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telling what they had seen, they beheld coming forth from the tomb three men, and the two supporting the one, and a cross following them. And the heads of the two reached indeed unto heaven, but the head of the one who was led by them reached far above the heavens. And they heard a voice from heaven that said: Hast thou preached unto those that sleep? And the answer was heard from the Cross: Yes. . . . And while they were yet pondering the matter, the heavens open again, and a man descends and goes into the sepulchre.”¹ This may be placed alongside of the narrative in the Gospel without comment.

JAMES ORR.

THE LAND OF EDOM.

I. PRELIMINARY.

In the Old Testament the name Edom is essentially that of a people, and, as in the case of Moab,² it is doubtful whether it is ever applied by itself to their land; certainly not till the latest writers.³ The land is called *the land of Edom*,⁴ and *the field or territory of Edom*.⁵ In parallel to

¹ If it is argued that this is a simple expansion of St. Matthew's story of the watch, as the latter is an addition to St. Mark's, it may be observed that St. Matthew's story is an expansion or embellishment of nothing, but a distinct, independent narrative; while the story in *The Gospel of Peter* has evidently no basis but St. Matthew's account, which it decorates from pure fancy.

² See above, p. 6.

³ Obviously the people in Num. xx. 18 ff., JE; 1 Sam. xiv. 47, and many other passages. The dictionaries interpret it as the name of the land when used in the feminine, e.g. Jer. xlix. 17; Ezek. xxv. 13 f., xxxii. 29, xxxv. 15 (Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, takes it as land in Jer. xlix. 17. Ezek. xxxv. 15, but as people in Ezek. xxxii. 29). But in Mal. i. 4 (and elsewhere) it is used of the people with a feminine verb. There are passages in which we see how readily the name could pass from people to land, e.g. 2 Kings iii. 20; and there are others in which it may mean either, e.g. Num. xxxiv. 3, Josh. xv. 1.

⁴ אֶדְוֹם אֶרֶץ, Gen. xxxvi. 16 f., P; 1 Kings ix. 26; Isa. xxxiv. 6, and elsewhere.

⁵ אֶרֶץ אֶדְוֹם, Gen. xxxii. 4 [Eng. 3], J.E.; Jud. v. 4. It is doubtful whether אֶרֶץ is to be taken here in its geographical sense of *wild country* (Assyr., hill-country), or in its political sense of *territory*. There was also a *wilderness* of Edom.

the latter we find the name, *land of Sē'ir*,¹ sometimes called *Mount Še'ir*,² or *Sē'ir* alone,³ and the people are named *sons of Sē'ir*.⁴ In addition, the Edomites are frequently called '*Esau*, or *sons of 'Esau*,⁵ and their land *the Mount of 'Esau*.⁶

It is perhaps impossible to trace with certainty the origins and meanings of these words. At the present day such names of Arab tribes as can be interpreted with any probability are derived from some ancestor, or from some locality (in a few cases proving the origin in Central Arabia of tribes now predominant in Mesopotamia or on the Syrian border), or from an animal once sacred to the tribe; or they record some crisis in their history, as "confederates," "clients," and the like; or describe their social habits, for example "cattle-men"; or are epithets, expressive of their characters as warriors or men, or of their noble descent.⁷ Numbers of the tribal names in the Old Testament have obviously one or another of such derivations; but none of these is clear in the case of Edom, 'Esau, or Sē'ir. Edom has been variously supposed to be the name of a deity,⁸ a dialectic variation of the word for *man*, Adam; ⁹ or a reflection of the red colour of the rocks of their land on the east of the 'Arabah.¹⁰ The deriva-

¹ Gen. xxxii. 4 [Eng. 3], JE.

² Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 8 f., P and Red; Deut. i. 2, ii. 1, 5; Josh. xxiv. 4, JE; 2 Chron. xx. 10, 22 f.; Ezek. xxxv. 2.

³ Deut. ii. 4, etc., xxxiii. 2; Jud. v. 4; Isa. xxi. 11.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxv. 11, 14, but in Gen. xxxvi. 20 f. the *sons of Sē'ir* are Horites. In Ezek. xxv. 8 Sē'ir = the people.

⁵ Deut. ii. 4 f.; Josh. xxiv. 4; Mal. i. 2; Obad. 6, and elsewhere. עֵשָׂו, Gr. 'Hsav. ⁶ Obad. 8 f., 19, 21.

⁷ See the names of Arab tribes throughout Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*, and the lists given by Von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* (Berlin, 1900), vol. ii., pp. 67 ff.

⁸ As in the personal name Obed-edom, i.e. "worshipper of Edom"; Stade, *Gesch.*, i. 121; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 43. Cf. the Egyptian evidence for this god in W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europa*, 315 f.

⁹ Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, 10.

¹⁰ Sayce and others.

tion in Genesis xxv. 25 is well known ; and it only remains to be pointed out that in Sabaean the word is applied to " subjects " or " clients " ; that in Assyrian the root means to " produce " or " make " ; and that the Hebrew word *soil* or *ground*, as if cultivable¹ appears to come from this. Several other place-names have the same radicals—a town on Jordan, a town in Naphtali, and one of the five cities destroyed at the south end of the Dead Sea.² The Assyrian form of Edom is U-du-mu,³ which is probably due to the process of assimilation of vowels observable in other transliterations of Palestinian names ;⁴ for the Massoretic vocalization is supported by the Greek Edom and Idumea.⁵ An Egyptian papyrus of the twelfth century reports that the " Sha-su [or Bedawee] tribes of A-du-ma have passed the border-fortress of at-Tuku (Succoth) to the ditches of Pitom (?), in order to pasture their cattle on the field of the Pharaoh."⁶ Sē'ir apparently means " hairy," and, applied to a district, might imply its shrubby or wooded character. In the Old Testament we find it also both in Judah and Mount Ephraim ;⁷ and, according to some, in the Tell-el-Amarna Letters.⁸ Rameses III. says that he defeated " the Sa-'a-ira of the Bedawee tribes."⁹ The name

¹ Friedr. Delitzsch.

² Josh. iii. 16, xix. 36 ; Gen. x. 19 ; Hos. xi. 8, etc.

³ Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 295.

⁴ See the present writer's *Jerusalem*, i. 257.

⁵ The very occasional Greek form Ἀβδοδομ : LXX. of 1 Chron. xv. 24, Cod. N ; xvi. 38, Codd. B, N, A, is hardly ground enough for the opinion that Odom is the older pronunciation (W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 316).

⁶ Pap. Anast. vi. 4, 14 ; W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 135 ; but see Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, i. 189, where it is suggested that A-du-ma may be the town of that name given in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, ed. Winckler, No. 237 l. 24, " in the land of Gar." We shall return later to this.

⁷ Mount Sē'ir, Josh. xv. 10, and Has-sē'irah, Judg. iii. 26.

⁸ Winckler's ed., No. 181, l. 26 ; matât Shi-iri ; see Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vi. 251 ; Winckler, *K.A.T.*, 3rd ed., 201.

⁹ Papyrus Harris ; see W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 135 ff. ; Nöldeke in the *Enc. Bibl.*, 1182.

'Esau is still more difficult. Something can be said for the traditional explanation of *hairy* (therefore synonymous with Sē'îr).¹ The Phœnician mythical figure of Usoos, a hunter, has long been compared with 'Esau, and the latter accordingly interpreted as that of a god or semi-divine being.² W. M. Müller finds the feminine form in 'A-si-ti, a desert goddess, pictured by the Egyptians as a wild rider.³

The Hebrew tradition represents Jacob or Israel, and Esau or Edom, as the twin-sons of Isaac and Rebekah, in the Negeb, which is translated *the South* in our Authorized and Revised Versions because of its geographical relation to Palestine, but literally *the Parched* or *Dry*; ⁴ not because it is absolutely waterless, for it is exposed to the rains of the Mediterranean basin, its wâdies are swept in winter by heavy torrents,⁵ and there are more or less frequent wells; but because of its geological formation, which causes the speedier disappearance of the surface waters, renders the possible fertility much more precarious than in Palestine, and produces many stretches of absolute desert. While settlements for agriculture and even towns have at times existed here, the inhabitants have been compelled for the most part to frequent wanderings among the wâdies. When therefore it is said that Isaac *dwelt* or *settled* in the Negeb, we must not understand this of dwelling on one

¹ Gen. xxv. 25. With עשׂו the Arabic 'athâ or 'athia has been compared, but the phonetic relation is doubtful. The personal name in Arabic is 'Isû. The Targum of Jonathan derives 'Esau from עשׂה, *to make*, as if ready made, i.e. born with hair, teeth, etc. It does not seem a possible contraction for עשׂיה as if עשׂיו (cf. Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.*, 362).

² Philo Byblius, in *Euseb. Pr. Ev.*, i. 10, 10; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*, 448.

³ W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 316 f., where there is also reported on a monument by Memphis the form 'â-si-ti-y-kha-u-ru: as if 'Asithi of Hôr (?). It does not seem possible to compare the Palmyrene goddess 'Athi or the god Ethaos (Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Sem. Relig. Gesch.*, 71).

⁴ הַנֶּגֶב, cf. the Aram. verb nagab, "to dry up." In Egypt. ngbu: W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 148. The LXX. occasionally translate Ἡ Ἐρημος.

⁵ Ps. cxxvi. 4.

site in a house of stone.¹ The Hebrew verb *yashab* is also used of tent-dwelling ;² and Isaac is represented as a tent-dweller and a nomad through the Negeb.³ But the family, like some of the otherwise nomadic tribes of the district at the present day, had already taken to agriculture,⁴ either at their own hands or by slaves, or by employing settled fellâhîn to do the work for them. In other words, they had advanced from the purely nomadic stage to some of the steps of semi-nomadism through which all the Semitic peoples now settled in Palestine have passed.⁵ But this degree of attachment to the soil did not prevent the family, any more than it prevents the semi-fellâhîn of the present day,⁶ from migrating as a whole to distant and more favourable soils.

From this border-land and stage of transition the traditions describe the twin-brethren and their families as passing in opposite directions. 'Esau himself became a *cunning hunter, a man of the field*, here to be taken in its sense of the uncultivated and roughest soil, so that as by *flowers of the field* and *beasts of the field* the Old Testament means *wild flowers* and *wild beasts*, we must translate *wild man* and understand a reversion, such as has happened since with other tribes, to a less civilized form of society than the pastoral with an occasional use of agriculture. In opposition to this, Jacob is described as a *quiet* or *civilized man dwelling in tents*.⁷ The contrast is a social, not a moral

¹ As Professor Eerdmans has done ; see above, p. 122. ² Gen. xxv. 27.

³ Gen. xxiv. 67 (tent) ; he settles by the well Lahai-roi, xxv. 11 ; he sojourns in the land, xxvi. 3 ; settles in Gerar, *id.* l. 6 ; pitches his tent in the valley of Gerar and digs wells, 17 ff. ; removes thence and digs another well, 22 ; goes thence to Beersheba, 23. The word Bêth, or *house* (xxvii. 15), which Prof. Eerdmans also quotes, may mean *tent* just as well as *house of stone*.

⁴ Gen. xxvi. 12.

⁵ See above, pp. 259 ff.

⁶ Above, 263.

⁷ $\square\aleph$, literally complete, perfect ; here not in its frequent moral sense, but rather as finished, civilized ; cf. the New Hebr. meaning of *harmless*. The Eng. version *plain* and the Greek $\alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ are misleading.

one. The country south of the Negeb, now possessed by the wild tribe of the 'Azâzimeh, is one in which the only means of livelihood are hunting, robbery and warfare. The first two lines of Isaac's blessing of 'Esau, who is represented as deprived of his birthright, his share of the father's heritage, are ambiguous. In a different order they wish for him in the same words with which Isaac has blessed Jacob; but *the abundance of corn and wine* prayed for in the latter case is not repeated in 'Esau's, and it is possible to translate them negatively. Perhaps the ambiguity is designed. In any case, 'Esau *is to live by the sword*, to serve his brother for a time, and then to break his yoke.¹

A still more clear indication of the difference of culture between the two families is given by another tradition.² Jacob, migrating towards the fertile land of Canaan with oxen, as well as camels, asses, flocks, and male and female slaves (that is already a step beyond the purely nomadic state) is met by 'Esau with four hundred men. His fear of his brother, that he will forthwith smite him; his appeasing him with a gift which he doubts will be sufficient; 'Esau's offer of protection and Jacob's refusal—all these reflect the relations between the fellâhîn or half-fellâhîn, as they grow in substance, increase in timidity towards the true Arabs of the desert, and offer them tribute or blackmail. Similar is the issue: 'Esau returns on his way to Sē'îr; Jacob journeys to Succoth and *builds him an house* (the verb here implies stone) *and makes booths for his cattle*—not yet a fully settled fellâh, for sometimes he encamps in tents, but *buying ground* of the settled inhabitants, and of course practising commerce, and offered inter-marriage with the dwellers in towns.³

When, some centuries afterwards, Israel came out of

¹ Gen. xxvii. 26-29; 39 f.

² Gen. xxxii f., JE.

³ Gen. xxxiv. 8 ff., 12 ff., 20 ff., P.

Egypt, they found that the descendants of 'Esau had already advanced to a settled stage of life. They were under a king, they had a land with vineyards, from which they had dispossessed the Horites; and this land, it is clear from the record of Israel's journeys, was the fertile range of mountains east of the 'Arabah, between the south end of the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Akabah.¹ But there are indications that the territory of Edom at this time extended west of the 'Arabah as well, to the wild country south of the Negeb. Israel was already on the border of Edom when they dwelt there in Kadesh,² and the border subsequently assigned them west of the 'Arabah towards the desert of Sin was alongside Edom.³ The name Sé'ir appears to have been attached west as well as east of the 'Arabah;⁴ and the contest between the kings of Israel and Edom for the command of the trade routes between the Red Sea and Palestine also imply the claims of Edom to the land south of the Negeb.

Definite though the 'Arabah be as a border—it is a long, deep valley some 10 or 12 miles broad—between the two great ranges of mountain which run south from the Lebanons to the latitude of the Gulf of 'Akabah; we must not treat it as writers generally do,⁵ as a decisive frontier, and confine Edom to the range on the east of it. On the contrary, the geographical and historical unity of the ranges on both sides of the 'Arabah must be emphasized. Geographically, they share for the most part the same systems of drainage. The Wâdy el-Jeyb, the main water-bed of the 'Arabah, debouching northward into the Dead Sea, carries off by far the greatest amount of water from both ranges; southern portions of both drain towards the Gulf of 'Akabah; and though

¹ Num. xx. 14 ff.: JE; Deut. ii.

² Num. xx. 16.

³ Num. xxxiv. 3: J.E. Cf. Josh. xv. 1.

⁴ Deut. i. 44.

⁵ On the contrary see especially Clay Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*, 83 ff., and Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 22 ff.

each has also a further drainage system of its own, the Western range sending a few streams into the Mediterranean and the Eastern into the Arabian desert, these are but a very small proportion of the whole. Nor has the deep, broad 'Arabah ever formed a decisive historical frontier. In addition to the dominance of Edom on both sides of it, as stated above, there was the command of the two regions by their successors, the Nabateans. Under the Roman Empire *Palaestina Tertia* included alike Areopolis, Rabathmoba and Petra to the east of the 'Arabah and Dead Sea, and Berosaba (Beersheba) and Elusa to the west.¹ Similarly in modern times. Sixty years ago Petra was under the Governor of Gaza,² and the same Bedawee tribes roam at different seasons of the year, or by different sections of themselves, over both sides of the 'Arabah; for example, the Haweytât, the Dhullam, the Ka'abneb.³ This historical unity is largely due to commercial reasons arising from the position of both regions between the Desert and the Red Sea on the East and the Mediterranean on the West. The great routes from Arabia and the Gulf of 'Akabah to Hebron and Gaza successively cross or are commanded by both the eastern and the western range.

It is, then, the whole of this territory which we propose to treat in the following articles. The definition of its somewhat uncertain borders must be left to the particular accounts of its separate districts. But meantime the two mountain ranges with the great valley between them, of which the territory consists, may be approximately measured as a square of 125 miles (200 kilometres) in either direction: east to west from the Arabian Desert to the Mediterranean coast between Gaza and El-'Arîsh, and north to south from about the latitude of Be'ersheba' to that of the head

¹ Reland, *Palaestina*, lib. i., cap. xxxiv.

² Robinson, *B.R.*, ii. 547.

³ Robinson, *B.R.*, ii. 554, etc., and the reports of many other travellers.

of the Gulf of 'Akabah. Few territories of the size cover so wide a range of soils. In parts well watered and extremely fertile, and in others affording but a precarious agriculture, the most of it is desert and unproductive. No minerals are known beyond salt and a little copper. But its geographical position has given this territory a historical importance far beyond the degree of its native resources. Above all, it is a land of passage; not only carrying, at many periods, the routes of the main traffic between Egypt and Syria, as well as between Arabia or the Red Sea and the Levant, but by its very wildness affording to its inhabitants the opportunities of controlling and profiting from this traffic. To that we may add the military importance of being a difficult borderland between the Empire of Egypt and the powers in possession of south-western Asia; and also of having borne for several centuries the *limes* or frontier of the Roman Empire. Finally, the traditions which fixed Sinai in the peninsula between the Gulfs of 'Akabah and Suez, with the establishment there of "holy places" in affinity with those of Jerusalem, and the constitution of Mecca as the centre of Mohammedanism, with the prevalence of the latter over Syria, have drawn across the land of Edom the pilgrimages of two great religions—which, however, have but meagrely repaid its inhabitants for the loss of their trade through the opening of other ways to the farther East.¹ Thus, apart altogether from the relations of Edom and Israel, the natural features of this territory, its main routes and its principal settlements have been endowed from time to time by commerce, war and religion with a historical significance of a high order. Finally, in

¹ In particular, the opening of the Suez Canal has damaged the transit trade through the land of Edom; cf. the complaint reported by Musil, *Edom*, 1^{er} Teil, 38. It remains to be seen what further effects, for good or evil, the opening of the Mecca railway will have.

recent years the western division of the territory and its connexions with Egypt, the Sinaitic peninsula and southern Arabia have been invested with a new interest by certain theories of the existence upon it of independent Arab states, and of their alleged influence on the fortunes of Israel. These theories also we require to discuss.

The ancient authorities for the geography and history of the land need only to be recalled. Besides the scattered notices and lists of place-names in the Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian literatures, the manifold data of the Old Testament, the few data of Josephus, and the still fewer in the Talmud, we have the defective information of the Greek and Latin geographers, the account in the nineteenth Book of Diodorus of the campaign of Antigonus, the Antonine Itinerary, the Peutinger Table of the third Christian century, the *Notitia Dignitatum* of the fifth, the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome and the relevant fragments which have been preserved of the mosaic map in Mádaba. The inscriptions can hardly be described as numerous: Nabatean and Greek and Latin, including a number of Roman milestones and some Christian texts. There are also a few coins.

From the sixth century to the beginning of the nineteenth we have the somewhat meagre itineraries of pilgrims from Egypt to Palestine and from Palestine to Sinai,¹ the data of the Moslem geographers and historians, and those of the earliest historians of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, especially in their accounts of the expeditions of Baldwin I and III to Wadi Mûsa and the Gulf of 'Akabah; of the

¹ Of whom Antoninus Placentinus, about 560; Bernard (ninth century); Thietmar, 1217; Sir John Mandeville, 1322, ch. vi. *Of the Desert between the Church of St. Catherine and Jerusalem*; the *Reisebuch der Familie Rieter* (fifteenth century); and Felix Fabri (1483), may be specially mentioned.

doings of the Crusaders of Kerak and Shobek, and of their campaigns with Saladin in that region.

The modern exploration of this territory began with Seetzen in 1806-7. He did not travel farther south than the end of the Dead Sea, round which he passed, but he collected from Arabs a large number of the place-names. In 1812 Burckhardt from the north passed down the entire extent of the eastern range, visiting Petra on the way. Irby, Mangles, Bankes and Legh followed in 1812, and penetrated as far as Petra and Jebel Harûn. In 1828 Laborde and Linant visited Petra from the south; in 1837 Schubert and Lord Lindsay travelled up the 'Arabah; and in 1838 Robinson crossed the Desert from 'Akabah to Hebron, and accomplished a rapid expedition from Hebron to Wadi Mûsa and back. In 1842 and once again Rowlands explored the Negeb and the desert to the south. The data of these and other travellers were compiled by Carl Ritter in the first scientific treatment of the whole territory.¹ In 1852 Dean Stanley travelled from 'Akabah to Petra, and thence across the desert and the Negeb to Hebron. Wilton's *Desert of the Negeb* appeared in 1863, Palmer's *The Desert of the Exodus* in 1871, and Clay Trumbull's *Kadesh Barnea* in 1884. Charles Doughty had completed his travels in the eastern range and about the Gulf of 'Akabah between 1876 and 1878, but their results were not published till 1888, in the first volume of his *Arabia Deserta*. Full and illuminating use was made of all these data by Dr. Frants Buhl in his monograph on the *Geschichte der Edomiter* (1893), which contains an adequate recognition of the unity of the territory, and in other ways lays down the bases of a scientific treatment of it. Since then, however, other information has become avail-

¹ *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula* (Edinburgh, 1846), translated by L. Gage, from Ritter's *Erdkunde von Asien*.

able. In 1883 the scientific expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund under Professor Hull passed up the 'Arabah to the Dead Sea, visiting on the way Wâdy Musa and other parts of the Eastern range; and their report was published by the Fund in 1888. There have been the journeys of Messrs. Hornstein (in 1895), and Gray Hill (1896),¹ of Sir Charles Wilson (1898),² of Messrs. Libbey and Hoskins in 1903,³ of Brünnow and Domaszewski (1897, etc.),⁴ and, above all, the labours, travels and exhaustive researches from 1896 to 1902 of Herr Alois Musil, whose rich results in topography, nomenclature and ethnology greatly exceed our previous information and who has triangulated the whole territory.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

THE FOUR PERPLEXING CHAPTERS.

(2 COR. X -XIII.)

WE have now⁵ to study the measures taken by St. Paul for dealing with the terrible problem of the Corinthians' unfaithfulness. He would be well aware of its full meaning. It bore not merely on his happiness but on his usefulness; if the scandal lived, that was at an end. And, besides, it threatened the continuance of anything which he could regard as Christianity at Corinth. We have already seen the plain proofs that Paul despatched a letter by Titus. One question of outstanding interest remains—whether or not chapters x.-xiii. of 2 Corinthians constitute (or belong to) that letter. Not without hesitation we shall answer yes; but we shall offer a few additional conjectures, one of which at least seems almost necessary if the identification is to be maintained.

Let us first take the evidence in favour of separating these chapters from the rest of the Epistle. (1) What first of all

¹ *P.E.F.Q.*, 1897-8.

² *P.E.F.Q.*, 1898, 307 ff.

³ *The Jordan Valley and Petra* (New York, 1905).

⁴ *Die Provincia Arabia* (Strassburg, 1904-6).

⁵ See articles in *EXPOSITOR* for July and September.