ alone been the means employed by the Almighty to accomplish His allwise purposes. To this objection it is to be replied, that in two other passages of the same narrative, one in which the Almighty is described as establishing His immutable decree for the destruction of mankind, and the other in which is recorded the accomplishment of that decree, the expressions מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ (*mehál pené haadamáh*) “from the face of the earth” [ground]¹, and מִן־הָאָרֶץ (*min-hadretz*) “from the earth”², are employed; neither of which expressions will allow of being referred to the common destruction of the earth *together with* mankind; and hence it follows either that an inconsistency must be imputed to the Scriptural History (which is absurd), or else, that the preposition אֶת (*eth*) in the former passage is improperly translated ‘with’.

In the margin of the authorized version the words ‘from the earth’ are inserted, evincing a doubt in the minds of the Translators as to the propriety of

¹ Gen. vi. 13.

² Gen. vi. 7.

³ Gen. vii. 23.

the reading which they had adopted in the text; but neither can this marginal suggestion be received, in as much as the preposition *eth* cannot, under any circumstances, be understood as possessing the force of 'from'. But the translation of the word *eth* by 'in' or 'upon', in which sense it occurs in other parts of Scripture², cannot, I think, be impugned; and hence the passage in question may correctly be read 'And, behold, I will destroy them in [or 'upon'] the earth', which construction of it will be entirely consistent with the other two phrases cited above 'from the face of the ground' and 'from the earth'.

It may be observed, as a further argument, that the references which in the Scriptural account of the antediluvian world are made to 'Eden'; to 'the land of Nod'; to 'the land of Havilah, where there is gold'; to 'Assyria', to 'Cush'; and to

¹ The use of this preposition in several passages in Scripture like the following כִּצְאֹתַי אֶת־הָעִיר (ketzethí eth haḥír) "as soon as I am gone out of [from] the city" (Exod. ix. 29.) would at first sight appear to be opposed to the assertion that *eth* is not employed in the sense of 'from': but in this instance, as in the others in which the same form of expression occurs, the verb יָצָא (yatzá) is not a verb neuter, but a verb active,—its signification being not merely 'to go out', but 'to go out from', 'to quit';—and hence it is construed with an accusative, (as in the Latin *egredi urbem*,) and not with an ablative. See Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.* art. יָצָא.

² See 1 Sam. vii. 16.; 1 Kings ix. 25.; cited in Gesenius's *Heb. Lex.* art. אָן, no. 3.

the four rivers having their rise in Eden ;—all of which localities appear to have continued to exist also after the Flood ;—do not seem to be reconcilable with the opinion that any material change had taken place in the configuration of the earth's surface ; and they are totally inconsistent with the notion of the occurrence of a violent convulsion and disruption of the frame of the globe, which could not have failed to destroy all traces of them.

It may, however, be argued, that if it be admitted that ' the rain from heaven ' was the sole natural cause of the Flood, it will follow that the Flood itself must have been local in its operation, and not extended over the whole face of the earth. To this argument I reply, that I cannot perceive that the words of Scripture are contradicted, or their meaning at all forced, by imagining that the Flood, although universal as regarded mankind, was yet only particular and local with respect to the globe itself. On the contrary, as there is good reason to believe that the descendants of Adam were not yet very widely extended over the face of the earth,—so that, in fact, the greater portion of the globe was uninhabited by man,—there are substantial grounds for contending that the rain must have been local only ; in as much as it is simply in accordance with the general conduct of the allwise Being who does nothing needlessly, that the judgement of the Flood should have affected that portion only of the

earth's surface which had become the residence of mankind.

But under any view of the subject, one thing may be absolutely asserted ; which is, that so much of the earth's surface as was inhabited would, *at the least*, have been obnoxious to this awful visitation of the Divine vengeance ; and hence, if the positions of the countries of Eden and Nod have been correctly determined¹, we have in the geographical basin of Diarbeker, a country which, under any circumstances, must have been subjected to that visitation. How far beyond the limits of that basin the waters may have reached, must (upon the supposition always that the Flood was local,) have depended upon the extent to which the descendants of Adam had spread : for so far also must the Flood have extended in order 'to destroy all flesh.'

A powerful argument in favour of the opinion that the Flood was only local is derived from the fact that no fossil remains of man attributable to such a cause have anywhere yet been discovered ; and if the locality which I assign to the residence of mankind before the Flood be correct, it follows that in that neighbourhood alone ought we to expect to find those physical remains of the antediluvian world, the discovery of which has been so long and so earnestly, but hitherto so vainly, expected by the advocates of revealed Truth ; and the apparent non-existence of which has been a cause (and that not

¹ See Pages 317, 318.

an inconsiderable one) of doubt, and even of scepticism.

I have in conclusion to repeat that there are many difficulties attending the consideration of the subjects of the Flood and the antediluvian residence of mankind, which I have not attempted to meet: nor indeed are the suggestions contained in the present and foregoing articles of this Appendix offered as absolute explanations of those portions of the Sacred History; but rather in the hope that they may be found to be slight approximations to that full perception of Divine Truth, to which, with the blessing of its Author, we shall, doubtless, ultimately be led.

APPENDIX C.

OF THE GOPHER-WOOD, OF WHICH NOAH'S ARK WAS
CONSTRUCTED¹.

IN the fourteenth verse of the sixth chapter of Genesis is recorded the following command of the Almighty to the righteous Noah: "Make thee
" an ark of gopher-wood (עֵצֵי גֹפֶרֶת *hatzé-gópher*);
" rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch
" [or cover] it within and without with pitch (בַּפֶּתַח
" *bakkópher*)."

Much difficulty has existed in determining the true meaning of the expression עֵצֵי גֹפֶרֶת (*hatzé-gópher*). In the Babylonian Jewish (Chaldee) Paraphrase it is rendered קְדָרוֹס (*kadrós*) 'cedar'; in the Septuagint version ξύλα τετράγωνα, 'squared or 'wrought timbers'; in the Vulgate *ligna levigata*, 'planed timbers'; by Bochart it is supposed to be cypress; Avenarius and many other critics deem it to be pine; whilst Parkhurst suggests that *gopher*

¹ This article contains the substance of two papers already published by me in the London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science, viz. 'Remarks on Mr. Drummond Hay's Observations on the Gopher-wood of the received Version of the Scriptures,' printed in the Number for August 1833, vol. iii. pp. 103—104; and 'Remarks on Mr. Carter's Paper on the Gopher-wood,' inserted in the Number for April 1834, vol. iv. pp. 280 —282.

may be a generic name for such trees as abound with inflammable juices¹.

It is not my intention to offer any absolute opinion as to the precise description of wood of which the Ark was constructed; my object being chiefly to explain what appears to be the verbal signification of the word *gopher*.

On the ground, then, that the interchange between the letters ג and כ is common in the Hebrew and cognate tongues, owing to their being letters of the same organ, and of nearly the same sound², I consider the word גֹּפֶר (*gopher*) to be, in fact, identical with כֹּפֶר (*kopher*) which occurs with it in the same verse, and of which the meaning is known to be *pitch*³.

¹ All these authorities are cited in Dr. Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. ARK: see also Taylor's *Calmet's Dictionary*, articles ARK and GOPHER-WOOD. Gesenius in his *Heb. Lex.*, art. גֹּפֶר, translates the expression *hatzé-gopher*, *fir* or *pine wood*; remarking that it is without doubt 'a species of resinous tree'.

² See Lee's *Heb. Gram.* 2nd edit. p. 35, Art. 78.

³ In a paper in the *Philosophical Magazine* for March 1834, vol. iv. pp. 178—182, entitled '*On the Gopher-wood of the received Version of the Scriptures. By W. G. Carter, Esq.*,' an objection is raised to the usual translation of the word כֹּפֶר (*kopher*) by 'pitch', on the ground that the verb כָּפַר (*kaphár*), from which that word is manifestly derived, although of frequent use in the Hebrew Scriptures in the sense of 'to cover over, atone for, or expiate,' is nowhere found to possess the particular import of 'to cover or daub with pitch'.

But this reasoning must surely have been adopted too hastily; for the writer of that paper could never have intended to affirm

Should it be objected, however, that it is scarcely probable that these two letters are thus convertible in the same passage, it is only necessary to adduce an instance of their actual interchange in this very portion of the Scriptural History; namely, in the two passages, וַיִּסַּגֵּר יְהוָה בַּעֲרֹו (*vayisgór Yehováh bahádó* “ and the Lord *shut up* [the Ark] upon

that a derivative word is not to be used in a secondary sense, because the root to which it is to be traced cannot, in every instance, have attached to it the same secondary meaning as that which has been acquired by the derivative itself. Were such really the case, the use of *kaphár* and its derivatives in the secondary senses of ‘to purge away or pardon’ (Ps. lxx. 3.); ‘to atone’ (Levit. iv. 35.); ‘to disannul or obliterate’ (Isaiah xxviii. 18.); ‘a ransom’ (Exod. xxi. 30.); ‘a [covered?] bason’ (1 Chron. xxviii. 17.)—all of which meanings have plainly a direct reference to the primary signification of the verb ‘to cover,’—would be equally erroneous with the employment of the word *kópher* to designate an article fo common use for *covering* or overlaying, such as pitch is.

Indeed, if there be any word to which is attached a fixed and unequivocal meaning, it would appear to be the word *kópher* (Gen. vi. 14.); which, as far as my information extends, is not attempted to be rendered otherwise than by the word ‘pitch’,—whether vegetable or mineral,—in any version of the Bible; except perhaps in that of Mr. Bellamy, the authority of which I may be allowed pre-emptorily to dispute. But it is not necessary to depend merely upon the received translations for determining the true signification of this word, for the Arabic كمر, the Chaldee כופר, and the Syriac ܟܦܪ, are all employed to denote the same substance, ‘pitch’. Nor does the proof rest even here; for we also find in the Hebrew Scriptures the word גֹּפְרִית (*gophrít*) ‘brimstone’ (Gen. xix. 24.; Isaiah xxx. 33.)—in Arabic كبريت, in Chaldee כופרית, and in Syriac ܟܦܪܝܬ,—which is evidently derived

him¹"), and וַיִּסְכְּרוּ מַעֲיֵנֹת תְּהוֹם (*vayissákherú mahyenóth tehóm* "and the fountains of the waters "were shut up²");—from which it is established that the interchange asserted to have taken place in the passage in question is entirely according to rule.

Isaac Delgado, a learned Jew, who in 1789 published an English translation of the Pentateuch, in like manner considers *gópher* to be identical with *kópher*. He accordingly reads *pitched planks*; וַיַּעַץ (*hatsé*) being, as he says, in the plural number, and signifying *planks* or *boards*. But in this latter respect he is manifestly in error, for the primary and correct meaning of וַיַּעַץ (*hētẓ*) is a *tree*, and not a

from *kópher* or *gópher*; and that too, not in its primary signification of 'a covering' with which brimstone cannot possibly have any connexion, but in its secondary meaning of *pitch*, on account of the resemblance, however partial or indirect, which the one substance bears to the other.

The process of the derivation of the word *gopherítá* may be thus stated. The vegetable pitch with which Noah's ark was covered, was that substance to which the name *kópher*, or *gópher*, was applied in the first instance: this name may afterwards (as in fact has been the case with its English representative 'pitch,') have been extended to the כֶּמֶר (*khemár*) *asphaltum*, or *mineral pitch*; and from the resemblance which brimstone bears to that substance, not only in its mineral origin, but also in the more obvious effects produced upon it by heat, the former substance would thence have derived its name of *gopherítá*, as being 'a substance like *gópher*.'

¹ Gen. vii. 16.

² Gen. viii. 2.

*plank*¹; and *hatzé*, being the plural of that word and in the state of construction, cannot therefore be translated otherwise than 'trees of'. Hence the literal signification of the expression *hatzé-gopher* is 'trees of pitch' i. e. *pitch-trees*; meaning that description of tree, the native of the country in which the Ark was built, from which pitch was produced.

Whatever that particular description of tree may really have been, I may remark that the only timber which at the present day grows in any considerable quantities throughout the country of Armenia, from the frontiers of Persia as far as Asia Minor, is (as I have lately been informed,) a species of white pine, the product of which, namely *pitch*, is an article of great traffic among the natives; and as the country of Diarbeker in the extreme north of Mesopotamia, in which the antediluvian residence of Noah may be conceived to have been situate², is in the immediate neighbourhood of Armenia, it is most probable,—though I do not know it to be the fact,—that the same species of tree is to be found in that country also. Hence it may not be unreasonable to imagine that Noah and his sons, after receiving the Divine command, may have proceeded into the pine forests of their native country, and there built the Ark, of the wood of the trees, *hatzé-gopher*, which furnished at the same time the

¹ See Gen. i. 29.; Deut. xxii. 6.; and innumerable other texts.

² See Page 318.

pitch (*kópher*, or *gópher*,) necessary for covering and preserving it, and for caulking and rendering it water-tight.

The notion that the Ark was covered with mineral and not with vegetable pitch, which is adopted in the Septuagint and Vulgate versions,—*kópher* in the former being rendered ἄσφαλτος, and in the latter *bitumen*,—appears to have arisen from the assumption that the Ark was constructed in the neighbourhood of Babylon, where mineral pitch abounds; but if my opinion as to the country of Noah be correct, the reason for such an assumption fails: independently of which, the arguments already adduced with respect to the former extent northward of the Persian Gulf¹, establish the fact that under no circumstances could the Ark have been built anywhere in the low lands of Mesopotamia.

¹ See Pages 17—24.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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