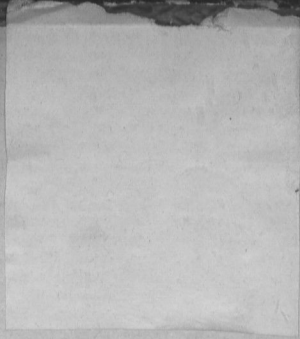


No 350

1474



*D. M. G. von H. 3. Meier
Dec 1474*

THE
ABORIGINES
AND
EARLY COMMERCE OF ARABIA.

*by W. Meier Esq
B C S*

[EXTRACTED FROM THE CALCUTTA REVIEW, NO. XXXVIII.]



CALCUTTA:

THACKER, SPINK AND CO., ST. ANDREW'S LIBRARY.

1853.

V. 480.

Bibliothek der
Deutschen
Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft

①: Ne 350

THE
ABORIGINES AND EARLY COMMERCE OF ARABIA.

[FROM THE CALCUTTA REVIEW, NO. XXXVIII.]

1. *The Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phenicia, and Arabia.* By E. F. C. Rosenmüller, D. D., translated into English by the Rev. N. Morren, A. M. (*Biblical Cabinet*, vol. III.) Edinburgh, 1841.
2. *Essai sur L'Histoire Des Arabes avant L'Islamisme, &c. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval.* (In three vols.) Volume First. Paris, 1847.
3. *The Historical Geography of Arabia*, by the Rev. Charles Forster, B. D. Two vols. London, 1844.
4. *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*: edited by John Kitto, D. D. Edinburgh, 1845. Articles, "Arabia, Ethiopia, Cush, Nebaioth, Idumea, &c."

It is an interesting question to investigate by whom Arabia was first peopled; and, with reference to the assumed Abrahamic origin of the religion of the Kaaba, it is a question of some importance.

But the subject is one on which we may in vain look for any light from the original tradition of Arabia itself. The most ancient information from this source consists of the genealogies of Himyar kings, and of the great Coreishite stock. The latter do not ascend much beyond the Christian era, and the former only five or six centuries farther. The earlier parts of the Himyar line were probably derived from inscriptions; and of the Coreish, we have hardly anything but a bare ancestral tree, till we come within two or three centuries of Mahomet.

Beyond these periods, Mahometan tradition is entirely worthless. It is not original, but is taken at second hand from the Jews. Mahomet having claimed to be of the seed of Ishmael, his followers early required from the Jewish Rabbins an acknowledgment of the claim; and they sought to bring the genealogical lists of the Old Testament, and the rabbinical traditions, into accordance with the received notions and principles of the Arabs. Thus it was that Joktân (whom they found in Scripture to be an early immigrant into Arabia) became identified with Cahtân, the great ancestor of the southern tribes;* while Mahomet's paternal line, which he himself

* Some of the adjutors of Medina, though of the Cahtân stock, yet anxious to establish their descent also from Ishmael, have invented a genealogical tree, by which Cahtân is made to descend from Ishmael! (*Wakidi*, p. 262)—*Causin de Perceval*, I. 39.) Genealogies, with strange names, are sometimes said to refer to individuals specified in the Old Testament under different names. (*Vide e. g. Tabari*, p. 51, *et alibi*.) So after quoting a pretended genealogical tree, in

declared could not be followed beyond Adnân, (that is, about a century before the Christian era,) was nevertheless traced, by fabricated steps, eighteen centuries farther, up to Ishmael. Both the Mahometan legends, and ethnological facts prior to the Christian era, being thus derived directly from the Jews, possess no original value, and as evidence must be rejected entirely. They are the result either of simple plagiarism, or they refer to Arab personages and events of a very modern date, travestied and often caricatured, into the patriarchal characters and stories of the Old Testament.*

We must, therefore, fall back implicitly upon the Mosaic record as our only guide to the original settlements in Arabia; and we shall find that the general statements and incidental allusions of that inestimable history, supply a clue to the events out of which Modern Arabia has developed herself.

It has been inferred with considerable probability, that a portion of the descendants of Cush, the son of Ham, found their way into Arabia, and formed the first body of post-diluvian settlers there.† The names of Cush and Cushan are evidently

which Mahomet is traced up to Ishmael, the traditionist adds, "And that is an ancient tradition, taken from one of the former books" (that is, the Jewish books).

وذلك انه علم قديم اخذ من الكتاب الال (Tabari, p. 52.)

The following tradition also illustrates the practice. Hisham ibn Muhammad related as follows:—"There was a man of the people of Tadmor, called Abû Yacûb ibn Maslama, of the children of Israel; and he used to read in the Jewish books and was versed in their traditional learning. Now this man mentioned that Bûrach (Baruch) ibn Baria, the scribe of Eremia (Jeremiah), proved the genealogy of Maad ibn Adnân (Mahomet's ancestor), and placed it on its proper basis, and wrote it out; and this genealogy is notorious amongst the doctors of the people of the book (the Jews,) as being certified in their books. Now it closely approaches to the above list; and whatever differences there are between them arise from the difference of language, their names being translated from the Hebrew." (Tabari, p. 53.)

* The simple plagiarisms are such accounts as those of the Fall, the Flood, and the various passages in the history of the Israelites. The travestied scenes are such as the actual events of Abraham's and Ishmael's lives, misapplied to Mecca and its vicinity, and connected with the remotest links of the Coreish genealogical table: thus Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac on Mount *Moriah* is metamorphosed into the intended sacrifice of *Ishmael* on a height in the valley of *Minâ*; so Ishmael is married to the daughter of a Jorhomite prince, who could not have lived long before the Christian era. M. Caussin de Perceval (*Essai*, I. 173 & 184) calls this a myth; and it is no doubt mythical, in so far as it embodies the Moslem tenet that Mahomet was descended from a cross between the seed of Ishmael and pure Arab blood. But it is not the less a grossly travestied tale. One of the canon (II. I.) laid down in a previous article in this *Review* is here applicable (*Vide* No. XXXVII. p. 53.)

† That the majority of the scriptural notices of Cush refer to the country towards Abyssinia is clearly shown by the learned translator of Rosenmüller's Geography. (*Vide in Kitto's Cyclopædia*, the *Rev. N. Morren's, Articles*, CUSH, ETHIOPIA and ARABIA.) Yet there are passages which apparently refer to Arabia. Thus the inspired historian in 1 Chron. iv. 40, after specifying Gedor, a country seemingly in the vicinity of Arabia Petrea, adds, "For they of Ham had dwelt there of old." So in 2 Chron. xx. 16, he notices the Arabians that were near the Cushites as attacking

associated by the sacred writers both with Arabia and with Africa, and the titles of his sons have been traced, though with some uncertainty, in the names of existing tribes.* But there is no proof or probability that the Cushites remained in Arabia a distinct and separate race; it is likely that they soon mingled with the subsequent immigrants, and lost their national individuality.†

The next colonists of Arabia are thought to have been the progeny of Joktân, the son of Eber, and the fifth in descent from Shem. The sacred records inform us that they settled eastward, that is, in the language of Moses, in the North of the Peninsula, or the country stretching from the head of the Red

Judah, where the original conveys the impression of the Cushites as a people inhabiting Arabia. The deduction from Moses marrying a Cushitess, is either that the Midianites were called Cushites, or (which is less likely) that Moses married a second time: the parallelism in Hab. iii. 7, though not conclusive, is in favour of the former supposition. In 2 Chron. xiv. 9, Zerah, the Cushite, having attacked Judea, Asa is described as overthrowing him and spoiling the cities to the North of Arabia; but Zerah may have been an Abyssinian adventurer, for he appears to have had a body of Africans with him, and *chariots*, which were never used in Arabia. (*Vide Heeren's Res. Africa*, I. 417.)

For the whole subject see *Rosenmüller's Biblical Geography*, English translation, III. 280—285. The articles above quoted from *Kittó's Cyclopaedia*, and *Forster's Geography of Arabia*, vol. I. part 1, section 1.

* From the identity of the names of three of the progeny of Cush, viz., *Havilah*, *Sheba*, and *Bedan* with those of the Shemitic branch, and the similarity of a fourth, viz., *Seba*, it becomes difficult with satisfaction to assign to the Cushites exclusively any of the Arab tribes whose names assimilate with these. None of the other names, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*, are successfully traced by Mr. Forster, notwithstanding his indefatigable ingenuity and conjecture. *Raamah* is classed with the tribes of Arabia by Ezekiel. (*Chap. xxvii. 22.*)

† There are no traces, in original Arabic tradition, of a separate Cushite race original of Arabia. Some tribes may have been darker than others, and possibly so in consequence of their original descent, though the circumstance is never so explained. On the other hand, the negro inhabitants appear always to be referred to in the earliest accounts as Abyssinians who had immigrated from Africa. There appears never to have been any national sympathy or congeniality between the two races.

M. C. de Perceval (I. 42—46) has a theory, that in South Arabia there were two distinct races, Cushite and Joktânide, the former *Sabeans* (Seba), the latter *Shabeans* (Sheba). The first he identifies with the Adites; and the extinction of the Adites in Arabia (as held by Mahometan tradition) he attributes to the emigration of the entire Cushite race, and their transplantation thence to Abyssinia. The theory is ingenious, but devoid of proof, and in itself very improbable. As for the Adites, it has been satisfactorily shown by Dr. Sprenger, that they lived near the *Thapudites*, North of Mecca: they were therefore entirely distinct from the Sabeans of Yemen. (*Sprenger's Life of Mahomet*, p. 13.)

His farther theory (I. 5-6), that the Phenicians are a colony of Yemen Cushites, seems also to rest on a very slender basis. *Herod. i. 1* (φοινίκας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἠπικομένους κ. τ. λ., presents no identification either with Yemen or with the Cushites. So *Trogus Pomp.*, quoted by *Justin. xviii. 3*, is still more vague. It appears to us most probable that this tradition arose from the children of Israel having come from the Red Sea to occupy Palestine. Living near the Tyrians, the fame which attached to the Israelites would, with a little misapprehension, come in the course of time to apply to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and thus to the Tyrians also.

Sea towards the Persian Gulph.* The names of some of Joktân's sons are identified with the appellation of certain Arabian districts;† and it is not unnatural to believe, that this race extended rapidly southward, wherever tempted by pasture or oases in the desert, until it reached the fertile lands of Yemen and Hadhramaut. There, intermingled with the line of Cush, it formed, from the Straits of Bâbal Mandab to the Persian Gulph, the permanent settlement of the Himyar and other aboriginal tribes.

Descending with the stream of Time, we find that, several centuries later, a new race spread over the North of Arabia. While Joktân proceeded southward, his brother Peleg—so called, “because in his days the earth was divided”‡—remained in Mesopotamia. But in process of time, Abraham, the sixth in descent from Peleg, “gat him out from his country, and from his kindred,” and “went forth to go into the land of Canaan,” where he sojourned as a Nomad Chief; and it is from the stock of this Patriarch that the northern settlements of the Peninsula were supplied. The Abrahamic races may be thus enumerated: 1. the *Ishmaelites*; 2, the *Keturahites*: 3, the *Edomites*, or descendants of Esau; 4, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*; 5, the *Nahorites*.

1. The ISHMAELITES, or Hagarenes. Hagar, when cast forth by Abraham, dwelt with her son in the wilderness of Paran, to the North of Arabia.§ Faithfully was the divine promise of temporal prosperity in favour of Ishmael's seed fulfilled;|| and his twelve sons became “twelve princes ac-

* After enumerating the children of Joktân, it is added “and their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest, unto Sephar, a mount of the East.” (*Genesis* x 30.) It does not appear to us that any successful attempt has been made to identify the names here specified with any existing ones, but the *direction* of the country indicated is clear enough.

† Forster as usual presses his similarities and inversions of names beyond the bounds of legitimate argument, and frequently into the region of mere fancy. Yet we may admit that Hazarmafêth is perpetuated in *Hadhramaut*; and perhaps Havilah and Sheba in the *Khaulân* and *Saba* of the present day. M. C. de Perceval, as well as Forster, identifies Uzal with *Awzâl*, the ancient name of a canton of Sana (I. 40.) It may also be conceded, that the *Ophir* of the Bible belongs to the south-western coast of Arabia, and was so denominated from one of the sons of Joktân. Of these names, however, Havilah belongs also to the Cushite line; and Sheba both to the Abrahamic and Cushite families, and in the slightly different form of Seba to another Cushite branch. The latter name appears to be distinguished from the former in Ps. lxxii. 10. The “kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts,” or as in the prayer-book version, “The kings of Arabia and Saba,” so also verse 15. Mareb, called also *Saba* anciently, may have some connection with the Joktânide Sheba and the famous queen of Solomon's time, but the name cannot with certainty be attributed to either line exclusive of the other. (*Forster's Arabia* I. 154, et seq. *Rosenmüller's Geography*, III. 298.)

‡ Gen. x. 25—1 Chron. i. 19. § Gen. xxi. 21—xxv. 18 || Gen. xvii. 20.

ording to their nations."* These fruitful tribes probably first extended along the frontier of Arabia, from the northern extremity of the Red Sea towards the mouth of the Euphrates.† They appear to have occupied each a separate district, and followed a Nomad life, in moveable encampments, with perhaps fortified places of refuge for their cattle.‡ They seem also to have practised merchandize, and were probably from this cause wealthy and influential. Of the progeny of Ishmael, *Nebaioth*, the first born, proved the source of the Nabathean nation, who succeeded the Idumeans in Arabia Petrea, and whom we find at the commencement of our era holding a wide political influence in Northern Arabia.

The second son, *Kedar*, was so famous in his Arab descendants, that the epithet *Kedarenes* came to be applied by the Jews to the Bedouins in general.§ Less noted are the names of *Duma*, *Thema*, *Jetur*, and *Naphish*.|| The progeny of the remaining sons either mingled with other tribes, or penetrating the Peninsula, have escaped historical record.

2. KETURAH bore to Abraham six sons; and these he sent away to the eastward while he yet lived.¶ Their descendants, it is probable, established themselves as Nomad

* Gen. xxv. 16.

† "They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria." (Gen. xxv. 18.) This means probably from the margin of the Persian Gulph to the south-east angle of the Mediterranean Sea.

‡ (Gen. xxv. 16.) "These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles: twelve princes according to their nations." (Cnf. Rosenmüller, III. 143, and the translator's note.) The "towns" probably meant moveable villages of tents, and the "castles" fortified folds for protection in time of war.

§ (Vide Rosenmüller, III. 145.—Kitto's *Cyclopædia*. Art., KEDAR.) It has been conjectured that this tribe dwelt next to the Israelites, who being best acquainted with them, applied their name to the Arab nation generally. In the time of Isaiah, M. C. de Perceval holds the posterity of Ishmael to have been divided into two branches, those of Kedar and Nebaioth (the Arabic Nâbit.) "All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee." (Is. lx. 7.)

|| Duma is perhaps preserved in *Dumat al Jandal*, a town about half-way between the mouths of the Nile and the Persian Gulph. Thema corresponds with more than one Arab place called *Tayma*. Both Duma and Thema are noticed as Arabian in Is. xxi. 11 & 14. For other scriptural notices of Thema, (see Rosenmüller, III. 147. *Jetur* and *Naphish* are mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 19—20, as in alliance with the Hagarenes, vanquished in the time of Saul. From *Jetur* may come *Iturea*, and perhaps the present *Jedur*. (Rosenmüller, *ibid*.)

¶ C. de Perceval would identify the progeny of Ketura with the Bani Catura, who settled at Mecca along with the Jorhomites; but the connection seems to be nothing more than the similarity of name. The descendants of Ketura resided in the North of the Peninsula, while the Bani Catura came to Mecca from the South.

It is also very unlikely that so many tribes having descended from Ketura's sons, any one of them should continue for seventeen or eighteen centuries to be called exclusively by her name. This instance exhibits the danger of following mere similarity of name, even when the philosophy and caution of M. C. de Perceval are at hand: how much greater the danger when those qualities are absent!

tribes throughout the great Desert in the North of Arabia. The *Midianites*, sprung from the fourth son, soon increased into an extensive people. With the Moabites they endeavoured to obstruct the progress of the children of Israel towards the Holy Land, and in the time of the Judges, they overpowered the same nation for seven years.* *Dedan* and *Sheba*, children of Jokshân, the second son of Ketura, are also connected with Arab associations.†

3. The EDOMITES or IDUMEANS, descendants of Esau. This race early peopled the country of Arabia Petrea. Their capital was Mount Seir, whence they expelled the aboriginal Horites, and succeeded to their possessions.‡ Two grand-sons, Zeman§ and Amalek,|| became the progenitors of separate

* (*Numb. xxxi. 2, &c. Judges vi. 1.*) They would appear then to have spoken the same language as the Israelites, for Gideon understood the Midianite reciting his dream. (*Judges vii. 15*)—*Cnf. Is lx. 16*, where a tribe of the name of Midian is mentioned as famous for its breed of camels.

† *Shuach*, the sixth son, may also be connected with the Arab tribe noticed in Job ii. 11; and if so, his family must have continued to inhabit the North of the Peninsula. *Sheba* may also be related to the tribe noted in Job i. 15, as in the vicinity of Uz. (*Forster, l. 327.*) The nation of *Dedan* settled near Idumea, and is repeatedly spoken of by the prophets in that connection.

‡ The blessing of "the fatness of the earth, and the dew from heaven," was given by Isaac to Esau. (*Gen. xxvii. 39.*) As to their country, see Deut. ii. 12. The cause of their first leaving Canaan and settling at Mount Seir should be noted as illustrative of the influences, which would urge the Abrahamic races onwards in the direction of Central Arabia. Esau "went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob, for their riches were more than that they might dwell together, and the land where-in they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle, thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir. Esau is Edom." (*Gen. xxxvi. 6—8.*)

§ Job. ii. 11.—Jerem. xlix. 7.

|| There is no doubt that a nation of Amalekites descended from Amalek, the grand-son of Esau. After enumerating Amalek among the six grand-sons of Esau, by "Alphaz," Josephus proceeds: "These dwelt in that part of Idumea called Gebalitis, and in that denominated from Amalek, *Amalekitis*," &c. (*Antiq. II. 1.*) In describing the attack of the Amalekites on Moses, he specifies their country as "Gobolitis and Petra." (III. 2); and in the time of Saul, he speaks of them as seated "from Pelusium to the Red Sea." (VI. 7. 3.—*I Sam. xv. 7.*) The objection grounded on the sudden increase of the tribe is well answered by Ryland, for Israel had increased with equal rapidity; and besides, a warlike and successful people would attract adherents from other tribes (as we find in the after history of Arabia), and all would fight under one banner and be called by one name.

The notice of the "country of the Amalekites" as smitten by Chedorlaomer (*Gen. xiv. 7.*) refers to a period long anterior to the birth of Amalek; but it is remarkable, that while other conquered nations (the *Rephaims*, &c.) are spoken of simply as such, the "country of the Amalekites" is specified. It is hence deduced with likelihood, that what is meant is "the people inhabiting the country afterwards peopled by the *Amalekites*," otherwise we must of course hold that there was another nation of Amalekites, not of Abrahamic descent.

Morren holds that the Amalekites are not descendants of Esau, and that they were never associated with Esau's posterity either by Jewish or Arab tradition. (*Vide his note at p. 219, Vol. III. of Rosenmüller's Geography, and IDUMEA in Kitto's Cyclopaedia.*) But Arab tradition for the period in question is valueless; and both Josephus and the Old Testament favor the opposite view. (*Vide, in the same Cyclopaedia, Art. AMALEK, by Ryland, which is more satisfactory.*)

Michaelis also regards the Amalekites as identical with the Canaanites. But M. C.

Arab tribes. The Amalekites had at least a partial seat at Petra, and the country about the head of the Red Sea, till near the year 700 B. C., when they were driven thence, probably in a southern direction. The Mahometan legends speak of Amalekite tribes as the earliest inhabitants both of Medina, of Mecca, and of the country towards Syria.

4. The NAHORITES. Uz and Buz, the sons of Nahor, Abraham's brother, were the progenitors of extensive tribes to the North of Arabia; and the Bible repeatedly refers to them in this connexion.*

5. The MOABITES and AMMONITES, descended from the two sons of Lot, are prominent in scriptural history. They lived more North than any of the other nations specified; their most southerly stations lay East of the Dead Sea, and comprised the fine pasture lands of Balcâa and Kerek.

From this brief survey, it cannot but have struck even the casual observer, that a singular number of distinct and yet most populous tribes sprang from the Patriarch Abraham, or from collateral branches, and that they must have occupied a position of very commanding influence in the North of Arabia, throughout which the greater part of them spread abroad. The sacred writers, from their site in Palestine, noticed only such of these tribes as lived upon its border, or inhabited the vicinity; but we are not to conclude that the progeny of Abraham were confined to that quarter. The natural expansiveness of nations in those early days, while the earth was yet imperfectly peopled, and the Nomad habits of the race, would force them on towards the South and East; and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that a large portion of the central and northern plains and high lands of Arabia was peopled by them, or by nations closely allied and blended with them.

This conclusion is strengthened by the indisputable evidence of *tradition* and of *language*. The popular voice of some of the tribes asserted their descent from Abraham, and even as far South as Mecca, the opinion was current before the time of Mahomet. No doubt it is very improbable that this tradition was from the remote age of the Patriarch handed down in a

de Perceval, on the contrary, holds them to be the descendants of Esau through Amalek. We concur in his view, that the Amalekites of Arabian tradition refer to the same people, but in a vague and general sense, which embraces many other tribes of Abraham's descent. (*Essai*. I. 22.)

* Uz is referred to in Job. i. 1.—Lament. iv. 21.—Jerem. xxv. 20. From the latter passage, the country of Uz would seem to have been of some extent. Buz is mentioned among other Arab tribes, in Is. xxv. 23, and Job. xxxii. 2 most likely refers to the same people. (*Rosenm.* III. 138.)

direct and independent line, and that it was not supported by the records of the Jews, if not entirely borrowed from them. Still the fact of its gaining even a partial and intermittent currency in any tribe, affords a strong presumption that the tribe was really of Abrahamic descent or connection; and that in its habits, its language, or its religious tenets, it possessed common points and associations derived from its origin, which naturally fell in with the tradition and occasioned its adoption.

Still stronger is the evidence derived from the close affinity of the *Arabic language* to that spoken by the Israelitish branch of the Abrahamic stock. The identity of both tongues, as to nine-tenths of the Hebrew roots, the similarity of declension, and the analogy of idiom and construction, are so striking, as to point indubitably to one ethnological origin. Besides the Arabic, there was current at least one other tongue, the Himyaritic, in the South of Arabia. But there, too, at last, the Arabic gained the ascendancy. It had long been the language of song and of oratory among the wild Bedouins even of Yemen extraction (while the Himyar speech was confined to the settled population in and about the towns); and eventually, with the help of Islam, it altogether displaced its rival.* So wide a diffusion in Arabia of the most polished branch of the Syro-Arabian language, affords a corresponding evidence of the prevalence of Abrahamic blood. The conclusion is important, and must be borne in mind; for it may help towards the explanation of some of the peculiarities of the Meccan worship.

But while it is undeniable that a great proportion of the tribes of Northern and Central Arabia were of Abrahamic descent, we have no materials for tracing their history for near two thousand years. Severed from the rest of the world by inhospitable deserts, and dissociated from civilized society by an insuperable diversity of manners and customs, the Arabs who inhabited this tract of country passed through these long ages unnoticed and unknown, while our knowledge of the race is confined to the casual accounts of the few border tribes which came in contact with the Jewish and Roman Governments, and to a casual glimpse (as in the case of the Queen of Sheba

* When Mahomet sent Ayash, son of Abu Rabi'a, to the Himyarites, he bade him tell them to "translate into Arabic the Coran, when they repeated it in another tongue." فاذا رطنوا نقل ترجموا (*Wachidi*, p. 55.) This appears to imply the currency then of the Himyar language; but it did not long survive the inroads of Islam.

All the ancient fragments of ante-islamitic poetry, even among the pure Cahtânite Bedouins (who were aboriginal of Yemen) were in *Arabic*. We hear of no *Himyar* poetry whatever. (*C. de Perceval's Essai*, I. 57.)

and the Roman expedition, farther back. We may not, however, doubt, that during the five-and-twenty centuries which elapsed between Abraham and Mahomet, the mutual relations of the Arab tribes were undergoing an uninterrupted succession of those revolutions and changes to which human society, especially when broken up into numerous independent fragments, is ever exposed. Some of the tribes, like the Horijus of old, may have been extirpated; others, as the Amalekites of Petra, driven from their original seats; some may have migrated to distant settlements, or have merged themselves in other more commanding bodies; while intermarriage, conquest, and phylarchical revolution may have often united races of different origin, and severed those sprung from a common stock.* But of such changes, excepting in one or two border tribes, we have no record.

In the absence of any annals of Central Arabia, it remains for us to gather up and bring together the brief notices which are to be found of the north-western outskirts of the Peninsula.

As early as the time of Jacob, some of the Abrahamic races had already undertaken commerce, for we find the Ishmaelites even then carrying to Egypt upon their camels the spicy products of the East.† The facilities of transport, which those invaluable animals present, coupled with the position of Arabia, secured to its inhabitants from the earliest period the privilege of carrying the merchandize of the South and of the East; and one of the chief lines of traffic lay through Arabia Petrea.

The Idumeans and Amalekites, as we have already seen, supplanted the aboriginal inhabitants of Mount Seir, and settled themselves in Petra. A monarchical government was early set up by them, and we find in the writings of Moses, the record of several of the dynasties and the seats of their government in Edom.‡ They obstructed the passage of the Is-

* That the Arabs of Northern Arabia were a mixed people of intermingled races, is gathered from the express notices of Scripture. Thus in Jerem. xxv. 24, after enumerating several Arab tribes, it is added, "and all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert." So also in the times of Moses and Gideon, the indiscriminate use of the terms *Ishmaelite* and *Midianite* argued that these races did not keep entirely distinct.

† Gen. xxxvii. 28.

‡ Vide Gen. xxxvi. 13, &c., and Exod. xv. 15. These passages mention both a *kingly* and a *ducal* government. Rosenmüller supposes that the kingly government existed only in the north-east of Edom, while simultaneously a patriarchal or oligarchical rule by "dukes" subsisted at Mount Seir. He thus reconciles Deut. ii. 4-8, with Numb. xx. 14: "It is by others ingeniously supposed, that the change from an oligarchy to a monarchy, took place during the wanderings of the children of Israel." (Rosenmüller, III. 185.—*Kitto's Cyclopaedia: Art. IDUMEA.*)

raelites into Palestine; and they were attacked and overthrown by Saul and by David.* A series of interesting political relations then commenced between Judea and Petrea. The whole of the latter country was garrisoned by David; a naval station was established by Solomon at Ezion-geber or Elath,† the modern Akaba; and there he fitted out a fleet to bring him gold from Ophir. During the reign of Solomon, the communications between Arabia and the Jewish Government were frequent and intimate. The artificers and seamen to build and to man the fleet would, in part at least, be drawn from the natives of the country; the expedition to Ophir would bring the coasting establishment into contact with the maritime tribes; and Solomon himself patronized the Arab caravans, and encouraged "the traffic of the spice merchants," and of the "chapmen," who, no doubt, carried back glowing accounts of what they had seen among the Jews. The renown of the Jewish monarch was so great throughout Arabia, that the Queen of the distant Sheba set out to gratify her curiosity; for "the report which she had heard in her own land" was so marvellous, that "she believed it not till she came and her eyes had seen it."‡ His political supremacy was also acknowledged, for "all the kings of Arabia, and governors of the country, brought gold and silver unto Solomon." Nor was this connexion transient.

time

About a century later, we find that Idumea was governed by a Jewish viceroy,§ and that Jehoshaphat built another fleet at Ezion-geber, which was wrecked by a tempest. In the following reign the inhabitants rebelled; and though they were subsequently reduced by Amaziah, who conquered Sela or Petra, and gave it the name of *Joktheel*, and by Uzziah, "who built Elath," or Akaba, "and restored it to Judah;" yet they eventually became independent of the Jews.|| After an ascendancy

* The predatory attack of the Amalekites on Ziklag, and David's pursuit and recovery of the spoil and of the prisoners, are highly illustrative of Arab life. The surprise of the encampment, and the slaughter of all "save four hundred young men, which rode upon camels and fled," remind one of many a raid in the time of Mahomet fifteen or sixteen centuries later. (See the account in 1 *Sam.* xxx.)

† "And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Elath, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom." (1 *Kings* ix. 26—2 *Chron.* viii. 17.)

‡ "She came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold and precious stones." (1 *Kings* x. 2.) "Neither was there any such spice as the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon." (2 *Chron.* ix. 9.)

§ (1 *Kings* xxii. 47—*Rosenmüller*, III. 187.) This "deputy," called elsewhere the king of Edom, joined the Israelitish and Jewish monarch in an attack upon the Moabites. (2 *Kings* iii. 9, 12, 26.)

|| This corresponds with the address of Isaac to Esau. "By thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." (*Gen.* xxvii. 40.)

of nearly two centuries, the Jews in their turn began to suffer from the Edomites. In the reign of Ahaz, they made incursions into Judea, and carried off many captives. Rezin, king of Syria, after besieging Jerusalem (742 B. C.) expelled the Jews from Elath, and reinstated the Edomites in its possession.* But we find a few years later, that a body of the tribe of Simeon made a successful attack upon Petrea, where a remnant of the Amalekites still dwelt, and finally ejected them from thence: the movement was, however, partial, and did not affect the general prosperity of the Edomites. Unchecked by the Jews, they prosecuted in peace their mercantile speculations, and extended themselves on all sides from Bostra on the North to Dedan on the South.† They took advantage of the adversities of the Jewish nation to appropriate to themselves the southern part of Judea, from which, however, they were driven by the Maccabees; ‡ and they were in part at least finally incorporated among the Jews by John Hyrcanus, who forced them to submit to circumcision and other Jewish customs.§

But before this period, the Idumeans had already been supplanted in their southern possessions by the Ishmaelitish tribe of the NABATHEANS. These had probably lived hitherto in the Desert or by the Red Sea, and followed the occupations of a Nomad and of a mercantile life.|| They now took possession of Petra, and thence commanded the traffic which flowed northward from Western Arabia. We first hear of them three centuries before the Christian era, baffling the attacks of the Macedonian monarchs of Babylon, at the approach of whose armies they dispersed their flocks in the unapproachable Deserts, and defended their other property behind the rocky ramparts of Petra. On one of these occasions, their steady adherence to mercantile pursuits is exemplified by the absence

* 2 Kings xvi. 6, as explained by Rosenmüller, III. 188.

† This is evident from allusions in the Prophets:—*Jer.* xlix. 8, 20—22.—*Is.* xxxiv. 6; lxiii. 1.—*Ezek.* xxv. 13.—*Rosenm.* III. 189. See also *Ezek.* xxvii. 16, as rendered by Heeren. Addressing the Phenicians, the prophet says, "Edom also managed thy trade, and thy great affairs; emeralds, purple, broided work, cotton, bezoar, and precious stones, she gave thee for the wares thou deliveredst to her." (*Asiatic Researches*, II. 102.)

‡ 1 Maccabees. v.

§ Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9, 1; see also the authorities quoted by the translator, Whiston. It is remarkable that the Idumeans, though clearly of Abrahamic stock, did not previously practise the rite of circumcision, the more so as the other Abrahamic tribes farther South appear never to have foregone it.

|| See an elaborate paper by *M. Quatremere*, *Journ. Asiatique.*, *Jann. Fevr. Mars*, 1835. After noticing that the Nabatheans are not alluded to either in Scripture (wherein he seems mistaken), or by Herodotus, he adds that the Greek and Latin authors, "tous s'accordent à placer dans l'Arabie la contrée qu'occupait cette nation, moins guerrière qu'active et industrieuse." (*Page 6, tome xv.*)

of most of the men, who are noticed as having been engaged in a commercial expedition. Their manners and habits, as described by Diodorus Siculus, coincide remarkably with those of the Arabs of the present day. Passionately fond of freedom, their home was the inviolable Desert, where the springs were known to themselves alone, and whither, in perfect security, they betook themselves, with their flocks and their herds of camels, when attacked by a foreign foe.

Such was the independent kingdom of the Nabatheans. It was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the West, by Egypt; on the North, by Syria and Palestine, and on the South and East by the Desert and the Aelanitic Gulph; but in the latter direction, its borders, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, advanced some way along the shores of the Red Sea, and into the heart of the Peninsula. Pliny refers to them as the Arabians next to Syria.* And their monarchs, "the kings of Arabia," are frequently noticed in the later annals of the Jews and of the Romans, under the names of Aretas and Obodas.†

Whilst the prosperity of the Nabatheans was at its height, a singular attack was made by the Romans upon the spicy regions of Arabia Felix. About the year 24 B. C., during the reign of Augustus, Aelius Gallus set out in command of a Roman army of 10,000 men, assisted by Obodas, king of Petra, with a thousand of his Nabatheans and five hundred Jews. The expedition started from Cleopatra or Suez, and having reached Leuke Come (probably *Haurá*),‡ a port of Nabathea, on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea, was there delayed by sickness for a year. The Roman army, beguiled by the treachery of the Nabathean minister, then traversed by circuitous and difficult routes, a country alternately desert and fertile. After a march of many days, they passed through the friendly country of Aretas, a Nabathean and a kinsman of Obodas. At last they reached and took *Mariaba*, a city six miles in circumference, and from thence proceeded to *Marsyaba*, the siege of which, from the strength of its fortifications, and the scarcity of water, they were obliged to raise: they then retreated hurriedly along the coast toward the North. The advance, owing to the artifices of the Arabs, and the asperity of the

* In Nabateis, qui sunt ex Arabia contermini Syriæ. (*Hist. Nat.* XII. 37.)

† Aretas and Obodas are the Greek forms of *Harith* and *Obeid*, or *Abad*, or *Abbâd*. The name of Aretas is common in Jewish and Roman history. The Arabian wife of Herod Antipas, will be in the memory of all, as the daughter of Aretas, king of the Arabians; and the Aretas of Damascus is familiar to every reader of the Bible (2 *Cor.* xi. 32.) In the weak reign of Caligula, he had seized upon Damascus. (See also *Joseph de Bell. Jud.* I. 4. 7.—*Antiq.* XIII. 15. 1.)

‡ See *M. Quatremere's Mem. Journ. As.*, XV. 36.

way, occupied six months; the retreat, only two. From a port called Nera Come, they again embarked for *Myos Hormos*, on the Egyptian Coast. In Mariaba and Marsyaba have been traced the names of Mârel and Saba, capitals of Yemen;* but there is a singular obscurity in the account of this transaction given by Strabo and Pliny, and though the former was a personal friend of Aelius Gallus, and his narrative may therefore be depended upon, it seems impossible, except in a very few instances, to recognize with confidence the names of the towns, or peoples, or districts through which the expedition passed.† Neither do we gain much knowledge as to the social

* Mareb, as we have seen above, was anciently called also Saba. They may have formed two capitals; or the one have been the appellation of the district, the other of the capital. Some Arabic geographers say that Saba was the name of the city, Mareb of the royal residence. May they not both have been combined into one name Mar Saba, or Marsyaba? (*C. de Perc.* l. 53—*Walte Brun's Geography*, B. xxx., p. 215.) The reader, who is curious to follow out this question, should consult two very elaborate, ingenious, and learned papers in the *Journal Asiatique*, for July and September, 1840, by M. Fulgence Fresnel, who endeavours to reconcile the varying statements of Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy. The writer exhibits some curious recognitions, in modern names, of the ancient appellations, but the general impression is one of surprise, that out of such extensive materials, so little common ground has been discovered between *Classical* and *Mahometan* Arabia, especially, when we consider how stationary upon the whole are the names of places and tribes in that country.

† This obscurity is not to be wondered at. The genius of the Arabic language so foreign in its structure and pronunciation to the Roman ear, the strangeness of the country, and the bewilderment occasioned by the unfriendly and circuitous guidance of the Arab allies, would involve the route, as well as the name, in uncertainty.

Mr. Forster says of Arabia, that "the writers of antiquity possessed both more 'extensive and more accurate information than ourselves' (l. 35.) This conclusion, without very great modification, we believe to be erroneous. If confined to some tracts on the north-west of Arabia, and to Yemen, or at least to the space between Oman and Yemen, (as it is by M. F. Fresnel, *Journal Asiatique*, Juillet, 1840, p. 84.) it becomes more intelligible; for those parts then possessed a Government in some measure civilized, and held communications with Europe. But as to the Peninsula generally, our knowledge is surely now much more extensive and accurate than that of the Ancients. In their time, indeed, there was less of exclusive bigotry; but the inhabitants were infinitely more barbarous, and their sub-division into a thousand independent sections would render the acquisition of any general view of the country nearly impossible. Now, on the contrary, although Islam has excluded *unbelievers* from a small and sacred circuit, yet it has united the Arabians under a common supremacy, and rendered it easy to gain concentrated information. We have now the advantages at many various points of a civilized and often literary population; of geographical works by the Arabs themselves; of professional travellers, both Mahometans and others; of a European settlement at Aden; of scientific surveys of the coast, and of much internal geography, illustrated by the wars in Arabia, from those of Mahomet to the extensive operations undertaken by the Pacha of Egypt in the present century for the subjugation of the Wahabites. Much of Arabia is still unexplored, but there is reason to believe that such portions of it are chiefly sandy deserts.

But whatever may have been the knowledge of the Roman geographers, it appears to us, that Mr. Forster has failed in obtaining from them any intelligible account of the route of Aelius Gallus. The arguments by which he carries the Roman commander across nearly the whole of Arabia seem to be singularly fanciful. The time passed is no decisive argument. Six months might very well be wasted by an artful Arab in conducting, by devious and difficult passages, an army from a port on the North of the Hedjâz along the Meccan range of hills to Negrân, and thence to Yemen. Delay in carrying a body of troops through a difficult and hostile country is not to be estimated by the marches which an unnumbered traveller makes. A



or political state of Central and Northern Arabia. The most important fact brought to light, as connected with our present survey, is the wide range occupied by the Nabathean Government; for it possessed a port for commerce some way down the Red Sea, and was connected inland, as in the case of Aretas, with influential off-shoots of the same tribe.

The kingdom of Nabathea, thus extensive and powerful at this period, became gradually dependent upon Rome; and was at last subdued by Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria (A. D. 105), and annexed to the vast empire of Trajan. Out of its ruins sprang up, in due time, other phases of border government, and these eventually formed themselves into the Ghassânide Kingdom. But the history of the dynasty of Ghassân cannot be developed without the aid of Mahometan tradition, (on which it is not our intention in the present article to trench, and) which, at this era, begins first to cast the glimmer of an imperfect twilight upon Arabia.

In the Amalekites and Nabatheans we recognize very plainly

considerable period must also have been spent in sieges and warlike operations. In the retreat, on the contrary, a direct and much easier road was indicated, and it was traversed with all possible expedition.

We have little faith in many of Mr. Forster's conclusions. His sanguine belief in the identity of places, appears often to increase with the difference of name, and the amount of mystical *anagrammatical inversion*, which is impalpable to ordinary eyes and ears. He thus identifies *Caripeta* with *Cariatain*: "This name has needlessly perplexed the critics. *Caripeta* is an easy and obvious misnomer, probably of transcribers, for *Cariata*, an inland town previously mentioned by Pliny and the seat apparently of his *Carrei*, and *Cariata* exists at this day, on the very route in question, the Nedjd road to Yemen, in the town of *Kariatain*." (II. 314.) But *Kariatain* thus forced into resemblance with *Caripeta*, is a common appellation grounded on a grammatical formation: it is the dual of the word "village," and signifies "the two villages;" and thus has no connexion either with *Caripeta* or *Cariata*, the latter of which would signify "(single) village." Again Mr. Forster "recovers" the *Calingü* of Pliny in the *Beni Khalid* of the present day, from the resemblance of the names! (*Ibid.*, 311.)

Mr. Forster takes credit to himself for another discovery: "The author at length was led to observe in the well known classical denominations, *Katabani*, *Kotabanum*, or *Kabatanum*, and *Kattabeni* or *Kottabani*, so many easy inversions of the name *Beni Kahtan*." (I. 83.) This again is identified with the *Bana* of Ptolemy (p. 84), and *Baenum* (p. 91.) But it is in the last degree improbable, that the classics should have taken the common prefix (Beni) to every tribe; and in this case placed it at the end of the name, and otherwise incorporated it with the word. To trace any connection between *Bana*, *Baenum*, and *Beni Kahtan*, is simply absurd. Again, by an "anagram or inversion, the *Mesha* of Moses, and the *Zames* Mons of the classical geographers prove to be one and the same name" (p. 99.) These are also identified with *Masæmanes*, *Mishma*, or *Mashma* Sumama, and are finally "contracted into Shaman or Saman!" (p. 100.)

Diklah, the Joktânide, is "clearly discernible" in the modern Dhu'l Khalaah, Dhulkelastæ. "The names Diklah, Dhulkelastæ, and Dhu'l Khalaah, will be readily recognized by orientlists, as one and the same in pronunciation" (p. 148.) Few orientlists will admit this, besides that the modern name is evidently a compound, formed by the possessive *Dhu*. Contractions usually occur after the lapse of years, but here Mr. Forster would have us reverse the process; and assigning the *developed* name to the moderns, refer the contraction of it to the times of Moses!

the descendants of Esau and of Ishmael. It is not necessary to suppose that a conscious knowledge of this descent always rested in the nations themselves, or that the tradition descended among them without interruption or cessation. The vicissitudes occasioned by conquest, migration, and foreign connection, render it, in the last degree, improbable that a clear sense of traditional origin would be preserved for so many centuries by a barbarous people possessed of no recorded memorials. Yet the circumstances of name and location would themselves suggest the probability of this descent in the mind of those possessed of the Mosaic record; and we find in the Jewish authors, inspired and uninspired, sufficient indications that such conclusion was actually drawn. The natural inference would, from time to time, spread from the Jews to the tribes themselves whom it concerned, and reinforce the imperfect remnants of loose tradition still lingering in their mind, their habits, or their language. The Jews so extensively peopled the north-west of Arabia, and at one time possessed so great political and social influence there, that their scriptural and traditional accounts of patriarchal times must necessarily have obtained a wide notoriety, and commanded a general acceptance among the Abrahamic tribes. When the latter, therefore, by the increase of population, migratory habit, or the force of war, were driven southward into Central Arabia, they no doubt carried with them, and re-produced in the new settlements, their patriarchal traditions.

We learn from Mahometan tradition, that the earliest inhabitants of Mecca, Medina, and the desert Syria, were Amalekites; and that it was an Amalekite tribe, which, attracted to Mecca by the well Zamzam, there received and nurtured the youthful Ishmael and his forlorn mother. The legend is a myth, or rather a travestied plagiarism from Scripture. Amalekite or Idumean tribes were no doubt scattered over the country, and formed either the aboriginal population of Mecca, or settled there, perhaps in conjunction with immigrants from Yemen, at a very remote period. Subsequently, an Ishmaelitic tribe, either Nabathean, or of some collateral stock, came thither also, and acquired great influence. It brought along with it the patriarchal legend of Abrahamic origin, and engrafted it upon the local superstition, which was either native or imported from Yemen; and thus arose the mongrel worship of the Kaaba, and the Ishmaelitic legends, of which Mahomet took so great advantage.*

* It hardly needs to be added, that this theory is quite independent of the question, whether the *Nabatheans* were an Ishmaelitic race. We believe them to have been

Regarding the religious tenets and customs of the Abrahamic races of Arabia, we have but scanty information. That they originally possessed a knowledge of GOD, and of the verities which exercised the faith of Abraham, cannot be doubted. We are assured by the inspired pen-man, that Abraham cared for the moral culture and religious training of his progeny; and for some time at least, "they kept the way

so, and their wide-spread shoots (as evidenced by the story of Aelius Gallus,) present a ready source for an Ishmaelish settlement at Mecca; but as far as regards the theory stated in the text, it may have been any other Abrahamic tribe, possessed through intimacy with the Jews, of the necessary patriarchal legend of descent from Ishmael, &c.

On the special question of the affiliation of the Nabatheans, M. Quatremere (*Journ. As.*, XV. 98,) and after him M. C. de Perceval (I. 35) hold that they are not Arabs; but the latter admits that "the rams of Nebaioth" (*Is.* lx. 7) refer to the Nabatheans "(Nâbit des Arabes,) *la postérité d' Ishmael.*" (I. 180.)

M. Quatremere's arguments against the position are: I. That the Nabatheans are not reckoned by the Mahometans as Arabs, which they would have been if descended from Ishmael. But the reason why they are not so reckoned, is because of their foreign dialect and manner, acquired by settlement in the northern country, and their contact with the Syrians and Chaldeans (*C. de Perc.*, I. 37.) They spoke Chaldean as well as Arabic, and the former infused itself into the idiom of the latter. The Arabs, punctilious above all things in the purity of their tongue, excluded these barbarous speakers of it from the pale of Arabs, and by consequence from the privilege of a supposed descent from Ishmael. An intelligent Hajji, who had lately travelled in Arabia, when questioned about this tribe, gave just this reply: "They are still extant," he said; "but they do not speak pure Arabic, and are not therefore strictly speaking Arabs." II. Arab tradition does not mention this descent; but Arab tradition is original and trustworthy only as far back as the Christian era, and then only for a few particulars regarding the ancestry of the Coreish. Beyond that it is mere plagiarism from the Jews, and possesses no authority. It appears to us most uncritical to rest upon it at all: much more to place it (as M. Quatremere has done) in a successful antagonism as evidence to disprove the plain intimations of the Old Testament. III.

The name of the Arab tribe is written with a ط (نباط or نبط) whereas "Nebaioth," the son of Ishmael, is written both in Hebrew and Arabic with a ت (نابت or نبيت) There is no doubt that the Arabs do make this difference, and if their authority were that of a witness speaking from original knowledge, it would have much weight; but this we have shown not to be the case. Besides, the two letters are not invariably kept distinct. In another of the sons of Ishmael, *Tem*, the Hebrew letter corresponding with ت is rendered

by ط thus ~~ط~~ (Vide Wäckidi, p. 8.) IV. Lastly, the Mahometans are acquainted with a tribe called Nabatheans, and ascribe to them a different origin, some tracing the descent from Ham, others from Shem, but none from Ishmael. To this again we reply that their evidence is mere conjecture and no authority whatever; otherwise, it would follow that the Mahometans allude to some other tribe under the name *Anbât*, different from the Nabatheans of the Jews and Classics.

It will be objected that if a Nabathean tribe settled at Mecca, its own tradition of descent from Ishmael would have prevented the Mahometan opinion as to the non-Arab origin of the Nabathean tribe. But it is not necessary to suppose that the tribe which settled at Mecca was called Nabathean. It may have dropped that name as being by repute un-Arabic, or it may never have been called by it. The great Nabathean nation possessed wide-spread settlements in various quarters. Many of these had probably their own names, though all styled by foreigners under the generic title of Nabatheans.

Still if the objection be deemed insuperable, it is not necessary to hold that the Meccan Ishmaelites were Nabatheans: they may have been Kedarenes, or any other Ishmaelish race, in which the traditional descent was kept alive by Jewish aid.

ط

of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.”* The Midianites, four centuries after Abraham, still retained that knowledge; and Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, appears to have been a priest of the True God.† The mode, again, in which Balaam, the son of Beor, addressed Balak, the king of the Moabites, and the nature of the rites performed at the interview between them, prove, that however much they may have fallen away from the practice enjoined by the faith of Abraham, they yet preserved some knowledge of its truths. Thus also the whole tenor of the sayings of Job, who was planted in the centre of the Abrahamic races, and of his friends, who were of various Abrahamic tribes, implies a minute acquaintance with traditional and pure religion. It is reasonable to infer, that such knowledge was general, and that it was kept up for many generations amongst the branches of the stock of Abraham.

We gather at the same time, that these tribes manifested a rapid and widely spread departure from the simplicity of Abraham’s worship, and the purity of his doctrines. The seeds of this defection were already sown in the family of the Patriarch’s father, Terah, who “served other gods.”‡ In the third generation from Nahor, we read of the teraphim or images of Laban.§ Intimations occur of the Israelites committing idolatry in their journey to Palestine;|| and they probably did so through the example of some of the Abrahamic tribes inhabiting those regions. One instance is expressly detailed, in which they were induced by the Moabites to join in the worship of their idol, Baal Peor.¶ Similarly we find that many centuries after, the Idumeans of Petra exercised a similar influence, for the Jewish King Amaziah, after he “was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them.”** Such indeed is the result which we should naturally expect;

* (*Gen.* xviii. 19.) The expressions used are general, and not confined to the branch of Isaac:—“For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the LORD, and do justice and judgment, that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.”

† Compare *Exod.* ii. 16, iii. 1, with *Exod.* xviii. 11 & 12.

‡ *Joshua* xxiv. 2.

§ (*Gen.* xxxi. 19.) Whatever these teraphim were, they intimate at least some departure from the pure worship and belief of Abraham.

|| *Amos* v. 26—*Acts* vii. 42.

¶ *Numbers* xxv. 1, &c.

** *2 Chron.* xxv. 14.

with the same irresistible tendencies towards idolatry as the Israelites, but without the constant checks which repressed them, it would have been wonderful indeed if they had not fallen into gross and debasing Paganism.

Declension into idolatry must, in the end, have displaced the memory both of Abraham and his religion, had not the neighbourhood and intercourse of the Jews, as they revived the knowledge of patriarchal descent, supplied likewise an acquaintance with the purer faith of their common progenitor. Political connexion with the Jews settled every here and there in Arabia, and the frequent passage of the Arab caravans through the borders of Palestine and Syria, would deepen and extend this knowledge. How far it affected the tenets and practices of the Arabs generally, we have no exact means of knowing; circumcision was received amongst them apparently as an Abrahamic rite, and the story of Abraham, grievously distorted indeed, and shorn of its spiritual bearing, but yet possessing a germ of truth, was current at Mecca prior to Islam, and was inwrought into some of the ritual observances of the Kaaba.

The rise of Christianity, and the confirmation given by its missionaries to the main drift of such traditional facts, would impart to them fresh credit. The birth-place of this new religion bordered close upon the residence of the Ishmaelite Arabs, and its political influence soon became paramount in Nabathea and Idumea: both circumstances would expose the inhabitants to the frequent solicitations of the earliest missionaries. Paul himself spent some time in their country.* In the beginning of the third century, we find the governor of Arabia anxious to learn the doctrines of Origen, and sending an urgent summons for him through the Prefect of Egypt. Shortly after, a heresy having gained ground in Arabia, which represented the soul as perishing at death, to be raised again at the judgment day, a numerous synod was assembled, and Origen being again summoned, convinced the innovators of their errors.† In the fourth century, Petra was the residence of a metropolitan, whose diocese embraced the Ancient Idumea and Nabathea.‡ Considering all these efforts, and the zeal of the Anchorites, who are said to have peopled some of these deserts with their solitary cells, it may appear surprising that the

* Galatians i. 17.

† *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* vi. 19, 37.

‡ Under the name of *Palestina Tertia*, or *Salutaris*, this metropolitan was subsequently placed under the Patriarch of Jerusalem.



countries about the Aelanitic Gulph were not more thoroughly evangelized, and that their people were not brought more extensively within the pale of Christianity. But there were strong countervailing influences at work, Arab and Jewish, which the evangelists of that day were unable to overcome. These, for the present at least, we have not space to enter upon.

We shall now endeavour to sketch the MERCANTILE progress of the border tribes, and to trace the causes of their decadence.

It has been well remarked by Heeren, that the grand feature distinguishing ancient from modern commerce, was that it confined itself almost exclusively to the dry land, and that the sea traffic was simply a subordinate appendage. A long and uninterrupted continent, in later times the greatest obstacle to commerce, constituted then its chief facility. The desert steppes of Asia formed the mercantile ocean of the ancients—the companies of camels, their fleets; but the barbarous hordes of those wild lands rendered it perilous for a few merchants alone to attempt so arduous a journey, and hence the necessity for *caravans*, to assemble at fixed spots and conventional periods, and travel in a common direction, and by known and determined routes. Thus the marts and main points of traffic became settled and notorious throughout the ancient world. “For like reasons,” says Heeren, “the very course of the caravan was not a matter of free choice, but of established custom. In the vast steppes of sandy deserts, which they had to traverse, nature had sparingly allotted to the traveller a few scattered places of rest, where, under the shade of palm trees, and beside the cool fountains at their feet, the merchant and his beast of burden might enjoy the refreshment rendered necessary by so much suffering. Such places of repose became *entrepôts* of commerce, and not unfrequently the sites of temples and sanctuaries, under the protection of which the merchant prosecuted his trade, and to which the pilgrim resorted.”*

These circumstances operated with their full weight upon Arabia, and even in the times of Jacob, as we have noticed, the Ishmaelite traders in the North of the Peninsula had established a caravan traffic between Egypt and the eastern lands. When the countries to the North and West of Arabia

* (*Heeren's Researches: Africa*, I. 23.) The last sentence bears strongly upon the origin and progress of Mecca. But it will still be a question, which had the priority, the temple or the mercantile station?

became more densely peopled, and civilization advanced, the traffic extended and settled down into fixed channels with established stations.

One great line of commerce took its rise in Yemen, and guided by the north-westerly trend of the coast, tracked through the Hedjâz and thence towards the Mediterranean. Regarding this route, we quote the following passage from the *Researches* of the learned and accurate Heeren:—

This writer (Strabo) mentions at least one of the intervening stations, which the caravans from Arabia Felix usually passed through, and determines the time which the journey occupied. They consumed seventy days in going from Yemen to Petra, and passed in their route a place named *Albus Pagus* (Δευκὴ κόμη of the Greeks, and the *Havra* or *Avara* of the Arabians). This place is situated on the Arabian Gulph, under 25° N. Lat., on the boundaries of the fertile country of Nejed, belonging to Central Arabia. Hence it is evident, that the caravan road extended along the Arabian Gulph, most probably touched upon Mecca, the ancient Macoraba, and so arrived at the frontiers of Arabia Felix. By this route the caravans would enjoy the advantage of passing through fertile regions in the midst of their journey; while deeper in the interior, they would have had to traverse long and dreary sandy deserts. The number of days' journey agrees very well with the distance. From Mariaba to Petra, is reckoned about 1,260 geographical miles, which, divided by sixteen, the ordinary distance which caravans travel in a day, amount to seventy.*

Another line of traffic, commencing likewise in the southern extremity of Arabia, ran directly North to the Persian Gulph, and thence northward still into Persia, or in a north-westerly direction, towards Syria. Upon this head we shall quote further from the same author:—

This same writer (Strabo) has left us also some few particulars respecting the trading routes of Eastern Arabia. It was the inhabitants of the city of Gerra, on the Persian Gulph, who more especially carried on the caravan trade. They kept up a commercial intercourse with the marts of Hadramaut, the journey to which occupied forty days, the road stretching right across the great sandy desert in the south-east of the Peninsula, and not along the coast. The distance in a direct line from Hadramaut to Gerra is not less than from 650 to 700 miles, and would consequently require a forty days' journey.

Besides this, there existed, as we learn from the words of the Prophet, a direct intercourse between the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula, and Gerra and Phenicia. For, he says, the merchants of Dedan brought the merchandize of the Persian Gulph to Tyre, (*Ezek.* xxvii. 15,) whose route must consequently have run through the north-eastern part of the land. This fact is still further proved by a passage from Isaiah, who when he threatens Arabia with a foreign invasion, forgets not to mention the interruption which it would cause to its commerce. "*In the wilderness of Arabia, ye will be benighted, oh, ye caravans of Dedan! To the thirsty bring out water, inhabitants of Tema; bring forth bread for the fugitives! for they fly before the sword and*

* (*Heeren's Researches: Asiatic Nations*, II. 106.) See also the detail of routes (*App. D.*, III. 488, *et. seq.*), and the valuable map illustrating the lines of traffic, in Vol. I.)

before the fury of war."* The trading caravans of Dedan, which had hitherto journeyed undisturbed, were to be driven from their usual route by the approach of the enemy, and compelled to pass their nights in the wilderness, where the hospitable tribe of Tema, out of compassion, would bring them water and bread. Tema was situated on the western border of the fertile province of Nejed, by which therefore the road passed. From this road the caravans were to be compelled to turn, in order to hide themselves in the desert.†

This commerce afforded a vast field of employment for the Arab tribes. Some traded on their own account, and these generally settled down as the occupants of the emporia or commercial cities in their vicinity. Others, without directly engaging in the traffic, became the carriers of it; their camels were the means of transport, and they received hire both for them and for the protection of the goods by the way. A frontier customs duty was also probably exacted. These continued in their Nomad habits. Both were enriched, but the traders most.

Large commercial stations grew rapidly up. Of those on the north-eastern coast, the chief was Gerra, (the modern Lachsa,) which commanded the Indian traffic of the Persian Gulph, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, as well as of the western lines noticed in the above extract. It was, according to Strabo, a Chaldean or Babylonian colony; and we learn from Agatharctides, that its Arabian and Indian commerce rendered its people one of the richest in the world.‡ This traffic was far removed from the Meccan Arabs, and did not intimately affect their interests.

The western line along the Hedjâz is that which demands our closest attention. The products of Yemen, its southern terminus, are stated by Herodotus to have been frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and ledanon.§ To these may be added gold and precious stones, as the proper productions of Arabia; and ivory, ebony, and spices, as importations from India and Africa.|| We have seen that the Jews, under Solomon, took advantage of this line of commerce; they also opened it up to the Phœnicians, who joined them in their naval expedition in the Red Sea.¶ Four hundred years later (about 600 B. C.),

* Isaiah xxi. 13—15, with Gesenius' commentary. "These passages of the Prophets are of the greater importance, from the seldomness with which caravans are mentioned by historical writers. It is from them, and not from the historians, that may be gathered the extent of the commerce of the ancient world."

† Heeren as above (II. 107, 108.)

‡ Idem, pp. 225—233, &c.

§ Herod., III. 107: Cinnamon, however, belongs not to Arabia, but to India (Heeren, *ibid.*, pp. 96—240.)

|| Heeren, *ibid.*

¶ 1 Kings ix. 26 & 27.

the denunciations of Ezekiel against the haughty Tyre, prove that a busy and constant intercourse still subsisted, by which the Tyrian marts, in exchange for Syrian wares, replenished themselves with the rarities of Yemen.* Three or four centuries passed, and we find from Eratosthenes that the Minæans or Arabs of the Hedjâz, were still the carriers of the Yemen goods from Hadhramaut to Ayla (or Akaba); and the same author notices (as we learn through Strabo,) that the journey was one of seventy days, thus wonderfully coinciding with the stages of the same route even at the present day.†

The Roman Empire, gradually extending its irresistible rule to the confines of Arabia, fostered and at first increased the traffic of the Arabian caravans. The Nabatheans of Petra especially prospered. They were enabled to prosecute, in comparative peace and protection, their mercantile projects. Military roads, too, aided the commerce. From Ayla, or Akaba, a great highway led to Petra, branching off in one direction towards Gaza on the Mediterranean, and on the other towards Damascus.‡ Upon these lines arose large and thriving emporia. Like the magnificent Palmyra on the Mesopotamian route, so did stately and luxurious cities, from Damascus southward, spring up under the auspices of Rome. "Modern travellers have brought to light the remains of the cities East of the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea (the ancient Decapolis and Havra.) The magnificent ruins of Gerasa, (Dsieres,§) Gadara, and Philadelphia (Amman,) some of which are little inferior to those of Palmyra. Decayed temples, colonnades, and amphi-theatres, show the former grandeur and opulence

* *Ezek.* xxvii. 19—24, which Heeren translates "*Wadan and Javan brought thee from Sanaa, sword blades, cassia, and cinnamon, in exchange for thy wares. The merchants of Saba and of Raama traded with thee; the best spices, precious stones, and gold brought they to thee for thy wares. Haran, Canna, Aden, Saba, traded with thee.*" He adds: "Some of these places, as Aden, Canna, and Haran, all celebrated sea-ports on the Indian Sea, as well as Sanaa and Saba, or Mariaba, still the capital of Yemen, have retained their names unchanged to the present day; the site of others, as Wadan, on the Straits of Babel Mandeb, rest only on probable conjecture. These accurate statements of the Prophet, at all events, prove what a special knowledge the inhabitants of Palestine had of happy Arabia, and how great and active the intercourse with that country must have been." (*Heeren's As. Res.*, II. 98.)

† See *Sprenger's Life of Mahomet*, p. 10, where the stages, seventy in number, are detailed. Theophrastus also gives some curious particulars regarding the traffic in frankincense, myrrh, and cassia, with Saba and Adramotitis, which corresponds evidently with Hadhramaut. (*Heeren's As. Res.*, II. 98.)

‡ These were the routes still in use in Mahomet's time for the Syrian caravans. Hâshim, the great-grandfather of Mahomet, died at Ghazza (Gaza), when on a mercantile expedition to Syria. His property was brought back from thence. (*Wâkidi*, p. 14—*Sprenger*, p. 30.)

§ See the beautiful daguerreotype views of Jerash, with its wilderness of ruined columns, pillars, and temples, in the illustrated edition of *Keith's Evidence of Prophecy*, published in 1848.

of these cities, when they were the seats of the Indian-
Arabian commerce.* Still farther South was the ancient
Bostra; and again beyond that Petra, Leuke Come, and the
other marts of the Nabatheans.

We have already traced the history of the emporium Petra,
with its seaport Ayla or Akaba, from the times of the Jewish
monarch down to the Christian era. Under the auspices of
Rome, Petra rose along with her dependencies to an incredible
opulence. Unheeded in the desert, and for centuries forgotten,
the stately ruins of the hill-encircled city, with its chiselled
rocks, still remain an evidence that may not be gain-sayed,
of the truth of history, of the mighty traffic once appropriated by
the marts of Petra, of the princely magnificence of her mer-
chants, and of the unerring certainty of prophetic denuncia-
tion.† Pliny and Strabo both describe the city, and a friend
of the latter, Athenodoras the Stoic, who had visited it, related
to him with admiration the excellence of its government under
a native prince, and the security with which Roman and other
foreigners resided there‡. Its prosperity was, however, entire-
ly dependent upon the caravan trade, which there changed
carriage, and passed from the southern into the hands of the
northern merchants. Diodorus Siculus, in describing with
wonderful precision the habits of the Nabathean Arabs, attri-
butes their superiority over the other Bedouin tribes to this
trade. "Their commercial pursuits," he says, "are the chief
cause of their greater prosperity. For many of the tribe
follow the business of transporting to the Mediterranean
frankincense, myrrh, and other costly spices, which are trans-
ferred to them by the carriers from Arabia Felix."§

Strabo also writes that the merchandise of the Arabian Gulph
used to be transported from Leuke Come, on the Red Sea, to
Petra; thence to Rhinocolura (*Al Arish*), a town upon the
Mediterranean, and from it to other ports.|| And Pliny notices

* *Heeren's As. Res.*, II. 110.

† No better illustration of the marvellous fulfilment of these prophecies can
be given than that by Keith, in the edition of his work above referred to, in which
modern skill has been happily pressed into the service of prophecy by the presenta-
tion of photographic sketches of the chief scenes of prophesied desolation. In the
palmey days of its regal magnificence, who could have foretold that Petra, secured
apparently behind its rocky embattlements, would have become utterly waste and
desolate, and not Damascus or any other city?

‡ Strabo, XVI.

§ See *Forster's Arabia*, I. 224.

|| *Strabo ut Supra.*



the double route from Petra northward to Palmyra, and westward to Gaza.*

It was thus, that in the early part of the Christian era, the Nabatheans reached the height of their glory, and extended themselves not only to the north, but southwards, towards the Hedjâz. But the power of Rome, which had thus fostered the Arab trade, now produced another consequence, which, eventually, sapped the prosperity of the caravans of the Hedjâz and of Petra.

In very remote times, there is reason to believe, that the Egyptians held a trans-marine intercourse with the nations of India;† and it has been clearly ascertained that at some periods they manned fleets upon the Red Sea, and thus communicated with the shores of Arabia.‡ That there existed a direct intercourse between Yemen and India from an early period is equally certain. Speaking of Muza (or Mocha), the author of the Periplus says, that it "was wholly inhabited by Arab ship-owners and sailors, who traded to the opposite port of Barygaza (Broach,) with the productions of their native country."§

So long as this commerce was confined to the Indian Ocean, and did not penetrate the Red Sea, it only supplied material for the caravans of Yemen and Petra, and ministered to the prosperity of the Arab tribes. But the power and energy of the Romans were not satisfied with this mediate carriage. They projected a direct traffic between the ports of India and

* *Hist. Nat.*, VI. 32. "Nabataei Arabiae populus, oppidum includunt Petram nomine in convalle, ** * circumdatum montibus inaccessis. Huc convenit utrumque bivium eorum qui et Syria (al Syriae) Palmyram petiere, et eorum, qui ab Gaza venerunt." (*Vide Heeren's As. Res.*, II. 45, and *Journ. Asiatique*, XV. 20.)

† See *Heeren's Res. : Africa*, II. 273, and *As. Res.* III. 407.

‡ *Heeren's As. Res.*, III. 382, 405 and *App. C.*, p. 499. The commerce, according to Arrian (Periplus), was conducted by Arabian navigators and traders, between Broach and Zanguebar. In return for frankincense and other Arabian articles, the products of India, thus described by Arrian, were bartered. "Moreover indigenous productions, such as corn, rice, butter (*ghi*), oil of sesamum, coarse and fine cotton goods, and cane honey (*sugar*), are regularly exported from the interior of Ariaka (Concan,) and from Barygaza (Broach,) to the opposite coast. Some particular vessels are purposely destined for this trade; others engage in it only as occasion or opportunity offers." Heeren well observes, that this navigation was entirely independent of the "Græco-Indian commerce," and much earlier than it. Arrian adds: "This navigation was regularly managed," *i. e.*, according to the monsoons, which, by their alternations, facilitated the communication. The 'butter' is no doubt the 'oil of milk' noticed by Ctesias in his *Indica*, c. xxii., and "answers to our *ghi*." (*Heeren's As. Res.*, III. 407. See also an interesting note by Dr. Sprenger on the details of the coasting passage. (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 15, note 2.)

§ *Periplus*, pp. 10—18. *Heeren's As. Res.*, III. 408.

the Red Sea itself; and casting aside the intervening harbours and the Arabian carriers,* they landed the goods of India and of Yemen at Arsinoe or Cleopatris, our modern Suez, or at the other emporia on the Egyptian bank of the Red sea.†

This proved a fatal blow to the caravan traffic of Arabia. The rapidity, the ease, and the economy of a direct communication by sea were soon perceived, and quickly brought into action, while the slow, expensive, and laborious system of the desert route and the camel-carriage fell into complete and irretrievable disuse. The sea-port towns of Yemen alone retained their importance, while the land commerce gradually melted away; and with it the merchant stations decayed, and at length became utterly desert. Such is the tale, which the stately pillars and owl-tenanted palaces of Petra, of Jerash, and of Philadelphia, recite, after the lapse of sixteen centuries, to the wonder-stricken traveller.

Another cause co-operated with this fatal change. The Senile rule of Constantinople no longer held the Arab tribes in check, as the iron sceptre of Rome had done. The Persian monarchy and its dependent, Hira, made frequent inroads upon the Syrian frontier, which often formed an arena for the struggles of the two empires. The Government of Northern Arabia became, in consequence, weak and disorganized. No longer attracted by the gains of commerce, and ever and anon exposed to the inroads of a Persian force, the inhabitants of Petra and the other commercial posts felt the native love of a free and predatory life return with a fresh and unopposed vigour; and thus gladly casting off the restraints and formalities of walls and of settled habits, they again roamed, as their fathers before them, the true sons of the desert.

So great a political movement as the drying up of a full and perennial stream of merchandise, and the abandonment of the towns created by that traffic, and possessed of no independent resources, must have been followed by much distress, and

* Vide *Sprenger's Life of Mahomet*, 15. Strabo, in his account of the expedition of Aelius Gallus, after describing, in the quotation made above, the former course of merchandise to Petra, adds:—"But now it is mostly brought down the Nile to Alexandria; for the products of Arabia, with those of India, are carried to Myos Hormos (a port on the western shore of the Red Sea;) then transferred by camels to Coptos in the Thebaid: and thence to Alexandria by the canal of the Nile." (*Strabo Lib. xvi.—vide Forster's Geography of Arabia*, II. 285.)

† We have an incidental confirmation of the European trade in the Red Sea, in the time of Mahomet, in the shipwreck, about the beginning of the seventh century, of a Grecian ship off Jiddah. The wood was employed towards rebuilding the Kaaba, and the Captain, named Bâcum, described as a Grecian merchant, acquainted with architecture, assisted in the work. (*Wâkidi*, p. 27—*Hishâmi*, p. 41—*Tabari*, p. 73. *Sprenger*, p. 84.)

Bibliothek der
Deutschen
Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft

by changes both extensive and radical throughout Arabia. Besides the imposing ruins, which from Petra to Damascus still meet the eye, there were no doubt farther south many other scenes of depopulation and misery. It is possible that the disappearance of such tribes as the people of Ad and of Thamûd (attributed by tradition to divine vengeance,) may be owing to this cause. Both lay to the North of Mecca, in the direct line of the traffic,* and both would suffer from its stoppage. Other calamities of drought or of tempest may have been superadded; and following, perhaps, upon some impious conduct (possibly the contemptuous or injurious treatment of a Christian Missionary,) would be construed by the superstitious Arabs into marks of the wrath of God,† and thus come to be regarded as the cause of the downfall, which was really owing to the failure of mercantile resources. Similar distress, followed by depopulation or change of residence, and habits of life, must have resulted, more or less, throughout Arabia. In Yemen and Hadhramaut, especially, which formed the great southern terminus of the lines both towards the Persian Gulph and the Mediterranean Sea, whole tribes of Arabs, with their herds of camels, used to receive constant employment and support from the carriage of the merchandise, and a large stationary population must likewise have arisen, indirectly dependent on the same trade. When the traffic ceased, the former were left without any business or

* This has been satisfactorily shown by Sprenger. (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 13.) The two tribes were related to one another, both by blood and by position. The Thamûdites certainly inhabited the valley of Hîjr, between Medina and Syria. (*Hîshâmî*, p. 395.) We have also the testimony of Tabari and Ghazzali, placing the Adites North of Mecca, and near the Thamûdites. We do not at all follow C. de Perceval's theory of the Adites. The Thamudites are apparently the same people as are mentioned under a similar name by Diodorus Siculus, and Ptolemy, the latter of whom places them near the Nabatheans. They are also probably the same tribe as furnished the *Equites Saraceni Thamudeni*, placed under the commander of Egypt, and stationed in Palestine. They lived in abodes hewn out, like those of Petra, in the rocks of the valley of Hîjr, where they killed the camel of the Prophet Sâlih, sent to reclaim them. (Coran, VII. 74, &c.) Both he and Hâd, the prophet, rejected by the Adites, were probably Christian evangelists.

† The superstition of Mahomet is illustrated by his passage through this valley, in his expedition to Tabûk. "And when Mahomet reached the valley of Hîjr, he alighted there, and pitched his camp, and the people drew water from the fountains. And when it was even, the prophet said, 'Drink not of the water of this place, not even a drop thereof; and perform not your ablutions with it: and the dough that ye have kneaded therewith, give it to the camels, eat not a particle of it; and let no one of you go forth of the camp this night, unless he have a companion with him. And they obeyed, excepting two men; and one of them had his neck wrenched by the way, and the other was carried by the winds and cast upon the two hills of the Bani Tai. And it was told Mahomet, and he said, 'Did not I prohibit you from going out alone, any one without his companion?' And he prayed for the man whose neck was injured, and he was cured, and the Bani Tai returned the other man."

It is said that as Mahomet passed by the valley of Hîjr, he wrapped his clothes over his mouth, and urged on his camel, and said, "Enter not the houses of the transgressors, except weeping, for fear lest that happen to you, which overtook them." (*Hîshâmî*, p. 396.)

income whatever, and the latter formed a baneful incubus, which the reduced resources of the state were unable to sustain. While the Bedouin carriers betook themselves without difficulty again to a Nomad life, ^t the settled population had no such resource, and they were forced, by the necessities of a daily diminishing capital and daily increasing want, to migrate in quest of a less over-stocked country.

It is to this cause, then, that we attribute the vast emigrations which, early in the Christian era, set northwards, from amongst the teeming population of Arabia Felix. With the result of this migratory movement, the student of the early history of Arabia is familiar. It replenished the desert with new tribes of roaming Bedouins, while it brought to many of the central and northern cities large bands of immigrants, clamorous for a settlement in their vicinity, and ready, if refused, to extort it by force. From the great family of CAHLAN (descended from Cahtân,) the AZDITE branch supplied to Mecca the tribe of the *Khodzâa*, and to Medina the *Aus* and *Khazraj*, while to Syria it gave the dynasty of *Ghassan*. Another branch of the same stock sent forth to Hira its royal family of the *Lakhmite* tribe; to Central Arabia the famous Nomad *Kinda*, who long held the supremacy there; to Northern Arabia the *Bani Tai*, and to *Tajrân* the *Bani Madhij*. The family of *Himyar* again, (descended likewise from Cahtân,) through the stock of *Codhâa*, furnished the *Bani Kalb* to *Dûmat at Jandal*, and the *Bani Odzra Joheina*, and other important tribes to the North of the Peninsula, to *Irack* and *Mesopotamia*. These are but a few of the more remarkable instances of the multitude of tribes, which the great migratory movement cast forth from the South, and caused to take root in the central or northern districts of Arabia. The period of this dispersion occupies, in general, a space, which would naturally fall under the full influence of the commercial change. N

While the stations and emporia between Syria and *Bâbal Mandab* decayed and disappeared, and *Yemen* and *Petra* rendered up a part, or the whole of their inhabitants, to the desert, *Mecca* itself, the important half-way mart upon the great western line, did not escape its share in the calamity. What happened elsewhere, took place here also, though on a reduced scale. The descendants of *Adnân*, the remote ancestor of the *Coreish*, were compelled, from time to time, to migrate towards the East. Among these are to be found many of the important tribes of *Najd*, (as the *Ghatafân*, *Sulaim*, *Hawâzin*, the *Bani Bakr* and *Bani Taghlib*, the *Mozeina*, and the *Bani Tâmmim*) which afterwards played a conspicuous part in the history of the

Peninsula. We conclude, that at this period Mecca lost the consequence, which, as the ancient Macoraba, it possessed, and dwindled down into an insignificant village; deserted by so many of its native tribes, it felt the power of successive invaders from the South. But it possessed in its shrine and universally recognized worship, a principle of life and prosperity, which enabled it to survive the fall of commerce. By-and-bye it recovered from the shock, and in the middle of the fifth century, Cussai, a native of the Coreish stock, again enlarged its limits, cutting down the shrubs and jungle, which had gradually encroached, and having reclaimed the most of the Coreishite tribe from their Nomad habits, into which they were falling, re-settled them in their ancient township. Though no longer placed on one of the highways of the world, Mecca still carried on a local and limited trade with Syria and with Yemen, in grain and leather, in spices and in dried fruits, and this commerce contributed, with the national pilgrimage to its shrine, to restore it to a permanent though reduced importance. Such we take to have been the early history of Mecca.*

The importance of Medina (never very great till the Hegira,) was less affected than Mecca, by the downfall of commerce, because it lay some way to the East of the high road of the Syrian caravans, and it possessed a more fertile soil on which to fall back.

Long before MAHOMET appeared, Arabia had recovered from the unsettlement which the great change in the traffic of Asia with Europe had occasioned, and her internal relations had adjusted themselves to the lower scale of prosperity on which it was to stand;—until a new and unexpected success should invest her with a lustre unparalleled in her previous annals, and cause the treasures of the world again to flow (not now as the exchange of commerce, but as the tribute of supremacy,) in a grateful and continuous stream towards the cities of the sacred Hejáz.

* There is nothing in Arabian tradition bearing upon the cause to which we have here attributed the migrations from Yemen and Mecca. The ancient mercantile prosperity is, from its great antiquity, unknown to native sources; and besides, the commercial change was too slow, and its early *results* too gradual, obscure and imperceptible to the looker-on of the day, to become the subject of tradition, which in general seizes only upon tangible events and direct overt acts. The emigrations being occasioned by an impulse long at work, but not patent on the surface at any particular point, were ascribed to other events, which might indeed have been concomitant influences or proximate causes (as the apprehended breach of the dam at Mareb, internal dissension, &c.) but are utterly inadequate, in themselves and alone, to account for so general and continued a movement.

Page	
1	37
2	9
„	22
„	„
„	43
3	11
4	15
6	7
„	13
9	7
„	9
10	13
13	4
„	28
14	33
„	34
16	17
18	2
24	4
25	18
27	2
„	23
„	2

ERRATA.

Page	Line	For	Read
1	37 et passim ..	Joktân	Joktan
2	9	travestied and often caricatured, into the patriarchal characters and stories of the Old Testament.	into which the patriarchal characters and stories of the Old Testament have been travestied and often caricatured.
"	22	اخز	اخذ
"	"	الال	الأول
"	43	canon	canons,
3	11 from bottom.	Thanudites,	Thamudites,
4	15 ditto ..	Hazarmadeth	Hazarmaveth
6	7 from top....	Jokshân	Jokshan,
"	13 ditto	Zeman	Teman
9	7 ditto	Horirus	Horims
"	9 from bottom	argued	argues
"	13 from top....	marine	maritime
13	4 ditto	Mârel	Mareb
"	28 ditto	name	names,
14	33 ditto	" (single) village"	" a (single) village."
"	34 ditto	Calingü	Calingü
16	17 from bottom.	طبع	طبعها
18	2 ditto ..	<i>Salutaris</i> , this	<i>Salutaris</i> . This
24	4 ditto ..	" answers to our <i>ghî</i> "	answers to our " <i>ghî</i> ."
25	18 from top....	Senile	senile.
27	2 ditto	sustain, while the Bedouin carriers betook themselves without difficulty again to a Nomad life. The settled population had no such resource,	sustain. While the Bedouin carriers betook themselves to a nomad life, the settled population, &c.
"	23 ditto	Tajrân	Najrân
"	2 from bottom..	Tammîn,	Tamim,

Peninsula. We conclude, that at this period Mecca lost the consequence, which, as the ancient Macoraba, it possessed, and dwindled down into an insignificant village; deserted by so

imperceptible to the looker-on of the day, to become the subject of tradition, which in general seizes only upon tangible events and direct overt acts. The emigrations being occasioned by an impulse long at work, but not patent on the surface at any particular point, were ascribed to other events, which might indeed have been concomitant influences or proximate causes (as the apprehended breach of the dam at Mareb, internal dissension, &c.,) but are utterly inadequate, in themselves and alone, to account for so general and continued a movement.





①: Ne 350

ULB Halle

3/1

000 864 064



