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ORDINARY MEETING, APRIL 16, 1877.

REV. R. THORNTON, D.D., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following Elections were announced :—

MEMBERS :— Sir W. Burton, K.C.B., London ; Rev. H. A. Hall, Th.A.K.C.L., Kent.

ASSOCIATES :—S. S. Bacon, Esq., Liverpool ; Rev. J. M. Fuller, M.A., Kent ; Rev. C. Hole, B.A., London ; Rev. F. Kellet, Liverpool ; Rev. A. F. Muir, M.A., London ; Rev. Preb. W. R. W. Stephens, M.A., Midhurst.

The following paper was then read by the author :—

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM, ILLUSTRATED BY RECENT RESEARCHES. By the Rev. H. G. TOMKINS, M.A.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

SINCE the following paper was printed I have read the translation, by Mr. Russell Martineau, of Professor Goldziher's *Mythology among the Hebrews*.

In this elaborate work it is seriously asserted that Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, Esau, and the whole group of patriarchal characters of the Bible in general had no real existence, but are mythical creations belonging to a system of very early development.

The general line of argument is twofold. The author first endeavours to establish an etymology of the proper names suitable to his theory, and then knits up the story, or some selected particulars, into the mythical web. He has thus translated the old fathers far away from the earth and its doings.

For instance, Abram (father of height) is the nightly sky. Sarah (princess) is the moon : so is probably Milkâ. Hagar (the flying one) is a solar name. Isaac (the laughter) is originally the sun, but further on "the 'smiling one' whom the 'high father' intends to slay, is the smiling day, or more closely defined the smiling sunset, which gets the worst of the contest with the night-sky and disappears" (p. 96).

Thus narratives which are distinctly treated in the Pentateuch by Moses, and by Joshua and the Prophets, and the Evangelists and Apostles, and especially by our Lord himself, as veracious history, are resolved into fables, not indeed

“cunningly devised” but spontaneous (p. 31), and the inevitable growth of the human mind according to supposed psychological laws.

I can but hastily at present offer a few thoughts on this mode of exposition.

(A.) And, first, the philological argument is of a very slight texture indeed. The names, for instance, are for the most part not shown to have ever been used with the asserted significance. *Abrâm* was never a word for heaven, nor was even “*râm*” in Hebrew, although “*rayam*” in Æthiopic is adduced; and no instance is suggested in any language where *Abram* denotes anything but a man, and this (by the way) not only in Scripture, for *Abramu* was a court-officer of *Esar-haddon* (Ep. Can. p. 39).

Again, no instance is given of *Yitshak* (*Isaac*) really denoting the sun or the sunset, or anything else than a man whose name is explained in the Scripture narrative; nor of *Sarah* being a title of the moon in Hebrew or any other language; nor of *Hagar* meaning the sun in Hebrew. The noon-day sun may well be called *al-hâjirâ* (the flying one), as our author tells us, by the Arabs quite consistently with a slave having borne (if so be) a similar name. Moreover *Hakar* (= *Hagar*, for the Egyptians had no *g*) occurs among the Pharaohs of the XXIXth dynasty, so that *Hagar* may after all have been a real Egyptian name. The *Hagarenes*, too, (*Hagaranu* in Assyrian) are mentioned both in Scripture and in an inscription of *Tiglath Pileser II.*

A curious statement is made (p. 158) that “*Sîn* (the moon) and *Gula* of the male triad are balanced respectively by ‘the highest Princess,’ and by *Malkît* ‘the Queen’ in the female; and these are only *Sarah* and *Milka* again.” This is hard to understand, for *Gula* was a goddess, not a “male,” and could not be “balanced” by *Malkît*. In fact, *Gula* was the “female” corresponding to *Samas* the Sun-god, and “sometimes replaced,” says *M. Lenormant* (*La Magie*, 107), “by a group of three wives, equal among themselves: *Malkît*, *Gula*, and *Anunit*.” Moreover, the spouse of *Sîn* does not appear to have been called *Sarah*; nor is there any evidence of a goddess called by the Hebrews *Milca*.

So with *Abimelek* king of *Gerar*. Professor *Goldziher* includes this title in the “Solar” list, p. 158. Yet the name, like *Abram*, appears in the Assyrian annals (viz., as a prince of *Aradus* in the time of *Esar-haddon*).

If all owners of lofty, or even celestial, titles are to be relegated to the skies, what will become of the Egyptian

Pharaohs, whose especial glory it was to boast themselves in "solar titles"?

We have a good instance of a name which has a very mythical look at first sight, in Ur, Abram's birthplace.

This, however, is happily tied hard and fast to this world by the bricks of which it is built, which bear the name of the town as well as of the god.

The local and personal names of holy Scripture will yield rich results under reasonable inquiry.

(B.) But I turn from philology to psychology, which is made responsible for this line of explanation.

Now the characters and doings of these old fathers and their wives and families are so thoroughly human, so very various, yet each so consistent in itself, bearing such marks of truthfulness under the touchstone of human experience, that this kind of exposition in the hands of such men as the late Professor Blunt has acquired a very distinct and acknowledged value. I appeal from psychology beside herself to psychology sober as a very credible witness to the genuine historical character of the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

(C.) Then again, historical research is daily adding fresh confirmation to our trust in the sacred records. Something of this kind I hope to bring before you presently. Look, for instance, at the episode of Elam. The world had nothing to show of this old powerful highland monarchy conquering as far as the Egyptian borders, except in closest relation to the life of Abraham, and so only through Lot.

But now we read the story in quite a consonant sense in Chaldæan muniments.

What right have we to rend out the figure of Abram from the canvas, leaving the Amorite chiefs, on the one hand, and the allied kings of the East, on the other?

(D.) But this form of credulous scepticism is, most of all, a violation of the spiritual consensus of the whole Hebrew and the whole Christian Church.

Professor Goldziher has nowhere so utterly wandered, as in his opinions on religion, whose *genesis* he thus explains (p. 218):—"It must be regarded as established and certain that the psychological process of the origin of religion, a process influenced only in its most advanced stages by ethical and æsthetic forces, is, in the first instance, developed out of the older mental activity which resulted in the creation of myths."

Now this is the very inversion of the order of things established alike by Scripture and archæology; that the spiritual faculties which cry out for the living God germinated

first from the embers of an "older mental activity" exhausted (as the Professor goes on to say) by this creation of myths, is surely the most unlikely thing imaginable in itself, and contrary to what we find in the dedications, prayers, and hymns of earliest date, both in Chaldaea and Egypt. If our author denounces as inhuman, and therefore monstrous in itself, the opinion of Renan that "the Semites never had a mythology," surely we may, on similar ground, repudiate the dogma that all mankind were destitute of religion until in the course of ages they produced it for themselves.

Again, the life of Abraham is a vital part of that unique, coherent, and divine development which St. Paul calls "the purpose of the ages" (Eph. iii. 11), whereby the book of Genesis is intelligibly correlated with the Apocalypse through all the intermediate range of that sacred literature. I appeal to sound historical criticism, to sober psychology, to pure religion; and trust that we may this evening see how consonant these are with a straightforward belief in the record as it stands.*

THE internal coincidences of the Old Testament have been well developed by the late Professor Blunt and later writers, and we may be thankful that the very absence of external evidence of an historical kind enforced this delicate and sagacious line of proof.

2. The researches of later years, however, call us to the study of extraneous records, where we find much in the shape of actual parallel evidence, but far more in the scarcely less valuable form of historical illustration, whereby we may represent to ourselves the conditions under which the worthies of the former covenant fulfilled their course.

3. Every day is adding to the mass and value of this kind of testimony, and to the number of its students.

4. While the few eminent scholars are engaged in their arduous task of original research, it may be permitted to ordinary students of history to utilize the data thus bestowed on them.

5. With such an aim your attention is now entreated to a few points of illustration by which the life of Abraham may be the better appreciated.

* In the notes the initials *T. S. B. A.* signify "Trans. of Soc. of Biblical Archæology"; *P. E. F.*, "Statements of Palestine Exploration Fund." The word *Records* refers to "Records of the Past"; *Her.* to "Rawlinson's Herodotus, ed. 1862; *Anc. M.* to "Ancient Monarchies," ed. 1871.

6. I shall be very thankful for information where I am ignorant, and correction when I am wrong.

7. Those who are labouring in this field will be well aware how tentative and provisional are all results at present.

UR OF THE CHALDEES.

8. The name of Ur Casdim emerges in Scripture first as the birthplace of Terach's sons. Ur is identified by its own inscriptions with the ruined town Mugeyer, on the west side of the Euphrates, and gave the name Ur-ma (*i.e.* Urland) to the whole region of which it was the capital.*

9. "It is a curious fact," writes the lamented George Smith in his work on the "Chaldæan Account of Genesis," † "that the rise of the kingdom of Ur (*cir.* B.C. 2000 to 1850) coincides with the date generally given for the life of Abraham, who is stated to have come out of Ur of the Chaldees; by which title I have no doubt the Babylonian city of Ur is meant.

10. There is not the slightest evidence of a northern Ur, and a northern land of the Chaldees at this period."

11. The city was the centre of a most fruitful and cultivated district, "the only natural home of the wheat-plant," shady with palm-groves, tamarisk, acacias, and pomegranates, and irrigated with the utmost care.

12. Sir Henry Rawlinson believes that Eden was in this part of Babylonia; and indeed three of the river-names of paradise are found here,—Hiddekel, Gikkhkan, ‡ and Euphrates. It would surely be likely that in "the garden which the Lord planted," the wheat would be a most treasured gift, and it has been held as emphatically a divine boon by different nations.

13. From the port the "ships of Ur" set sail on the sheltered sea, which at that time reached some 120 or 130 miles higher than at present.§

14. If the chief settlement of the Semitic people was then in Arabia, it would be natural for the sons of Shem to prefer the city on that side of broad Euphrates, and open to the pastoral ranges of the desert. It is true, however, that there was a subordinate channel of the Euphrates which ran to the west of Ur. The people of Terach, always keen in commerce, would find here the head-quarters of that "multitude of men of different nations" who had colonized Chaldæa, of whom Berosus writes. The sons of Shem were not the first civilizers of Babylonia. The far-spreading Turanians were beforehand

* *T. S. B. A.*, iii. 229.

‡ *T. S. B. A.*, i. 300.

† p. 298.

§ Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*, i.

with their strong stamp of language, laws, religion, science, and polity.

"All appearances," says M. Lenormant "would lead us to regard the Turanian race as the first branch of the family of Japhet which went forth into the world, and by that premature separation, by an isolated and antagonistic existence, took, or rather preserved, a completely distinct physiognomy."*

15. But the first to lay the yoke of despotism on the mingled races in Shinar was a son of Ham, Nimrod, a "son of Cush." The word Kush, "Kusu," identified (like Ham) with darkness, occurs in early Chaldæan inscriptions, and the "dark races" are recorded as under the rule of Sargina I. †

16. Abram's childhood must have been familiar with the motley mixture of faces, costumes, and dialects of all the great races into which our scholars have divided mankind; and among all these races his work was ordained to lie.

17. The principal building at Ur was the temple of the moon-god of the same name, which bears on the bricks of its lowest stage the dedication of its royal builder Uruk, probably before Abraham's time.

18. Its huge ziggurat, a sacred observatory-tower of three stages, upholding the shrine, oblong in form, ascended by stairs, rose high above the buildings of the city in its northern quarter.

19. There the royal monthly prognosticators kept the night-watches, holding in highest worship the light that rules the night; chanting their hymns, casting their omens, offering sacrifices, receiving votaries, as represented on their sovereign-pontiff's seal, and within the temple-bounds holding courts of justice in his name.

20. It is a wonderful thing that one of the liturgical hymns to the moon-god Ur (or Sin in Semitic) actually used in this temple in the earliest times, is still preserved in Accadian and Semitic in the British Museum. From M. Lenormant's French translation, ‡ I have rendered it very closely in a somewhat rhythmical cast as follows:—

Lord! prince of gods of heaven and earth, whose mandate is exalted!
 Father! god enlightening earth! Lord! good god, of gods the prince!
 Father! god enlightening earth! Lord! great god, of gods the prince!

* *Anc. H. of the East*, i. 64.

† But see Schrader's note, *Zeitschr.* 1874, 21. He translates "such as dwell in the West." But in other texts dark races are referred to.—*Chald. Gen.*, 85-86. *H. G. T.*

‡ *Les prem. Civilisations*, ii. 158.

Father! god enlightening earth! Lord! god of the month, of gods the prince!

Father! god enlightening earth! Lord of Ur, of gods the prince!

Father! god enlightening earth! Lord of the alabaster house, of gods the prince!

Father! god enlightening earth! Lord of crowns, duly returning, of gods the prince!

Father! god enlightening earth! Awarder of kingdoms, of gods the prince!

Father! god enlightening earth! by lowering the proud himself enlarging, of gods the prince!

Timely crescent, mightily horned, doom-dealer splendid with orb fulfilled!
Self-produced, from his home forth issuing, pouring evermore plenteous streams!

High-exalted, all-producing, life unfolding from above!

Father, he who life reneweth in its circuit through all lands!

Lord! in thy godhead far and wide as sky and sea thou spread'st thine awe.

Warder of shrines in [Accad's] land, and prophet of their high estate!
Of gods and men the sire, of childhood guide, even Ishtar's self thou didst create,

Primeval seer, rewarder sole, fixing the doom of days remote!

Unshaken chief, whose heart benign is never mindful of thy wrongs,

Whose blessings cease not, ever flowing; leading on his fellow-gods,

Who from depth to height bright-piercing openeth the gate of heaven.

Father mine, of life the giver, cherishing; beholding [all!]

Lord who power benign extendeth over all the heaven and earth!

Seasons, rains, from heaven forth-drawing, watching life and yielding showers!

Who in heaven is high-exalted? Thou! sublime is thy behest!

Who on earth is high-exalted? Thou! sublime is thy behest!

Thou thy will in heaven revealest, Thee celestial spirits praise!

Thou thy will on earth revealest. Thou subdu'st the spirits of earth!

Thou! thy will in heaven as the luminous ether shines!

Thou! thy will upon the earth to me by deeds thou dost declare!

Thou! thy will extendeth life in greatness hope and wonder wide!

Thou! thy will itself gives being to the righteous dooms of men!

Thou through heaven and earth extendest goodness, not remembering wrong!

Thou! thy will who knoweth? Who with aught can it compare?

Lord! in heaven and earth thy lordship of the gods none equals thee!

21. There are yet some mutilated lines to complete this ode of pristine idolatry: calling on this "king of kings" to favour his dwelling, the city of Ur, invoking him as "Lord of rest"

(that is, of the weekly sabbath-rest); and so in broken tones it dies away. In such strains did the kings and priests of Ur adore the moon as it walked in brightness through the crystalline spaces of a Babylonian sky.

22. The walls, and at least three sacred buildings in Ur, were the work of Uruk, the great builder king. The polytheism of this early age is shown by his having built, besides these, a temple to Nana or Ishtar at Erech; another to the sun-god Samas at Larsa; another to Bel, and a separate one to "Belat his Lady," at Nipur; another to "Sar-ili his king," at Zirgulla. In truth polytheism was stamped on the earth in temples and towers, and the warlike or beneficent works of kings. Hea was the patron of the all-important irrigation; Sin, or Ur, of brickmaking and building; San, the sun-god (Samas), of martial activity; Nergal of war, and the like. Polytheism glittered in scrolls of light in the constellations. It measured days and months, and years and cycles, and by its auguries decided the least ways of house-life and the greatest collisions of nations.

23. It has been observed that gods were identified with stars before the invention of writing in Babylonia, "and that the most natural symbol of a deity was thought to be a star," which is the "*determinative*" of the names of gods in cuneiform inscriptions. "It is plain," writes Mr. Sayce, "that the full development of astro-theology cannot have been much earlier than 2000 B.C.)*" And Mr. George Smith gives the same date for the development of systematic mythology: "2000 years before the Christian era it was already completed, and its deities definitely connected into a system, which remained with little change down to the close of the kingdom."† And M. Lenormant writes at length to the same effect. The whole system, then, had reached its full working order when Abram was born at Ur of the Chaldees, and the family of Terach had been drawn into the stream; for "thus saith the Lord God of Israel, your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood, even Terach the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor, and they served other gods."

24. In the sun rising above the mountains of Elam the child would behold a god, defender, of the men of Sippara and of Larsa. The morning, the midday, and the evening sun had different divine names, as in Egypt. The sun rose as Tamzi or Duzi (Thammuz), the sun of life, and set as Tutu, god of

* *T. S. B. A.*, iii.

† *Chaldean Gen.*, 52.

death, received by the gigantic guardians into the nether world, as the orb sunk into the far western sea beyond the distant land of Martu, where Abram's destined lot awaited him. The planets had each its own divine name and character. Sulpa-uddu, Mercury, the star of Nebo, was "prince of the men of Kharran," the city which would be the second home of Terach and his house. Jupiter was the star of Merodach, patron of great Babylon.* But it would seem, beneath this sidereal cultus lay a more ancient Turanian system of elemental powers and magic rites used without special sanctuaries. M. Lenormant has even identified Uruk as the founder of a Cushite religion in Chaldæa, expressed by the stage-temples.†

25. At all events, it is clear that by the time of Abram's birth Ur was the scene of great religious and political development, and probably of conflict. In the midst of all the manifold departures of men from "the Living God," the "wreck of paradise" is yet very discernible in the legends based on truth which bear witness to the Creation; the revolt of the evil spirits; the innocence, temptation, and fall of man; the Deluge and salvation of Noah and his house; the Babel-building and dispersion of mankind. No less do we find holy usages of divine origin, such as sacrifice, prayer, and worship; the seventh day held sacred as a day of rest, and called, as Mr. Boscauwen has told me, "day of rest of the heart,"‡ and the whole course of public and private life in all their details hallowed by the sanctions of religion. The principal victims were the ram and the bull, the most valued subjects of man, as indeed the first and second signs of the zodiac bear witness. To these a fearful addition must be made. I speak of human sacrifice, which (as Mr. Sayce has shown §) the Semitic tribes learned from the Accadians. A sacred ark was used in Chaldæa in very early times, as in Egypt; for in the 6th tablet of the "Izdubar" series "the ark of his god Sarturda" is mentioned.||

26. The great foundations of revealed truth in the relations of man to God are more and more disclosed by research. The consciousness of sin and its desert and punishment; the origin of temptation and transgression; the fear of death; the reverence and yearning for righteousness, and belief in its

* Sayce, *T. S. B. A.*, iii.

† *La Magie*, 295.

‡ *W. A. I.*, ii, 32, 1.

§ *T. S. B. A.*, iii, 120.

|| *Assyr. Disc.*, 175. Long lists of these arks are given in *W. A. I.*, ii, and they appear to have been sacred barges like the boat of the Egyptian Osiris. — Note by Mr. Boscauwen.

reward at the hands of God; the faith in the immortality of the soul, in judgment to come, in a heaven of blessedness and a fiery hell of torment, are all now brought to light as articles of faith among Accadians and Semites alike, but gradually entangled and lost in the "many inventions" of the "evil imagination of man's heart," and losing their only true significance and sanction as men "did not like to retain God in their knowledge." In fact the result of late investigation is that expressed by St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans.

M. Lenormant thus writes:—

When we penetrate beneath the surface of gross polytheism, it [the religion of Assyria and Babylonia] had acquired from popular superstition, and revert to the original and higher conceptions, we shall find the whole based on the idea of the unity of the Deity—the last relic of the primitive revelation disfigured by and lost in the monstrous ideas of pantheism, confounding the creature with the Creator, and transforming the Deity into a god-world, whose manifestations are to be found in the phenomena of nature. *

27. One point of special moment in its bearing on Abraham must be lightly touched, and afterwards more fully dealt with—I mean the resurrection of the dead. This belief was especially associated with Marduk (Merodach), the great god of Babylon. His Accadian name was Amar-utuki, or Amar-ud, and his worship must have been most ancient, as it was restored at Babylon by Agu-kak-rimi, whose date Mr. G. Smith places as "most probably more than 2000 years before the Christian era"; † and he is mentioned as the son of Hea in the tablet of the seven wicked spirits.

28. It was attributed to him that he could raise the dead to life, and he is himself "one of the types of those gods," writes M. Lenormant, "who die and rise again to life periodically, characteristic of the religions of the shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, of Syria and Phœnicia. The famous pyramid of the royal city of Babylon passed for his tomb, where they showed to devotees his sepulchral chamber, afterwards plundered by Xerxes, which they called "*the place of rest of Marduk.*"

29. The immortality of the soul and future blessedness of the righteous have been illustrated from the cuneiform texts.

* *Anc. Hist. of the East*, i. 452.

† *Note by Mr. Boscawen.* This date must be placed about B.C. 1900, as the five kings in my paper are evidently of the Median or Elamite dynasty.

in an interesting monograph by M. Oppert, and also by Mr. Fox-Talbot and Mr. Boscawen in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology. "There is," says Mr. Fox-Talbot, "a fine inscription not yet fully translated, describing the soul in heaven, clothed in a white radiant garment, seated in the company of the blessed, and fed by the gods themselves with celestial food."*

30. Those who are at all versed in Egyptian lore will recognize the clear similarity of these dogmata with those of common origin (as I believe) carried to the Nile at a very early period of migration, and there elaborated by the mystical genius of that intellectual and most religious people.

31. By all this teaching and belief the boy Abram must have been surrounded in his father's house at Ur of the Chaldees. As to the name Chaldee, it was the designation of a people of Southern Babylonia,† and the name Khaldi in the Burbur (*i.e.* Accadian) dialect (as Prof. Rawlinson informs us), represents the moon-god. But the Hebrew name Casdim seems to be formed from the verb "Casadu," to possess; in Assyrian, "*Casidu*" will be the *nomen agentis*, says Mr. Sayce in his first Assyrian Grammar.‡ Thus the Casdim would be the possessors, the lords of the land, and not the subject race. [The Elamite conquerors of the land.—*Mr. Boscawen.*]

32. I have shown as in a rough sketch the main points of the position occupied by the house of Terach, and that it was not as a "simple shepherd" that Abram was brought up, but in the central and most complex civilization that the world then knew, "the cradle of Semitic civilization," as Dr. Birch has called it, "highly civilized and densely populated at a time when Egypt was still in its youthful prime." Abram knew what the world was, and was conversant with its ways before he was called out of his father's house; and by the guidance of Jehovah he followed the stream of the varied migrations of illustrious races, and his tent-pegs were everywhere struck into ground already rich with the harvest of the past, and broadcast with the seed of the world's future destiny.

* *Records*, iii. 135. "Since translated by me, *T. S. B. A.*, vol. iv."—*Mr. Boscawen.*

† Rawlinson's *Her.*, i. 256, 538, and iv. 206. *Note by Rev. A. H. Sayce.* Khaldi was the supreme god of the Alarodian inscriptions of Van, which have not yet been deciphered. The Minni had nothing to do with the Accadians, and the supposition that Armenia, like Accad, was ever called Burbur, "the Summits," is incorrect.

‡ p. 14.

33. It is not difficult to trace the conditions of life which would entangle a faithful servant of "the holy One that inhabiteth eternity" in those days.

34. All judicial determinations, for instance, and even many commercial bargains, were transacted in the temples, and confirmed by oaths on the gods and the king.

35. Of laws affecting the home-religion, too, some fragments have reached us: for instance, "[a man] has full possession of his sanctuary in his own high place. The sanctuary [a man] has raised is confirmed to the son who inherits."

36. But another law, or determination, enacts that "for the future the [judge may] cause a sanctuary to be erected in a private demesne."

37. This law might, one would think, be made an instrument of persecution, such as the Jews believed their father Abraham to have suffered.

38. It is clear that Terach and his house were of high position in their race. Indeed the very names Abram, Sarai,* Milcah, bear the stamp of rank and dignity. And in the tablets the Semitic people appear as the great transactors of business.

39. There would be no escape in obscurity for Abram.

40. Once more men were multiplying their evil inventions, "worshipping and serving the creature more than the Creator," and once more a single family, like that of Noah, was chosen as the treasury of God's truth.

41. The tent of Abram was to be as the ark of Noah;—the open desert as the levels of the great waters.

42. But for this the time was not yet come.

KHARRAN.

"This age," writes Sir Henry Rawlinson of the era in question, "seems to have been in a peculiar sense the active period of Semitic colonization. The Phœnicians removing from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean, and the Hebrew patriarch marching with his household from Chaldaea to Palestine, merely followed the direction of the great tide of emigration, which was at this time setting in from the East westward. Semitic tribes were, during the period in question, gradually displacing the old Cushite inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula.

Assyria was being occupied by colonists of the same Semitic race from

* Sara, from "sar," king.

Babylonia, while the Aramæans were ascending the course of the Euphrates, and forming settlements on the eastern frontier of Syria."*

43. To the same effect Mr. Kenrick writes, "From the history of Egypt we learn that about 2000 B.C. a great western migration of Palestinian and Arabian nomad tribes took place, in consequence of which all Lower Egypt was subject to them for a long succession of years."† Movers, B. I., chap. viii., thinks there are traces of a conquest of Syria and Palestine by Assyria first 2000 years B.C. ‡

44. The celebrated scene of the reception by Khnumhotep of the 37 Amu (at Beni-hassan) during the reign of Amenemha II. of the XIIth dynasty, is evidently connected with this drift of Semitic races. When Sir H. Rawlinson wrote the words above quoted, he would not derogate from the supreme and unique import of the divine call and guidance of Abram. Among all the strangers who passed through the borders of the king of Salem; among all the patriarchal clans who went down into Egypt, whether pressed by famine or led by ambition, there was but one Abram, the father of the faithful.

45. But in surveying the swarming field of history, as we see the highway cast up and the stumbling-blocks removed, and the bounds of their habitation marked out for the sons of men by an unseen hand, we must fairly take into our account all that meets our view; and so we shall enter into the noble confession of Joseph, "So now not you sent me hither but God."

46. In the sacred narrative there is one most suggestive link between Palestine and North-eastern Egypt, which may perhaps soon be fitted into the chronological chain. It is the incidental remark, § "Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt"; that is San, the head-quarters of the Hyksôs dynasties. Now as Hebron was built before Abram came thither, it seems very probable that the Asiatic invaders had already intrenched themselves in Lower Egypt. But there is more to say presently on this matter.

47. When the God of glory appeared to Abram and called him to his new destiny, the first migration of Terach and his house was about 600 miles in length to Kharran. It is clear that Nachor and his family followed them so far, for Kharran was afterwards called "the city of Nachor," and Nachor

* Rawl., *Her.*, i. 365; see also *Anc. Mon.*, i. 54.

† *Phœnicia*, 141.

‡ Kenrick, *Phœn.*, 340, note.

§ Numbers xiii. 22.

called on Abram's God, as we learn incidentally from the lips of Laban.

48. The early part of their way lay through the rich warm Chaldæan levels, and having, as we may suppose, crossed the great river and passed through Larsa and ancient Erech, and seen the ruins of great Babel, they would come to the twin cities of Sippara, and by-and-by, rising near the great place of bitumen-pits, Hit, to the higher undulating levels of the country already occupied by tribes who had gone out from the south to found the great dominion of Assur, they would leave the more advanced cultivation of Abram's native plains, and begin to encounter greater difficulties and untried dangers. But through whatever vicissitudes, in due time passing up the fertile valley of the Belik, the caravan, ascending towards the highlands, entered the resting-place of many years, a second home which became so familiar and dear to Abram that we find him in his old age calling it "my country," and "the home of my kindred." The region was called Padan-Aram, the plain of the highlands, and the name Padan occurs in the very early Chaldæan record of Agu-kak-rimi (probably before Abram).

49. Kharran was by position a very important place. Its name is Accadian, and means *road*, and also, like that English word,* bore the military sense of *inroad*, *raid*, and was familiar with the march of armies and the incidents of war.

50. It was, in fact, a very early and a very late outpost of Chaldæan power. Through it Kedorlaomer and his tributaries must have marched to their distant conquests while yet Abram and his father were dwelling there, and Abram's eyes probably looked upon the long array of Elam, Larsa, Shinar, and Goim with which thirteen years later he was so suddenly to be engaged in conflict.

51. The town still lies on the slope of a low hill, on which stand ruins of an ancient stronghold built of large blocks of basaltic rock. It is described by Mr. Malan,† who has given an interesting sketch in Churton and Jones's edition of the New Testament, the only view of Kharran I have yet seen.

52. The plain was irrigated in true Chaldæan style by water-courses from the Belik; and to the west is the plain of Seruj, fertile, and thick with villages of the same ancient *beehive*

* 1 Sam. xxvii. 10: "Whither have ye made a *road* to-day?"

† *Phil. or Truth*, 93.

houses of stone which we see in Assyrian reliefs, and may suppose to have clustered there in the sight of Abram.

53. The indications of Chaldæan worship at Kharran reach back as far as the times of Terach, as Mr. Sayce has shown,* and the city was from first to last bound up with the cultus of the sidereal pantheon.

54. In the British Museum is a seal-cylinder representing a priest in adoration before an altar with a star above it. In the distance is a diminutive figure. Behind the priest is inscribed in cuneiform, "the god of Kharran." Probably the star is Mercury, which, as we have seen, was lord of the men of Kharran. Its gods are mentioned in Rabshakeh's message to Hezekiah. "In the fifth century," says Sir H. Rawlinson,† "the Sabæans of Harran worshipped the sun as Bel-Shamin, the lord of heaven, and at a later period they used the Greek name of Ἡλιος; and again Gula, under the name of Gadlat and Tar'ata (Atargatis or Derceto) are given by St. James of Seruj, as the tutelary goddesses of Harran in the fifth century of Christ." Still later are records of the same idolatry, but in the midst of all we find that "the Sabians had a chapel which was dedicated to Abraham."‡

55. Thus the "father's house" was still within an outpost of the old Chaldæan rule, a very imperfect approach to the land which Jehovah would show them.

56. Still in the highways of the caravans and line of march of armies, still surrounded by the worship which they had renounced, they were dwelling; but Terach was well stricken in years, and here he was minded to abide and end his days without crossing the great river into the land of the stranger, and the unknown places of Martu, toward the sea of the setting sun; and hither came Nachor and Milcah, and their house, and they prospered in the fertile and beautiful land where the tender mercy of God allowed Abraham to bury his father at the age of 205 years, perhaps in one of the rock-hewn tombs of Urfah.

THE MIGRATION TO CANAAN.

57. The call of Jehovah after Terach's death fairly launched Abram in his tent-life as a stranger and pilgrim. And this began when he was seventy-five years old. The conditions of this life are very well described by Dr. Kitto in his *Daily*

* *T. S. B. A.*, iii. 168, and ii. 247.

† *Her.*, i. 503, note.

‡ Kitto, *Bib. Cyc.*, "Harran."

Bible Readings. His route probably lay across the Euphrates about 17 miles south of Bir-edjik at Jerabolus, where the lamented George Smith has so lately discovered the true site of Carchemish, and through Aleppo, where there are still quaint traditions of Abraham, Hamath, Emesa, which is not far from the site of the great Kadesh on the Orontes, where the arms of Egypt were to meet in stern conflict the chivalry of the sons of Kheth, and so to Damascus.

58. There seems evidence enough to connect Abraham with Damascus. Hence his way would lie up the long ascents of Bashan to the high mountain-brow, from which he must have first beheld the goodly prospect of the land of Canaan described so well by Dean Stanley, and since by Dr. Tristram and the Rev. A. E. Northey.* At last, descending the deep glen of the Yabbok (Zerka), and probably crossing the rushing Jordan at the ford of Damieh, he stood on the promised ground. The ascent of the Wady Far'ah would bring him to lovely Shechem. Let us remind ourselves that here Abraham's first altar was reared in the Holy Land; here the law was proclaimed by Joshua; hard by (as it would seem) John the Baptist received the penitent crowds at Ænon near to Salim, and that at Jacob's well He whose day Abraham rejoiced to see first revealed Himself as the Messiah.

THE CANAANITE.

59. Here, indeed, was the land, but "the Canaanite" was beforehand. "The Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled [were settled] then in the land." The sturdy Amorite held the fastnesses; roving Perizzites were scattered afield; Sidonians and Arvadites colonized the coasts; the powerful sons of Kheth, dreaded even by Egypt, lay in the goodly land, and perhaps even then possessed the heights of Lebanon. Beyond the Jordan lay savage Rephaim, terrible Emim, uncouth Zamzumim, degraded Khorites, and Abram still went childless among men.

60. Yet here, said Jehovah, "unto thy seed I will give the land." Abram believed Jehovah, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.

61. The land is called in the book of Genesis by no other name than "the land of Canaan." Canaan is a name also known in the Egyptian and Assyrian records in the form

* P. E. F., April, 1872.

Kanana, and Mr. G. Smith has met with Kanunai in Babylonia.* But it is nowhere said that Canaan was the original name of the land. The Canaanites seem to have migrated from the shores of the Persian Gulf. Canaan was the son of Ham (Kham), and the land of Canaan lay next to the land of Kham, and became its most formidable rival and conqueror.

62. But Egypt was a great full-grown power splendidly civilized, and the pressure came on it not as an organized military invasion, but a gradual pacific migration; not a deluge, but a stealthily rising tide.

63. It was not likely that any tribe of the sons of men, Amu, Shasu, Sakti, or whosoever, should stay in Palestine without trying to "go down into Egypt." Canaan was a highway to Egypt. The Delta was as an antechamber thronged by motley company. The strong chain of fortresses built by Amenemha I., with its connecting wall to keep out the marauding hordes on the north-east, had not been effectual in reality. Whether it were before or after Abram's visit to Egypt that the rule of the Hyksôs Pharaohs was established in Lower Egypt, at all events we may believe that the power represented by those sovereigns had already strongly developed itself, and was dominant, perhaps, in fact, if not in form. Zoan had been built seven years after Hebron (Khebron), and presumably by the same builders. One of its names is identical with that of Tyre.† Statues of Amenemha I. and Osortasen I. have been found there by Mariette-Bey,‡ and even an inscription with the name and titles of Pepi Merira of the VIth dynasty. These may indicate that Zoan was built and carried on as a commercial settlement with the good-will of these strong monarchs, "from whose limits of government we should perhaps except (says Brugsch-Bey) the parts of the Delta on the eastward side on the shores of the Lake Menzaleh, inhabited by a mixed race of Egyptians and Semitic dwellers, whose influence soon prevailed in a manner so disastrous to the Pharaohs and their country." §

64. It is interesting to notice that in the time of the XIIth dynasty seal-cylinders of the Babylonian fashion began to be used in Egypt.||

* *Chaldean Gen.*, 296. *Eponym. Can.*, 67.

† Brugsch, *Histoire*, 134-148. *L'Exode*, 21.

‡ Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, 126.

§ *Hist.*, 69.

|| Birch, *Cat. Eg. Rooms B. M.*, 74. "There is a cylinder of the time of Papi of the VI. dynasty." Note by Dr. Haigh.

65. With regard to the Canaanite immigration into Palestine, two most remarkable Egyptian records have been used to prove that it could not have taken place before the early times of the XIIth dynasty. The argument has been brought forward by M. Lenormant.

66. I. The inscription of Una of the VIth dynasty * of the reign of Teta and Pepi Merira. This records the reduction by repeated campaigns of a revolted people of the Amu called Heru-sha (lords of sand) who, evidently were inhabitants of the regions to the north-east of Egypt. The land of Khetam is mentioned as the scene of their revolt. This is identified by Brugsch-Bey in his memoir on the Exodus as the desert just beyond the eastern border of Lower Egypt. But these people possessed a very fertile region to the north, with corn crops, figs, and vineyards, and bordering on the sea. A place is mentioned whose name is read by Dr. Birch *Takhisa* or *Takheba*, by Brugsch *Terehba*. Of this more presently. The people were Amu, a Semitic designation. The discovery of Pepi's name at San is very interesting in connection with this inscription. It is also to be noticed that the first mention of the god Set (afterwards identified with the religion of the Hyksôs, and especially the Hittites) is in an inscription of Pepi.†

67. II. The romantic story of Saneha, of the beginning of the XIIth dynasty.‡ This adventurer found in the same country, as it seems, a civilized people called Tenu, who were Sati, that is Asiatics, and whose ruler bore the name of Ammu-anishi, as read by Goodwin, or Ammu-nensha (Chabas). We do not find the name Herusha here, but that of Nemsha occurs twice.

68. Now M. Lenormant argues that these documents disprove the settlement of the Canaanites in Palestine up to the time of Amenemha I.§ But this inference seems to me precarious, for the Canaanites (Hittites, Amorites, &c.) spoke a Semitic language, and the Hyksôs were known to the Egyptians as Sati. In fact the Egyptians do not seem to have distinguished the Canaanites as anything different from the Asiatics commonly known to us as Semitic.

* *Rec. of Past*, ii. 3. Chabas, *Etudes*, &c., 2nd edition, 114. Brugsch, *Hist. d'Ég.*, 71.

† *T. S. B. A.*, iii. 113.

‡ *Records*, vi. 131.

§ *Anc. Hist. of the East*, ii. 148. Note by Dr. Birch on the *Nemsha*. "The Nemsha always have appeared to me to be possibly the *Nomades* or *Nomads*, *Nomas* of Herodotus." "Numidians," *Nomadec*, "Wandering tribes of Asiatic origin." Smith, *Class. Dic.* This would agree very well with the text. *H. G. T.*

69. The date of Zoan being carried back to the time of Pepi proves the earlier building of Hebron ; but it is clear that this stronghold of the Anakim must have been exempt from the warfare of Una which swept away the Herusha from the Negeb. The settled inhabitants have in all ages been beset by the wandering tribes, Herusha, Shasu, Petti, and the like. In Saneha's time the Tenu were at war with the Petti. It is quite possible that the Egyptians might chastise the Herusha-u without incurring hostilities from the Canaanites.

70. We may now, I think, identify the "land of Takhisa."

71. Una landed to the north of this (perhaps at the very ancient port of Joppa), and "subdued the country from the extreme frontier on the north of the land of Herusha," while (apparently) another Egyptian force entered the country from the south.

72. Now the group of towns classed as in the land of Takhisa in the *Travels of an Egyptian*, appears to include Timnath, Debir, Anab, Beth Tappuah, Adullam, Zephath, and Kadesh [Barnea].

73. This is the very country which Una would have swept if he had landed at Joppa, and marched southwards to Khetam, and he would have left Hebron, and such garrisons of the Anakim as Debir and Anab, occupied by their strong and martial inhabitants, who would perhaps have rejoiced to see the success of the Egyptians against their troublesome neighbours. In the same way Kedorla'omer "returning" from El-Paran, and coming to Kadesh-Barnea, "smote all the country of the Amalekites," but kept clear of Hebron. So also did Thothmes III. in those conquests of which Lieutenant Conder has given a sketch-map.*

74. But if we read with Brugsch "Terehba," still it is curious to find on the eastern part of the same region, 'Ain Terabeh and Abu Teraibeh, and Râs Tareibeh ; and the dominant tribe of Bedouins in this country is called Terâbin.

75. This southern part of Canaan then, as well as the Sinaitic mining regions, was already held as subject to the suzerainty of Egypt, long before the time that Abraham was there, but the inhabitants, or the nomads, were so unruly that they revolted five times in the single reign (a long one) of Pepi Merira, and had to be reduced by extensive operations, as we have recounted.

* P. E. F., July, 1876.

76. Saneha's adventures led him to the protection of Ammunensha (Chabas) or Ammu-anishi (Goodwin), whose name may indicate the prince (*Nasi*) of the Amu, as M. Chabas has suggested. We find, by the way, Ammu-ladi king of Kedar in the time of Assurbanipal.*

77. The land of Ammunensha was that of the "upper Tenu," and seems to have been much the same as that of Takhisa. In all probability, says M. Chabas, "Tennou corresponded with the maritime part of Palestine, and Aea [Aam, as read by Goodwin] should be found in the triangle marked by the towns of Hebron, Askelon, and Joppa." † [Aea was the province committed to Saneha.] If this be so, then the words quoted by Mr. Goodwin from a papyrus may be relevant: "the boats of Djana and Tennouatou how numerous are they." ‡ But it would seem that the boundaries of Tenu reached near to Atima (Adema or Aduma,—Chabas), which is generally supposed to be the land of Edom.

78. I have sometimes thought that the Adema of Saneha may be the Admah of Genesis x., which had a separate king in Abraham's time.

79. "Upper Tenu" seems to suggest a Lower Tenu, and the name of Ten (plural Ten-nu) may be identical with Zin and Sin. The inhabitants were settled and civilized, and accordingly were at war with the Petti or roving barbarians. They were Sakti, and it seems that they are distinguished from Amu in the narrative, for the Pharaoh says of Saneha; "he went as an Amu: he has been made into a Sakti," and Saneha is called "a son of Mehi (the North), a Petti born in the land of Egypt"; but Amu are mentioned as present at Saneha's duel. Two more names are mentioned as in the Tenu land, viz., Anush and Kashu, besides the Mennu, the *settled* people of the Sati, as M. Chabas explains it. § It is to be hoped that these names may be identified, as every word of these early records is so important.

80. Amenemha I., the founder of the XIIth dynasty, who was Saneha's royal master, had also a servant, whose very name of Mennu seems to show him one of that people, as Saneha himself was an Amu. These points prove (as well as the celebrated reception of the thirty-seven Amu, Absha and his subjects) the friendly intercourse between Egypt and

* G. Smith, *Hist. Assyria*, 171.

† *Etudes Hist.*, 102.

‡ *Camb. Essays*, 1858, 267.

§ *Etudes*, 96. Cooper, *Archaic Dic.*, "Mennu."

these Asiatics, even while the sturdy rebels met with chastisement, as Amenemha I. boasted of making the Sati "come to him like a whelp."*

81. These, then, are records of the South of Canaan before the time when Abram was led thither, as we find them in the monuments of Egypt. They show centres of cultivation, settled rule, and civilization assailed by the restless waves of nomad barbarism, and reveal already the strong predominant power of Egypt, the great monarchy restraining its Asiatic neighbours by expeditions and outlying fortresses and garrisons, and defending its eastern frontier by a fortified line in the "land of Khetam"; all powerless, however, to exclude the western-flowing tide, which perhaps even before Abram's visit had submerged the defences of Egypt in its lower kingdom.

82. It is a suggestive fact that Abram was "confederate" with the Amorite chiefs, and at the same time on good terms with the Pharaoh. It was the power of Elam and Chaldæa on the east which, sweeping the country down to the very confines of Egypt, attacked the Amorites. We do not gather that Egypt was at all hostile to them.

83. This looks like the commencement of the Shepherd domination, and agrees very well with what Manetho says of Salatis fearing the Assyrian power on the east.

84. Let us now return to that remarkable clue which connects Hebron with Zoan, built seven years later, and, as we may well suppose, by the same builders, who are identified by their eponymous "father" Anak, and their "great man" ("Adam") Arba. We have these two names to follow, Arba and Anak.

85. The Rabbinical interpreters gave a numerical significance to Arba, which means *four*, and made the four to be Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and *Adam*; the last by a strange blunder as to the word applied to Arba.†

86. Now, in view of the symbolic use of numbers for gods, it struck me that Arba might be the number of a god from whom the Anakim traced their descent.

87. I suggested this to Mr. Sayce, asking him whether in a tablet cited by Lenormant any god is designated by the number 4. Mr. Sayce replied that my suggestion was very plausible, but that the tablet in question does not symbolize any god by the numeral 4. "Still" (he said) "there was no

* *Records*, ii. 14.

† See Mr. Grove's article, "Kiriath-Arba," in Smith's *Bib. Dic.*

reason why such a deity might not yet be found"; and he adduced the names of the cities Arba-il (Arbela), meaning four gods, and Arba-nun (Accadian, Sanakha), four fish. After this I mentioned the question to Mr. Boscawen, who, on referring to another tablet, found the number 4 attached to the god Sarturda, who was worshipped by Izdubar at Erech (the *ark* of the god is spoken of), and to whom a very early king of Erech, Sin-gasit, built a temple there. He was also worshipped at Amarda or Marad, in Chaldæa.

88. Here then is the Chaldæan god Arba. The analogy of Esmun had first suggested the guess to me.

89. The god, eighth of the Cabeiri, was well known as a Phœnician deity, and his name is the numeral 8. Let us trace the local names compounded with the element Arba.

90. We find Arba-nun in the South of Assyria; Arba-il (the celebrated Arbela) eastward from Nineveh; Arba-chiveh close to Kouyunjik (Smith, *Dic. of B.*, "Nineveh"); Arbat near Nisibin; Arba-ki in the North of Mesopotamia, meaning Arba-land, with many strong cities in it. The Arbayans are mentioned in an inscription of Shalmaneser II.* (perhaps we may add *Arban* on the Khabour, where most interesting archaic Assyrian remains were found by Layard †). Then in Galilee is Arbela (? Arba-il), perhaps the same as Beth-arbel; to the east of Gadara, on the other side of Jordan, another Arbela; and lastly the celebrated "Kiriath-arba, which is Hebron." Now this line of "Arba" cities and regions traces the very track which was followed by the great migrations from Babylonia to the borders of Egypt, and, as it would seem, the worshippers of Arba brought and planted their god in all these places. It is worthy of notice that the god Arba figures among the ancient heroes given by Abydenus as the father of Ninus (Arbelus), and the same name is given as that of his great-grandfather. ‡ To turn to Anak: If the numerical symbol of Nebo had been 4, one might have thought him the god in question, as his name in Accadian was written Anak §: his number, however, seems to have been 10; but he was the god of the fourth day of the week, and the god of Kharran.

91. It may be that Arba and Anak were not identical, for we are told in the book of Joshua that "Arba was the father

* *Records*, iii. 100. These Arbayans may, however, probably be Arabians, as Mr. Sayce and Mr. G. Smith think.

† *Nin. and Bab.*

‡ *T. S. B. A.*, v. 276.

§ *T. S. B. A.*, iii. 138-521. *An*, God; *ak*, Lord.

of Anak"; and it seems clear that Nebo was not identical with Sarturda, for both are mentioned together in an inscription (translated by Mr. G. Smith) * of the date of Merodach-Baladan I., *circa* 1320 B.C.

92. These considerations would lead us to suppose that the Anakim were not, like the Zuzim and Rephaim, among the most ancient inhabitants of the land; but that they were immigrants from Chaldæa, as the Canaanitish races in general appear to have been, and, as Dr. Kitto has expressed it, "Cushite [or rather Canaanite?] wanderers from Babel, and of the same race as the Egyptian Shepherd-kings."

93. The land of Anaka in this part of Palestine is mentioned in an inscription of Thothmes III. †

94. The inhabitants of Hebron are called "the Amorite," and afterwards "sons of Kheth"; but they may have been distinguished by the *local* name of Amorite among the descendants of Kheth, who spread widely over the land. The Amorites themselves were locally subdivided, for the Jebusites are called Amorites. ‡

95. It is a curious question whether the Anakim were not a distinguished clan among the Amorites. It seems hard to avoid this conclusion. The place was Kiriath-arba when Abraham bought the Macpelah from Ephron, and the sons of Anak were its masters when Joshua, and afterwards Caleb, captured it; and the terms in which the expulsion of the Amorites and of the Anakim are recorded seem to relate to the same transaction. It would seem that the sons of Anak were a tribe of the descendants of Kheth, and Amorites. It is observable that Abraham was on terms of friendly alliance with these Amorites in peace and war, although he religiously eschewed connection with them in marriage for his son; and in the words of the covenant of Jehovah, the time when the sons of Abraham should come again into Canaan was postponed to the fourth generation, with the reason given, that "the iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full"; as if in contrast with the iniquity of the men of the Jordan plain, which was running over.

96. There is, I think, an inclusion of the Amorites among the Khita in the Egyptian records. But the Kadesh of the country of Amaor is distinguished from the Kadesh on the Orontes, the great fastness of the northern Khita. This stood

* *Assyrian Dic.*, 239.

† *Records*, ii. 39.

‡ Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, 193, and see Josh. x. 5.

on the western side of the Orontes, and had a stream and double moat with bridges.* There is still a lake near Emesa (Homs) called Bahr-el-Kades, through which the Orontes flows, and on this it appears the stronghold stood. The other, taken by Seti I. in his war against the Khita, is especially distinguished as Kadesh in the land of Amaor. The fortified place has no moat, but is on a hill in a cultivated country, and has a pool with plants growing on its sides. It appears to be Kadesh Barnea, and the situation would agree well enough with that of 'Ain Gadis, described by Professor Palmer in the *P. E. F.* statement for June, 1871, allowing for the ancient cultivation, of which he found abundant traces.

97. The sons of Kheth gave their name to the ruling power of the Canaanite league, which came into collision with Egypt on the one hand, and Assyria on the other, in so memorable a manner for centuries. In fact, they became woven into the destiny of Egypt, and impressed themselves in secular and religious matters on its history.

98. Their king Khitsar speaks of his "thousand gods," as also of the "thousand gods" of Egypt; but the dominant cultus was that of Sut or Sutekh (Baal), and Astarata (Astoreth), who are prominently invoked in the celebrated treaty between Rameses II. and Khitsar, the grandson of Seplul, who had made peace with Rameses I. This is the identical corrupt worship which seduced the Israelites from the days of the Judges to the Captivities, and it is expressly identified in Holy Scripture with the idolatry of the Amorites † in referring to Ahab, whose abominations were derived from the Phœnicians.

99. This, then, was the type of false religion which encompassed Abram in the land of Canaan.

100. "The gods of the Amorites" are distinguished in the book of Joshua ‡ from "the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood"; and the distinction is fully confirmed by research. The gods of Ur were not identical with the gods of Canaan, whatever analogies and links of connection there are between the religions of Canaan and Babylonia on the one hand, and on the other Egypt. But I must not linger in these fields. M. Lenormant thus characterizes the religion of the Canaanites:—

No other people ever rivalled them in the mixture of bloodshed and

* Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, i. 410.

† 1 Kings xxi. 26.

‡ xxv. 15.

debauchery with which they thought to honour the Deity. It seems as though the spirit of their religion conspired with their commercial and mercantile life to close their hearts to all generous emotions, and to every elevated sentiment. However clever and expert they may have been in their every-day business, in morality they were always the true descendants of that son who was specially mentioned in the general malediction on the sons of Ham.*

101. Yet this was the result of what is described by Movers as "an apotheosis of the forces and laws of Nature." Such is the legitimate result of losing sight of the Creator in His works, and of the Divine Lawgiver in His laws, and so "departing from the living God."

102. It is extremely interesting to find the evidence increasing on inquiry, of the present existence of the Canaanites from the Lebanon, through the extent of Palestine, as M. Clermont-Ganneau has lately shown in so interesting a manner, to the eastern side of the delta, where M. Mariette-Bey has pointed them out in "the foreigners of strong limbs with stern and elongated countenance, who still, to this day, people the shores of the Lake Menzaleh, and call themselves by the name of Malakin."†

103. The very ethnic names still linger (as we are told in the quarterly statement of the *P. E. F.* for July, 1876) in the old haunts of Hittite, Amorite, and Phœnician; and traditions of Abraham may be still heard from the lips of the children of Kheth, who show where he watered his flocks, and tell that his dogs wore collars of gold; a very credible tradition to those who remember the collars worn by the favourite hounds of the lords of Egypt.

E G Y P T .

104. The bearing of Egyptian records on Holy Scripture has been often discussed by the members of this Institute. The questions of chronology are still awaiting further evidence, which, we trust, will some day be forthcoming.

105. I have already noticed very early indications of the frequented pathway from Canaan to Egypt. Indeed, it is true that the eastern side of Egypt belonged rather to Asia than to Africa.

106. Whether Abram's sojourn in Egypt took place during the palmy days of the XIIth dynasty, or in the early time of

* *Manual*, ii. 223.

† *Aperçu de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 29. See Lieut. Conder's interesting paper on *Mukams*. *P. E. F.*, 1877, April.

the Shepherds, it does not seem that he would have encountered so very different a state of things as writers have generally supposed.

107. The points of confirmatory illustration of Scripture have been noticed by M. Chabas and Canon Cook.

108. The honourable reception of the celebrated train depicted at Beni-Hassan tallies well with the favour shown to Abram, even were it by a purely Egyptian court. At the same time the Berlin papyrus, which refers to the seizure of the wife and children of a foreigner for a king of the XIIth dynasty, shows the reasonableness of Abram's dread. Beautiful colossi of this dynasty have been disinterred by Mariette-Bey at San, as well as the very striking memorials of the Shepherd kings. But far more important than any material illustration is the result of researches in the region of religious belief.

109. It is clear that the basis of faith in Egypt was monotheistic, although the huge Sphinx of Ghizeh appears from an inscription at Boulak to be older than the pyramid of Cheops. Still, Dr. Birch has shown that this is doubtful.*

110. The animal-worship of Egypt is dated from Kakau, the second king of the IIInd dynasty; that is, the Egyptians believed that it did not exist before.

111. The great investigation which is now on foot with regard to the Ritual will, doubtless, be fruitful in results of a more exact kind than any hitherto obtained. M. Naville has already, I believe, done much work in the collection of texts.

112. Meanwhile, we may say with confidence, the idea of the immortality of the soul and the future destinies of the resuscitated body afforded the dominant motives of Egyptian religion as brought to bear on the present life.

113. It seems that the idea of death was altogether alien to the minds of the Egyptians; that they did not even conceive of a perfect and absolute death of the body, but set themselves piously to cherish a lingering germ of life which was to spring up into future perfection. A very interesting memoir has been written by M. Pierret on the dogma of the resurrection among the Egyptians.

114. It is to be noted, however, that they did not believe in a general and simultaneous resurrection and judgment, but private and individual in each man's separate history; the judgment previous to the resurrection, and the resurrection of

* "Thothmes III. is represented as the *Sphinx* adoring the god Ra on the apex of the fallen obelisk of Alexandria."—*Note by Dr. Birch.*

the body a gradual revival beginning almost from the hour of death. "The hymns and funereal prayers do not even name death, but only the second life."* They did not believe in a resurrection of the wicked. It was denied to them, and after terrible and prolonged torments their end was annihilation.

115. It is well known how all-important a matter is the judgment to come in the Egyptian Book of the Dead. The standard of conduct is beautiful. "I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, and refuge to the wandering." †

116. It is, however, a terrible thought that there appears to have been no place for the penitent sinner, no belief in the forgiveness of sins, although there was a kind of redemption by Osiris, and prevailing intercession of Horus. ‡

117. These things are most important in their bearing on the question whether the old fathers looked only for transitory promises. If Abraham did not account that God was able to raise his son from the dead, then the father of the faithful believed much less of Jehovah than the Babylonians of their Marduk, and the Egyptians of their Osiris.

ELAM.

118. The lovely and varied land of Elam lay on the east of the Tigris (Hiddekel) in its lower course, including a long fertile plain, from which rises the mountain region, beautiful with woods and rivers, where Humbaba, the enemy of Izdubar, was slain by that hero, and whence the Elamites issued to attack the city of Erech. The settlement of Elam was at first the work of the children of Shem, but a Cushite race conquered the land, and from them it acquired the name of Cissia or Cossæa, and the Cissians, who under Khammurabi (or Khammuragas) conquered Babylonia, had evidently long before been powerful there, for Agu-kak-rimi calls himself king of the Cassi, and the five ancient kings mentioned in his inscription bear names identified by Mr. Boscawen as Kassite or Elamite. § Before the time of Abraham the Elamite con-

* Chabas, *Etudes*, 2nd edit., p. 331.

† "I have an impression that this maxim occurs earlier than any known version or tradition of the Ritual, either on a tomb of the Pyramid-period or in a very early papyrus."—*Note by Miss Amelia B. Edwards.*

‡ "I doubt the intercession of Horus. Mr. Cooper has stated it but on no good grounds."—*Note by Dr. Birch.*

§ *T. S. B. A.*, iv. 132.

queror, Kudur-nankhundi (or Kudur-nakhkhunte), "laid his hands on the temples of Akkad and oppressed Akkad," B.C. 2280. In fact, these highlanders of Elam, whence the Akkadians themselves had sprung, continually hung over Babylonia, much as the Hittites and Amorites menaced Egypt. Yet the only scrap of history which, till very lately, recorded any hint of this important early power in the world, was the sketch of Kedorlaomer's campaigns in the 14th chapter of Genesis.

119. Now, however, we have much more light, Kudur-Mabuk, son of Simti-silkhak, in his inscriptions shows that he claimed the rule from Elam to Syria. Sir Henry Rawlinson considered it possible that this king was identical with Kedorlaomer.* Afterwards he seemed shaken, but wrote that "the progress of cuneiform discovery has increased the probability that the two kings were of cognate races, and nearly contemporaneous."

120. In the second edition of his *Five Great Monarchies*, Canon Rawlinson makes Kudur-Mabuk another and later king than Kedorlaomer. But I cannot help thinking that after all Sir Henry's guess may be correct.

121. I am aware that the lamented George Smith did not assign an earlier probable date than about B.C. 1600 to Kudur-Mabuk; but he himself, in his *Notes on the Early History of Babylonia*, drew attention to the remarkable fact that a son and viceroy of Kudur-Mabuk bore a name which may be read as Eriaku, a name almost (or quite) identical with Arioch, king of Ellasar, one of the allies of Kedorlaomer.

122. In his very able work *La Langue Primitive de la Chaldée*, M. Lenormant has entered into this interesting question, agreeing in the identity of Eriaku with Arioch, and of Ellasar with Larsa, which was the seat of his rule; but he thinks that Kedorlaomer was a successor, perhaps the immediate successor, of Kudur-Mabuk.

123. Still, I cannot see any decisive reason why they may not be identical, for, as to the name, it is remarkable that a king of Elam of much later date, Kudur-nakhkhunte, son of Sutruk-nakhkhunte, calls himself "the servant of Lagamer"† as a title of honour.

124. Why should not Kudur-Mabuk have done the same? M. Lenormant has noticed a double name, Nabu-nadu and

* *Her.*, i. 354.

† *T. S. B. A.*, iii. 479.

Nabu-imtuq,* borne by the last king of the new Babylonian empire.

125. And as to the date, Canon Rawlinson gives the probable date of Kudur-Mabuk at about B.C. 2100.† Mr Sayce's opinion, expressed to me in a letter, is that Kudur-Mabuk must be placed at 2000 B.C., and M. Lenormant also assigns his reign approximately to the epoch of Abraham.

126. The names of the other three subject-kings and their realms are susceptible of illustration when taken in the form which the LXX. translators have transmitted to us. Amarphal would be Amar-pal, an Accadian name, which M. Lenormant has found on two seal-cylinders of private persons. Shinar is identified by Assyriologists with Sumir, constantly associated with Akkad in the titles of Babylonian kings. Tidal is read by the LXX. Θαργαλ, by a difference of one Hebrew letter. And this has long been explained by the Accadian Tur-gal, great chief. His subject Goim are identified with the Guti of the inscriptions.

127. While Abram and his father's house were still dwelling at Kharran, Kedorlaomer, the victorious king of Elam, with the kings above named, made war on the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, Zeboïm, and Bela, which was Zoar; and the march of their allied armies must have been through Kharran, as we have said.

128. The object of the expedition lay some 2,000 miles from the capital of Kedorlaomer, and there must have been some very strong attraction in or beyond that distant circle of the Jordan. Was it, as has been supposed, the rich stream of commerce from Western Arabia?

129. Holy Scripture, equally with Babylonian records, shows us, then, that the dominant power in the plain of the lower Euphrates was that of Elam, and the names themselves now certify us that this power was not that of the Semitic race, but a rival domination, and the narrative in Genesis is the same in effect as that suggested by the data in the inscriptions.

130. I give Mr. G. Smith's account :—"Kudur-mabuk, son of Simti-silhak, obtained possession of the cities of Nipur and Eridu, and gave them to his son Riagu, or Eriaku, who always accompanied his father. They also extended their power over the districts of Ur and Larsa, then governed by a king named Nur-vul. The northern part of Babylonia also

* *La Langue prim.*, 338.

† *Bible Educator*, i. 68.

came under the dominion of Kudur-mabuk ; its ruler was a queen * * * *. Kudur-mabuk, after conquering Babylonia, extended his power over Syria, and took the title ' Lord of Syria.' After the death of Nur-vul, Eriagu was made king of Larsa, and the combined forces of Kudur-mabuk and Eriagu captured the cities of Uruk (Erech), Mullias, and Karrak.* These two kings ruled jointly thirty years in great power, building many temples, digging canals, and erecting fortifications. But at the end of that time a king named Khammurabi, probably leader of the Kassî,† conquered the whole country, made Babylon his capital, and founded a new dynasty."

131. In Genesis we find the king of Elam as suzerain, with his viceroys of Shinar, Ellasar, and Goim, indicating that he had become possessed of the very same country, sweeping round by the north, two or three years before Abram quitted Kharran, and following the same general course which he afterwards pursued over the uplands of Bashan, falling on the inhabitants of the southern Jordan valley, and thus gaining tributary allegiance up to the very edge of the country dominated by Egypt.

132. But in "the thirteenth year they rebelled," with Lot among them. Is it not possible that the presence of so wealthy an independent Semitic leader, with his greater relative Abram near at hand over the hills, may have emboldened them to this resolve? The next year, however, the great king of Elam, Babylonia, and Syria came down once more upon them. But, to make sure work against attack on his flanks, and to obviate future trouble, he did not at once descend on the deep valley, but, in an extended campaign, he "smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-Karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in Shaveh-Kiriathaim," that is, all down the highlands between the eastern desert and the Jordan ; and not even stopping there, he pushed on and smote the Khorites, or cave-dwelling people, "in their mount Seir," the heights and ravines of Edom, "unto El-paran, which is by the wilderness." This was a most important and arduous campaign, involving a march of some 2,000 miles, and seems to have been crowned by complete success. At El-paran, south of the Dead Sea, he turned and came to En-Mishpat, which is Kadesh. This was doubtless Kadesh-barnea and the Kadesh of the land of Amaor, that is, of the Amorites.

* Notes, &c., 17.

† Kassî, *Southern Elamites*.—Note by Mr. Boscawen.

133. For, having swept all the country of the Amalekites, he smote the Amorites that dwelt at Hazezon-tamar, that is, En-geddi, in its beautiful nook to the west of the Dead Sea. Having thus cleared his rear and both flanks, he fell at last on the devoted kings below, where lay the battlefield of the vale of Siddim, with its treacherous "slime-pits" of fluid asphalt or bitumen. This kind of ground the Chaldæans would understand very well. Here they routed the degraded citizens of Sodom and Gomorrah, and sacked those towns, taking all the goods and all their victuals, and Lot and his goods besides.

134. So the long train of the eastern forces, cumbered with captives and spoil, drew on its triumphal homeward march.

135. Meanwhile it is remarkable that the fugitives fly to "Abram the Hebrew" for succour, not to Aner, Eshcol, or Mamre.

136. We must not follow these allies in the fine military exploit which alone stands recorded as the proof of Abram's skill and valour in war.

137. But we must notice that the Hebrew expression does not, any more than the Greek *κοπη* (Heb. vii. 1), decide that either of the eastern kings was killed in the action.

138. The more, however, we appreciate the real significance of this history, the more are we convinced of the importance of this decisive defeat.

139. Doubtless Abram intended effectually to prevent the return of this monarch to Canaan. And, whether slain or not, he disappears from the history thenceforward, and the Canaanites regard Abram as "a prince of God." He had at one blow broken in the hour of its crowning triumph the power of the most extensive kingdom which the world then knew; the very heathen power from whose grasp he had himself been rescued by the hand of Jehovah.

140. We must not linger on the meeting with Melchizedek. I have sometimes thought the name of Salem (or rather Shalem) may be derived from Shalamu, the sunseting or West in Assyrian, as Martu (the West) was applied to Palestine.

141. We find it in the form Shaluma in the records of the conquests of Rameses II.

142. The Kenites are called Salmæans, says Ainsworth, in the Chaldee paraphrase of Gen. xv. 19.

143. Whether there is here any connection of name I cannot say.*

* See, also, Smith's *Dic. of Bible*,—"Kenite."

144. There is much interesting matter with regard to Melchizedek, and the title, "Most High God," in Mr. Malan's *Philosophy or Truth*, and in Professor Plumptre's volume of *Biblical Studies*.

145. The first revelation yet dwelt in faithful souls, such as Melchizedek, and, in their day, Job and Jethro.

146. But the names and titles, and attributes of God lingered on the lips and figured in the inscriptions of Canaanites and Cushites, and sons of Mizraim, who all the while depraved His revelation and changed His glory. The name of Zedek was given to the planet Jupiter at Kharran,* for instance, and Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, was among the Amorite kings overthrown by Joshua, when the iniquity of the Amorites was full. And Zidqa (Zedek) was a king of Askelon, conquered by Sennacherib.†

147. In his dignified reply to the king of Sodom, Abram solemnly claims Jehovah as the Most High God (El 'Elion), and asserts that He is the possessor of heaven and earth: echoing the ascription of Melchizedek, and in common with that great royal priest implicitly excluding all other gods and lords who were worshipped, whether as rulers of the hosts on high, or tutelary masters of races, regions, or cities below. The religion of his own native Chaldæa, for instance, had Anu, god of heaven, Elu of earth, Hea of sea, and patrons of every town.

148. The lifting up of the hands in invocation was of most ancient observance in Chaldæa and Egypt alike. The Egyptian god Ra swears by lifting up the hand, for instance, and so do his worshippers; and the very import of the gesture among men appears in an interesting way. In the prayer of the Amil-urgal given by Mr. G. Smith † is the petition to Bel, "O lord of the earth, dwelling in the temple of the sun, take hold of the hands which are lifted to thee!"

149. This also supplies a fine contrast to Abram's oath by Jehovah.

150. The next great transaction is Jehovah's own oath and covenant with Abram to confirm the promise of seed and inheritance by passing between the divided victims. Ephrem Syrus in the fourth century, M. Lenormant tells us, speaks of this practice as in use among the Chaldæans of his time.

151. It is worth notice that the prescribed victims were

* *Her.*, i. 515.

† G. Smith, *Assyrian Hist.*, 114.

‡ *Assyr. Dic.*, 397.

those offered by the Chaldæans in Abram's time, but not by the Egyptians.

152. In Mr. G. Smith's *Chaldæan Genesis*, p. 156, there is a direction given in the story of Atarpi, "to cut something into portions, and place seven on each side," which may refer to a similar ceremony.

153. If this paper were not already quite long enough, there are other points in the Life of Abraham which I would have illustrated in the same way. It is possible that I may ask the Council at some future time to allow me an opportunity of returning to the subject. Meanwhile, I trust that the time already devoted by the members present may not be thought wasted, and that much more light may be thrown on the subject by the discussion which will follow.

The CHAIRMAN (Rev. R. Thornton, D.D., V.P.).—It is now my pleasant duty to convey our thanks to the Rev. H. G. Tomkins for his very interesting paper. After one or two communications have been read, the discussion will be open.

The following letters were then read:—

"April 17th, 1877.

"DEAR SIR,—I have twice read, and carefully considered, Mr. Tomkins' paper. All the authorities from which he quotes I have gone over in the course of study, and my own general conclusion entirely coincides with his. Both he and I can only wait for some more, and more direct, documentary evidence for tracing the career and the religious influence of Abraham, and for sketching the history of Canaan, &c., from the call of Abram to the mission of Moses. From the material which Mr. Tomkins has studied, and others also, I have produced a series of notes, which will very shortly appear in two small volumes, now nearly ready for issue by Messrs. Bagster, and on which, I trust, other students will from time to time advance.—Permit me to remain very truly yours,

"W. H. RULE."

"Erdington, 13th April, 1877.

"SIR,—I thank you for the invitation to your meeting on Monday, but I must deny myself the pleasure of accepting it.

"I need not say that it gives me great pleasure to know that such an Institute is in existence. I cordially sympathize with its objects, and should like to be a member, but 'non cuius homini contingit adire.'

"If the writer of this paper is aware of my contributions to the 'Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache,' it is not likely that anything I could say would be of use to him, since he does not notice them. But if he is not, I venture to think I could supply him with some notes, though too late for Monday morning's discussion. For instance, I have long held that הברון is 'confederacy'; that it is the confederacy of ארבע 'four,' Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre (which 'three were confederate) with Abram'; and that Arba was not 'a great man among,' but 'a great fortress of the Anakim.'

"I have much matter in writing about Biblical subjects, which may see the light or not, according to circumstances. Perhaps I may publish my 'Identi-

fication of Nimrod' before long. Whether I write or not, I can always rest in the assurance that the truth will be made clear by other hands, if not by mine.

"D. H. HAIGH."

Rev. S. FISHER, D.D.—The paper is a very valuable one, and is exceedingly interesting, especially to those who are experts in ethnology. I have sometimes thought, when looking at those excavations and those documents and inscriptions from Egypt, of what our blessed Lord said when the Pharisees and others exclaimed, "Bid these hold their peace,"—"If these should hold their peace," said He, "the very stones would cry out." The stones from Egypt and from Chaldæa, also, have been crying out for some time to good purpose, and many very glorious truths are borne testimony to by these monuments. It is very clear from what has been brought out lately, that Mesopotamia was the centre or cradle of the human race, and the Bible is very distinct on that point; and the emigration was westward, as the paper states. And it is clear also that man did not come upon the earth as a savage, as has been said by many; by Bancroft, for instance, in his work on the American Indians. Man appeared at first highly civilized and religious. It appears that the farther we go back, religion becomes the simpler, and nearer the truth—the unity of the Deity. It appears again that the first deviation from the truth in the way of worship was the astro-theology, and that agrees also with what the Bible says. We seem to have an approach to the sentiment that raised the first temple to the moon-god in what Job says in the 31st chapter—"If when I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge, for I should have denied the God that is above." And the fact also stated in the paper, that animal-worship was the next deviation from the truth, is abundantly manifested in the Bible also.

Rev. Preb. CURREY, D.D. (Master of the Charterhouse).—There is one point with reference to the earlier forms of religion, as set forth in this paper, which I am not quite clear about. It seems to be the idea, especially of the last speaker, that the earlier religions were more pure than perhaps the later, and that the later became worse and worse as time went on. To a certain extent I have no doubt that was true, but I do not quite gather this from what has been recently brought out with regard to the Accadians, that very remarkable people who were certainly representatives of an earlier civilization than the civilization of the Chaldees. The religion of the Accadians does not seem to have been an astro-theology, but rather an elemental worship, and the forms of Accadian religion, as they appear on Accadian monuments, have reference only to magic, charms, and spirits—not at all a high type of religion. So far therefore, as this is the case, it does not seem to me that the Accadian or earlier civilization in those parts of Mesopotamia had a higher kind of religion; but rather that the development of religion had assumed a higher form in the progress of civilization. As time went on, the number of the gods was increased, and the religion, and this false worship became

more systematic and established. But it does not appear, so far as I can see, that the indications of religion we find amongst the Accadian monuments, point to a higher form of religion, but rather the reverse. It was said that the earlier religion, as represented by the Accadians, was rather a worship of elemental forms, than a more developed astro-theology; and that elemental worship was more corrupt, generally speaking, than the worship of the heavenly bodies. It is an interesting point to consider how far the earlier religious rites amongst the Accadians represent a nearer approach to, or deviation from, the principle of a purer worship. There is an interesting point with regard to the invasion of Chedorla'omar to which it may be worth while to draw attention also. I find in Ménéant's account of Babylon, that he quotes the record in regard to the king Kudur-Nakhunte. (Ménéant, *Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 55.) There seem to be three records, each of them giving a date at which the Elamites made their invasion which may possibly be the same as that referred to in Gen. xiv. 1. These three records agree in a rather remarkable manner. The record is given in the account of the exploits of Assurbanipal, about 649 B.C., and the three records in different ways state this invasion and the great power of the Elamites to have been 1635 years before. Two of the records seem to have agreed upon the date 1635, and the other gives 1535. If you add that to 649, you get somewhere near 2300 B.C. for this great invasion of the Elamites. It is, however, very difficult to assign the year to any known era; and therefore the figures representing the date must be accepted with reserve. At any rate we have a very early Elamite invasion like that with which the name of Chedorlaomar is connected in Scripture. It is said in the paper just read that the Accadians still earlier came from the same place as the Elamites, and I think they were also of the same race.

Mr. TOMKINS.—I said they were Turanians.

Dr. CURREY.—And that they came from the same quarter?

Mr. TOMKINS.—Yes.

Dr. CURREY.—The Turanians were of Japhet, and the Elamites from Ham or Ham-Cushite, so far as is known. It is mentioned in regard to the Turanians,—an extraordinary people, amongst whom the earlier civilization, certainly in the plains of Mesopotamia, seems to have spread very widely,—that they scattered themselves very much over the earth; and I recollect, on a former occasion, at one of the meetings here, the Rev. Isaac Taylor gave us some curious dice which he conceived to be representative of certain members of the Turanian race, represented by the Finns. How far this race spread is not known; but it is remarkable that in Italy there remain evidences that the earlier inhabitants came from the far east. Amongst their rites is that of divination by the inspection of the liver. And the like is described by Ezekiel, who speaks of the king Nebuchadnezzar looking into a liver. Thus we get in this country which the Turanians once occupied this very rite practised by the king of Babylon. No doubt considerable traces were left in the cuneiform characters. The character was borrowed from the Turanians. If this was the case in regard to the Turanians, on the other hand, their religion

was characterized by magical incantation and rites of divination. Putting these together, it seems to me we have good reason for supposing that these rites of divination to which Nebuchadnezzar had recourse were like those of the Etruscans. We may infer, with some probability, an identity of race between the Etruscans and Turanians. We also know that these earlier races of Italy were celebrated for the construction of massive walls and colossal buildings. The same kind of enormous structures were left by the Turanians; and here we seem to have other traces of connection between the two peoples.

Mr. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.—Dr. Currey has referred to the religion of the Accadian people as different from that of the later Babylonians. The religion of the Accadians has been minutely examined by Mons. Lenormant, and appears to have originated in a very simple manner. They came to the conclusion that the actions of every man were due to some spirit that dwelt in him which they called *Zi*. This is what is afterwards rendered by the Assyrian word *Napistu*, "life," a very common expression for soul. And after coming to this conclusion, that all the actions of the body were due to the moving of this inward spirit, they applied this to every other animate and inanimate object—the clouds, the moon, and other bodies were, according to them, impelled by a similar spirit to that which acted in man; and gradually, from applying this to every object in nature, they grew into a system of dividing these into two groups; those objects which benefited man, such as the sun, which shone down upon and warmed him, consequently being favourable and good to him, and the spirit of the storm, as an instance, on the other hand, of the evil one which he feared. With this dualism there was a dualism of priests—those who worshipped simply the good spirits and acted as priests do now, and those who were employed to act as magicians and keep away the evil spirit. This dualism went on for a long time, until a little over 2500 B.C., when Babylon was divided into two parts or kinds of cities. About 2500 B.C. there came a great influx of Semitic people from Southern Arabia, from the region of the Sana. These engaged in trade, until at last they placed a Semitic dynasty on the throne. On the north Accad, the ruins marked by the modern mound of Akr Kuf, there grew up a gradually increasing kingdom, which conquered Babylon. The great characteristic of their religion was the star-worship—the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, and one great goddess, the goddess Istar, or Astarte. In course of time a fusion took place between the old Turanian religion (this is hardly a good name for it; perhaps the best name to use is the religion of the non-Semitic people of Babylonia), and this Semitic form; and from this fusion there grew up that fine system of religion which developed into the Assyrio-Chaldean, and finally united the Babylonian dynasty of Sargon of Agane. This fusion of religions simplified the priesthood, and the Semitic dynasty seems to have given a great impulse to literature, and the study of astronomy and theology. It was a great reformation, similar to that of the rise of Buddha in India. This Semitic dynasty lasted probably not very long, but its short rule produced great results. The effect of the fusion of religions on the

civilization of the people was to give an impulse to learning which never died out until the fall of the empire. This dynasty was overthrown by the Elamite, whose invasion was about 2280 or 2300 B.C. This dynasty I believe to be the Median dynasty of Berossus, the old name of the Elamite tribes being Khapirte; and the whole of these tribes seem to have come from the Gordyeen mountains. They seem to have passed to the east of the Euphrates, and the Babylonians to the west; and they formed to the east three great non-Semitic races. There were the Medes, who lay rather more to the east, and did not advance westward until the time of Shalmanesar the Third. Below, there were the Elamites proper, and the Kassî, who were closer akin than the Elamites to the non-Semitic tribes of Babylonia. These Elamite tribes invaded Babylonia, and conquered all the lower portion, while the upper portion of Babylonia and the new colony of Assyria began to form a separate kingdom, and did so probably about this time when the Semitic population of Babylonia were forced to migrate, and gave rise to the migration of Abraham. They passed through Assyria, which was not of sufficient importance to detain them, and by the old route of Kharran (name for road), evidently showing that there was a caravan road through this place to Phœnicia and the west. Kharran appears very early in the inscriptions, and we find it a place of great star-worship, which lasted down almost to Christian times; traces of it having been found there within the last two centuries. I may say a few words in regard to the old name for the land of the west, Martû, or Palestine, the west, to which Abraham journeyed. The old name was Martu. This is composed in Accadian, in the same way as is often found in Chinese nouns. The first of these is Mar, meaning a "path." The second word, tû, means the "setting sun," the name of the god Tûtû being only another form of it, as the god of death. This means, therefore, the path of the setting sun; and if we remember, there was an old town of Phœnicia, called Mardotus, which contains the essentials of Martû, and this was an old coast town or trading station for caravans passing down to Babylonia. One of the important Demi-gods in the Phœnician cosmogony was Usous. This, it appears, was the name of a suburb of Tyre. When Assur-banipal took tribute of Bahal, Usu was a suburb of Tyre, and this was another word for *setting sun*. This word is also explained as evening sun, and the city of Usu would therefore be the city of the setting sun, or of the west. And it is probable this also was another earlier Babylonian trading station on the coast, whence the Babylonians derived the various wares which the Phœnicians and others traded in. When we look at the quantity of books Mr. Tomkins has consulted, and the information he has collected and condensed into less than thirty pages, we must see that there have been many weeks and months of hard work concentrated here.*

* In his *History of Babylonia*, the late Mr. George Smith has alluded at some length to the subjects mentioned by Mr. Boscawen. This work is not yet printed.—Ed.

The CHAIRMAN.—I may say a word or two with regard to the value of this Paper for our objects. We are not a mere archæological society; and therefore, had it simply been an archæological Paper, it might have been said that in making it form part of this evening's proceedings we were not carrying out the object of this Institute; but it is no mere antiquarian essay. We cannot but remark how providential it is that these archæological discoveries have been made at the present moment. At this particular time in the course of events everything is being tested; the foundations of our political and of our religious institutions are alike being examined, and Christianity is not spared the trial. And this time, when our religion is being tested, is the time that divine Providence has chosen to place in our hands materials for the defence of God's Holy Word, which we should not have been able to use one hundred years ago. I wish, farther, to call attention to the Paper as bringing out distinctly the fact, that primeval revelation has been preserved for our times first in the Hebrew and subsequently in the Christian revelation. It is the fashion for those who write and talk to us of comparative mythology and the science of comparative religion to put the Jewish revelation and the Christian completion of it on precisely the same footing with other religions. There are a great many religions in the world, say they, and they all are in the same predicament of having a certain element of truth, and a large accretion of falsehood. Mr. Tomkins has brought out the fact, that Christianity alone contains the truth, and that although other religions have elements of truth in them, these are but distorted fragments of primeval revelation. That is an important fact. On your behalf I beg to thank Mr. Tomkins for his Paper.*

* Dr. Robinson Thornton also sends the following remarks in reference to the introductory statement of Mr. Tomkins's paper:—The Niebuhrian criticism which Professor Goldziher applies to the Old Testament, is something like the Infinitesimal Calculus: it is admirably useful when applied to proper matter, but produces absurd results when otherwise applied. You cannot argue that because $d \cdot x + 2 = d \cdot x + 100$, therefore $2 = 100$: because constant quantities are not amenable to differentiation. But before using the calculus you must know that your quantities are variable. So, before using the Niebuhrian "kritik," you must prove your history to be mythical; you have no right to use it first, and then, because you get a result, say that it proves the story to be a myth. At that rate, I can prove the Professor to be a myth himself. "Professor Goldziher's Mythology among the Hebrews." "Gold-zihér" means "drawer-forth of gold." We have here, therefore, a keynote struck by which to regulate our interpretation. The myth has to do with the finding of gold, and drawing it from its concealment; and the title "Professor," which is the reverse of "Practical," or "Practiser," shows the scheme to have been unsuccessful. And in the word "Mythology," or "telling of tales," we find, at least, a hint that the scheme was elaborated not from a personal world-experience, or a fact-colligation (Thaten-verbinding), but from a generic intuition, moulding itself into form by inventive accretions (Erfindungsanhäufung). This "tale-word" (mythologie) was "of the

Mr. TOMKINS.—I have taken an intense interest in the remarks made this evening by Dr. Curry and Mr. Boscawen. With regard to what the Master of the Charterhouse has said, I think I have a most distinct reply. As to the Accadian religion being of lower grade than the sidereal worship which emerged later in Babylonia, I have to suggest that there was a differentia in religion that varied with the races of men, so that the character of religion corresponded in the same races. The Accadians never seem to have got to a high point of what we call civilization. Others being of a higher intellectual character had the good sense to avail themselves of the elementary truths and outlines which the Accadians left, and brought them up to those higher stages which have been so valuable to the world. Mr. Boscawen has anticipated me in what he has said about the notion of a *δαίμων* in man. They believed all they did was done by the force of the spirit within them, and they paid honours to that spirit. And I am not sure that honour paid to that *Zi* or *δαίμων* was not as high a species of worship as honour paid to the sun and moon that walk in brightness in the sky. It was more immaterial worship. The worship of this spirit is rather like a relic of the worship of the Great Spirit—the God above, and seems to me a higher form of worship than the bowing down to a material object, whether in the heavens above or the earth beneath. That is a consideration in bar of any special condemnation to be passed upon the Accadian system, of which we yet know so little. Though they used magical incantations, which survive amongst the Finns, I am not sure that they can be classed lower than those who worshipped the orbs of heaven, the starry host, and the like. Though their worship involved human sacrifices, which is a very dreadful feature of it, in that there survived a distortion and a travesty of something supreme. And thus I am not sure that they fell below those who had a Pantheistic though more systematized theology. In regard to the liver, it was a most important organ. Everybody who has had it disordered will agree with that view, even in the present century. You will see how important an organ it was considered anciently by the omens drawn from it, of prosperity or adversity—"May thy heart be enlarged, thy liver extended!" was the greatest benediction offered. Even to heavenly creatures the same expression was used, as in a hymn to Ishtar—"May thy liver be enlarged!" An English physician would repudiate that as a blessing.

The CHAIRMAN.—In India, when a man has experienced any piece of good fortune, the remark is, "Surely your honour's liver has become enlarged!"

Mr. TOMKINS.—With regard to another point, the word *Martii*, I was very much pleased to hear Mr. Boscawen use one expression, for a particular

Hebrews." The name (עבר) signifies migrators, or passers-over; and we can easily now comprehend that the sentence refers to a pretended scheme for gold-digging, which induced certain persons to cross the sea, apparently with little profit. It would be interesting to inquire if this fragmentary myth had anything to do with an early discovery of Australia.

reason. He spoke of the composition of words,—as in the Chinese so in the Accadian, by way of apposition. I quite agree with him that a great many proper names are explained by simple apposition. It seems to be thought that in the Semitic languages the second word in a composite name is generally in the position of the genitive case. I cannot help thinking that some of these titles are in this position. I cannot help thinking they are not to be interpreted on strict principles of Semitic grammar. I think we have a key in apposition to getting through the difficulty. That matter about Martu is extremely interesting, and in regard to Salem I believe it originated in the idea of rest and repose—as of the sinking sun. I am glad no member has thrown in any objection in regard to what I have said, and I hope we may be agreed in treating Abraham as an historical personage, all the more that palpable connections between his life, as described in Holy Scripture, and what we are otherwise discovering, are becoming increasingly manifest. I think that these are not merely accidental, much less that Abraham is only a word for the nocturnal sky. I hope we have not quite heard the last of Abraham as there is yet something to say about him.

The meeting was then adjourned.

NOTES by the Rev. D. H. HAIGH, Rev. A. H. SAYCE, Dr. BIRCH, and
W. S. CHAD BOSCAWEN, Esq.

8. *Ur-ma*. I am not satisfied that this is right. Admitting the value *ur* (there are others, *sis*, &c.) for the present, the name of the city is usually *Ur-lab-ki*, but where it forms part of a royal title we have *Ur-lab-ki-ma*. *Ab* (es) is "house," *lab* "city," *ki* "land"; so, though *ma* is a word for "land," I do not think it has that sense here. On the contrary, I take it (as Dr. Hincks did) to be a plural suffix, *ki-ma* "lands"; and this with the more confidence, since the name of the city Nisin is written with the plural suffix *na*, *Ni. si. in. ki-na*, "Nisin lands," in similar context. These *ma* and *na* I compare with the plurals, Heb. ם, Chald. ן. So I read "the city land" or "lands."

[Mr. Sayce rejoins. Dr. Haigh is wrong in making *ma* and *na* signs of the Accadian plural. These were *mes*, *me*, and *ene*. *Ma* means "land," as you stated correctly: *Nisin-ci-na* = "of the land of N." *Ci-ma* = "country such-and-such a town." See *La Langue prim.*, 129.—H.G.T.]

12. *Gikkhan*. In a letter to Mr. Sayce I have long ago objected that this is wrong. גִּיחָן in Gen. is certainly distinct from פִּרְתָּהּ. Now we have *Sa. ha. an* an Akkadian synonym of *Pu. rat. tum*. Mr. Sayce, finding an Assyrian value for *sa*, viz. *gi. i*, supplies *gi. i. hu*, and hence deduces Gihhan. My objection is, that we have no right to insert an Assyrian value in an Akkadian

compound, unless we have reason to believe that there was a corresponding Akkadian value. Here we have none such, but, on the contrary, the distinction in Genesis to forbid our assuming it. I believe the four rivers of Paradise are named together in *W. A. I.*, vol. ii. 50.

After *Bar-tig-gar* or *I-di-gal-lat*
and *Ud-kib-nun-ki* or *Pu-rat-lum*,
comes *Guhaanun* or *Arahtum*.

This must be *Gihon* or *Araxes*.

Then we have *A-la-at*, the river of the god *Mas*, and *A-la-at* is written as a gloss of his name. But he had also the name *A-la-la*, and if 𒀭𒀭 , *at*, be a blunder for 𒀭𒀭 , *la*, we may suppose *A-la-la* here. Then *A-lal* is repeatedly given as a synonyme of *Pi-sa-an*, פִּיסָן for פִּישָן.

[Mr. Sayce writes : Dr. Haigh's objection has much weight, but the doubtful value is found in one of those syllabaries which give the Accadian names and phonetic values of the characters in the third column, not the Assyrian renderings.

I have come across the character with the value of *gikh* elsewhere.

Dr. Haigh's conjecture about *Alat* falls through from the fact that the 𒀭𒀭 is not a blunder for 𒀭𒀭 . As I told him some time ago, his comparison of *Gukhanun* and *Gibon* strikes me as good.]


20. *Ur* (or *Sin* in Semitic). The moon-god had several names (there were fifteen of them in a tablet in *W.A.I.*, vol. ii. 54). Now, *Ur-* (or *Sis-*) *ki* is the name which is found on the Mugheyer bricks, and a tablet tells us that this was his name in Elam. I have identified Mugheyer builders with the Median or Elamite dynasty of B.C. 2287, so that the use of the Elamite name of the god there would be natural. But, how was the name read? I am inclined to think it was *Sis-ki*, and that the territory of Mugheyer was also named *Sis-ki* after him. Thus I explain שֶשֶך in Jerem. xxv. 26, and li. 41, which was certainly not Babylon, for בָּבֶל is mentioned in connection with it. *Nabu-kudur-ussur* and his dynasty devoted themselves to the restoration of Mugheyer, so that they, and especially *Nabunahid*, might well be called kings of *Shishak*, poetically and prophetically.

[Mr. Sayce writes on this : If Dr. Haigh is right, rather kings "of the city of שֶשֶך."]

I have to remark on the text : 1. That anyhow the city *Ur* gave its name to the district. The exact names of the city are given by M. Lenormant, *La Langue prim.*, 340. *Uru-unu* (dwelling of the moon-god), the sacred name, and *Uru*, the ordinary name. See also Menant, *Babylone*, &c., 72. 2. *Uru* was an Accadian name of the moon-god, who was called *Sin* in Semitic; however the sign on the *Mugheyer bricks* may be read (*ur* or *sis*).—H. G. T.

38. "It is clear," &c. I do not dispute the fact; on the contrary, I believe that *Terah* was "brother of the king of *Warka*"; but I do not think their names indicate it. *Abu-ramu*, "Abu is high," was a personal name in

Assyria down to the time of Assur-bani-pal. שר-י Sar-I, "I is king"; *I* was a divine name, and we know from the tablets that it was equivalent to *Iau, Iahu*.

It is remarkable that the first element in Is-cah and Mil-cah is represented by one sign, , *is, mil*, as if Milcah were a variant reading of Iscah. The former would be "queen"; but as מיכה is a variant of מיכני, "who, like Iau," so מילכה may represent מילכני, and mean "Iau is king," the same as Sar-i, afterwards שרה. [Mr. Sayce writes: "I should say Dr. Haigh's explanation of שרי is impossible. The word is merely a dialectic form of שרה, 'queen' (see Delitzsch, &c.). Dr. Haigh is mistaken about *I, Iau, &c.* The supposition rests on a reading now known to be false, or rather misunderstood.]

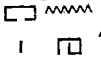



I think Sarai is *princess (royal-born)* but Sarah, *queen*.—H. G. T.

44. I am firmly convinced that the xxxvii. Amu at Benihassan are the family of Israel. I presented my proofs to Soc. Bibl. Arch., but withdrew my paper because the Council limited me to twelve pages. I believe they visited Num-hotep because he was of their kindred, son of a Nahor, and probably descended from one of those who accompanied Abram to Egypt, and there remained (as I believe Saneham was).

So also I believe that Terah, Nahor, Abram, Sari, Haran, Lot, and Milcah are portrayed on a cylinder from Hillah (figured in Layard's *Nin. and Babylon* [538, and in *Chald. Gen.*, 118]), on which Terah is entitled "brother of the king of Warka, record writer, minister of instruction."

[Mr. Sayce writes: The name *Terah* is not found in the inscription, and though Dr. Haigh long ago suggested to me that Terah and his family were represented on the cylinder, I confess I have never been able to see any ground for the idea.]

65. I believe that Abram and the Hyksos came long before the twelfth dynasty, but as friends; that the Hyksos were the companions of Abram whom he left in Egypt (according to Artapanus), and that it was long before the war broke out.

66. It is especially interesting to note that the city of Set in this inscription was  *Pa-neham*, and this is the same as  the city of Saneham, for , which has been taken to be determinative of  has also the value *am* [see De Rougé, *VI. prem. Dynn.*, 60.—H.G.T.] This, then, is the true reading. [A very interesting note. The town has been identified with the modern "Benha, close to the ruins of Atrib," by Dr. Haigh, *Zeitschr.*, 1875, 99.—H.G.T.]

67. Saneham's story I have discussed at full in the *Zeitschrift*, and shown that he was of the kindred of Nahor.

Ammu, *an shi*, Goodwin, *nen*, Chabas; weight of authority for the former.

[Mr. Sayce remarks on *Tennu*: Harkavy has shown that the word *Tennu* should be read *Temennu*, which is plainly the *Teman* of Scripture. (See his Paper before Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg).]

85. Hebron and Arba'. I have long held that חִבְרוֹן is "confederacy"; that it is the confederacy of אַרְבַּע "four," Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre," which "three were confederate with Abram"; and that Arba' was not "a great man among," but "a great fortress of, the Anakim."

90. Nebo, Anak. *An* is determinative, and *ak* name of the god. We are all agreed that determinatives are not pronounced.

142. The home of the שְׁלֵמַי had the same name as Melchizedek's kingdom; whether it was the same is another matter.

NOTE by W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, Esq.

28. Marduk. One of the most beautiful characteristics of this god was that of the "Mediator and Saviour" between the gods and man, the vanquisher of evil, and the giver of life.

See the following translation:—

1. King of the world and the land *par excellence*.
2. Eldest son of the king of the great deep (Hea).
3. Of heaven and earth the regulator.
4. God of gods.
5. Who in heaven and earth has no rival.
6. Prince with Anu and Bel.
7. Merciful among the gods.
8. Merciful one who the dead to life raises.
9. (With) Anu the king of heaven and earth.
10. King of Babylon, Lord of Bit Saggal.
11. King of the temple of Life, Lord of the temple of the great life.
12. Heaven and earth are thine.
13. The fulness of Heaven and Earth are thine.
14. The eye of life is thine.
15. Death and living are thine.
16. King of the noble oracle of the deep thou art.
17. Mankind, even the men of the black race.
18. All the breath of the living and all creatures that exist.
19. The four quarters, all that have being.
20. Great prince of the hosts of heaven and earth.
21. All are thine.

The above invocation forms part, not of the liturgical collection, . . . but of the magical collection (*Mus. Brit.*, K. 2962). See *Les Prem. Civ.*, ii. 177, where M. Lenormant gives a translation. It is a prayer to Marduk in the nature of exorcism of evil spirits of disease. [See Mr. Boscawen's article, *T.S.B.A.*, iv. 297, where he gives the text.—H. G. T.] Mr. Boscawen has kindly sent me the following extract from his forthcoming Assyrian exercise-book:—The connection between Mesopotamia and the shores of the Mediterranean Sea dates from a very remote period; the armies of the early kings of Babylonia reached its shores, and received tribute from its kings. (*W.A.J.*, i. p. 2, No. iii., Inscription of Kudur-Mabug, and

