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THE EARLIEST RECORDED
DISCOVERY
OF
THERMAL SPRINGS

BY
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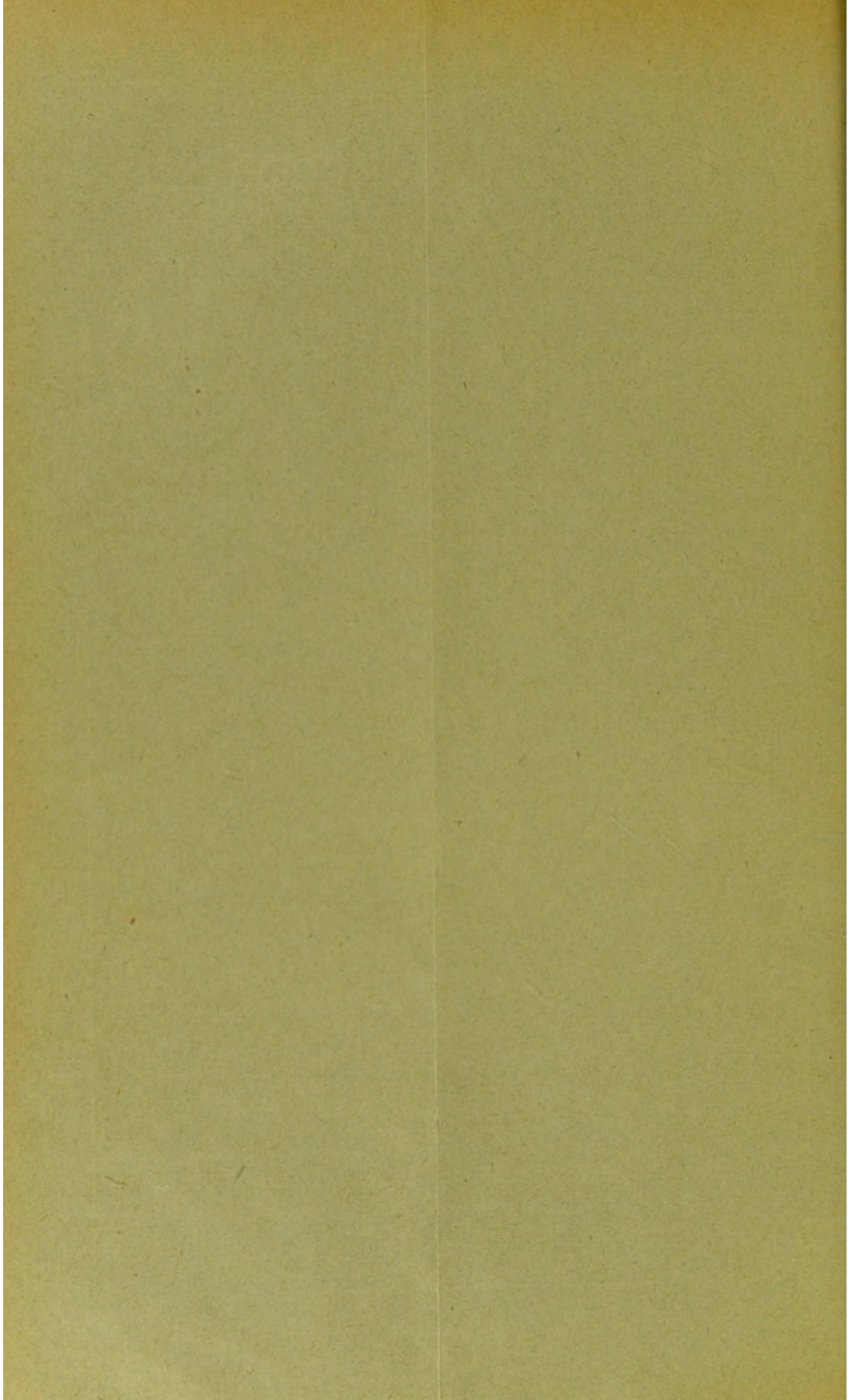
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THE EARLIEST RECORDED DISCOVERY OF THERMAL SPRINGS.¹

IN the earliest part of the Pentateuch there is a passage which, as it stands in the Authorised Version of the English Bible, may well have puzzled readers who were not aware that it contained a mistranslation. This has been corrected in the Revised Version by substituting "hot springs" for "mules." The text (Gen. xxxvi. 24) reads:—

"And these *are* the children of Zibeon ; both Ajah, and Anah : this *was that* Anah that found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father."—*Authorised Version.*

"And these are the children of Zibeon ; Aiah and Anah : this is Anah who found the hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father."—*Revised Version.*

Now it is obvious that in the genealogical table from which the above is extracted, the writer broke off to give in a parenthesis a fact which not only identified Anah, but was of sufficient importance in itself to justify the interruption of the narrative. We can scarcely suppose that lighting on some mules would be so considered. Besides, that translation is now generally abandoned, although it was long supposed that some animals were referred to, and Talmudical writers, with their innate love of mystery and far-fetched fancies, have indulged in most unwarrantable speculations² about Anah's knowledge of mules, apparently because they could not be satisfied with the simple fact, which lies on the surface of this genealogical table, that Anah had an uncle of the same name.

¹ Some parts of this article appeared a few years ago in other periodicals. As the views advocated have not, so far as I know, been refuted, they are here put forth in a less fragmentary form.—P.J.

² Pater Hanæ fuit Tzibhon, ut ibidem dicitur (xxxvi. 24). At ver. 20, Tzibhon et Hana dicuntur fuisse fratres. Inde ludunt et comminiscuntur Talmudici, Tzibonhem cum matre fuisse congressum, ac genuisse ex ea per nefandum incestum Hanam. Hana ergo, scribunt fuit profanus, illegitimus et spurius, et introduxit in mundum profana et spuria animalia.—*Cod. Pesachim*, cap. iv., fol. 54.

In the original the passage stands as follows :—

וַאֲלֵהּ בְּנֵי־צִבְעוֹן וַאֲיֵהָ וְעֵנָה הוּא עֵנָה אֲשֶׁר מָצָא אֶת־הַיָּמִים בַּמְדָּבָר בְּרַעְתּוֹ
אֶת־הַחֲמָרִים לְצִבְעוֹן אֲבִיו :

or, with the points, as given in Van der Hooghts' *Biblia Hebraica* :—

וַאֲלֵהּ בְּנֵי־צִבְעוֹן וַאֲיֵהָ וְעֵנָה הוּא עֵנָה אֲשֶׁר מָצָא אֶת־הַיָּמִים בַּמְדָּבָר בְּרַעְתּוֹ
אֶת־הַחֲמָרִים לְצִבְעוֹן אֲבִיו :

The word which requires our first attention is יָמִים (hot springs, formerly rendered mules). The Samaritan reading is אִימִים, which means terrors or terrible things, and is also found as a proper noun, being rendered in Gen. xiv. 5 Emims. But besides the addition of the initial consonant, which lacks other authority, we may judge that the tribe mentioned in this last cited passage was at too great a distance to be referred to here. The Targum of Onkelos, after the Samaritan text, has *gigantes*, and is followed by the Pseudo-Jonathan.¹ The Vulgate renders the word *aquæ calidæ*; ² Jerome mentions that in his time it had that signification in Punic-Syriac; and among modern authorities for hot springs we find Gesenius, and now the consensus of scholarly opinion represented in our Revised Version.

The word is related to both water and heat; יָם means a sea or lake, also any large body of water; so is sometimes applied to a river. The plural form יָמִים (seas, waters), refers not merely to large masses of water, but also to the place where they are gathered: hence the expression, "As the waters cover the sea." The initial being dropped with the definite article, we have הַיָּמִים the waters. The relation to heat is also close, as הָם or הֶם means hot (Psalm xxxix. 3, "My heart was hot within me"). A feminine form, הַמָּה, means warmth, glow; hence, secondarily the sun as the source of heat. The word is the same in Arabic-*Hama*, whence *Hammâm*, a hot bath, a form familiar in the

¹ The Greek translators seem to have aimed only at expressing by their own letters the sound they assigned to the original word. So we have τὸν Ἰαμείν, lxx, Vat., et Al.; τὸν ἑαμείν, Compl.; τοὺς λαμείν, Aq. et. Sym.

² Et hi filii Sebeon: Aia & Ana. Iste est Ana, qui invenit aquas calidas in solitudine, cūm pasceret asinos Sebeon, patris sui.

Eastern hot-air or so-called Turkish bath.¹ The word **דַּי**, day, has a similar derivation. Some philologists have suggested that this is because the day is warmer than the night. In the plural the words are alike, waters being distinguished from days by the insertion of a single point. The word also appears as a proper noun in Gen. xiv. 5, where it is transliterated Ham, and seems to be the name of the territory occupied by Zuzim, who as well as the Rephaim and Emim were conquered by Chedorlaomer on his victorious march southwards, when he also smote "the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-Paran, which is by the wilderness"—a statement of importance in view of what is to follow.²

From what has preceded it will be seen that "hot springs," as given in the Revised Version, is no far-fetched translation, but may be regarded as the true rendering of the word; and as we have no older writings, this is the earliest record of the discovery of thermal springs. Well may the phenomenon have excited the astonishment of this troglodyte tribe, and the name of the person who discovered the marvel been handed down in their traditions whether the waters were resorted to for medicinal purposes or not.

Who, then was the discoverer? Anah, a child of Zibeon, the son of Seir. In Gen. xxxvi. 2 and 14, Anah is called the *daughter* of Zibeon; but in verse 24 and 25, the word children is used. The

¹ The Arabs, when in Spain, seem to have given the name Alhama,=Al Hama, to any place where they found thermal waters. Thus there is one Alhama between Granada and Malaga; another between Murcia and Almeria; and a third not far from Zaragoza, in Aragon.

² In this passage the Septuagint renders the Rephaim "the giants," but does not help us as to the Zuzim or Ham, for it has another reading signifying "other mighty nations with them," and instead of El-Paran it gives us the Terebinth tree of Paran.

Καὶ κατέκοψαν τοὺς γίγαντας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσταρῶθ, καὶ Καρνάιν, καὶ ἔθνη ἰσχυρὰ ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς Ὀμμαίους τοὺς ἐν Σαυῇ τῇ πόλει, καὶ τοὺς Χορραίοιους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι Σηείρ, ἕως τῆς τερεβινθοῦ τῆς Φαράν· ἣ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

This passage has often been cited as supporting the rendering Emim in xxxvi. 24, but the reverse is the fact; for here we have τοὺς Ὀμμαίους (var. Σομαίους) as the name for that tribe, showing that the difference between the words was appreciated. Whatever the lxx. meant by τὸν Ἰαμείν they did not mean Emim for whom they wrote τοὺς Ὀμμαίους. Onkelos here has "et Horrendos qui erant in Save Cariathaim." But the Vulg., which seems to have started the confusion has, "et Emim in Save Cariathaim."

context reads as if Anah must have been a son, for Aholibamah is expressly stated to be a daughter, just as we find in other cases in these genealogies. The sons are named, and the daughters, if mentioned at all, are stated to be so. The Samaritan text has son in *v.* 2, 14; but some have thought the word might be rendered grand-daughter, thus: "Aholibamah, daughter of Anah (grand)-daughter of Zibeon." Although the word נב may no doubt mean either daughter or grand-daughter, it seems unnatural to give it two meanings so close together, and perhaps the reading of the Samaritan text, which is supported by the Septuagint,¹ is best. The word בנים (sons of) may certainly include descendants of both sexes; it is the word in the frequent phrase "children of Israel" applied to the nation, although it may be said that the Jews, like all Semites, attached so little importance to their women that sons alone sufficed to express all. The Septuagint employs the word sons, *υιοι*, in the same broad sense (*v.* 25), *Ουτοι δε υιοι Ανά. Δησων, και Ολιβεμα θυγάτηρ Ανά.*

This may be thought a Hebraism, but classical authority may be cited for the expression. Homer has *υιες Αχαιων* for *Αχαιοι*, and later writers use such phrases as *ιατρων υιεις*, physicians' sons, for physicians, though this perhaps arose from occupations being often handed down from father to son. In such cases we use the more general word *children*, for we could scarcely say in English, "these are the *sons* of Anah; Dishon and Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah."

The termination *ah* might be either masculine or feminine, as is often seen. It would not be unlikely for a daughter of a primitive tribe to drive the asses to pasture. Indeed, we find in this same book (*Gen.* xxix. 9) and again in *Exod.* ii. 16, illustrations of how the daughters took charge of flocks and herds; but, on the whole, we must conclude, that Anah was the son of Zibeon the Hivite.

This Anah had a daughter, Aholibamah, who became one of Esau's wives, and is called in an earlier chapter (xxvi. 34) Judith. It is generally supposed that the latter was the proper or personal name, and that the former was territorial and assumed at or after

¹ But against the Vulgate, which has "Ada filia Elo Hethæi, et Aolibama filia Anæ filia Sebeon Hevæi."

marriage. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that a little later the name Aholibamah is borne by one of the "Dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession" (xxxvi. 41, 43).¹ This change of names was very common in these early times, and, indeed, all through Hebrew history; Abram became Abraham, Sarai, Sarah; Jacob, Israel; and so on. Esau himself became Edom.

In the history with which we are dealing there are other instances of individuals bearing two names. Thus in xxvi. 34, Esau is said to have married Basemath or Bashemath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite; but in xxxvi. 2, she is called Adah; and Basemath is given as the name of Ishmael's daughter, who, it will be remembered, Esau added to his two Hittite wives, when he found that "the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac his father." But in the record of that marriage (xxviii. 9) Ishmael's daughter is called Mahalath. This looks like a mistranscription in one place or other, although it is possible in times when names were changed so readily, that one wife might take that of another. In case the first Basemath died, the name might pass to another; perhaps it was a favourite name,—Bashemath means fragrant, Mahalath, a song.²

Anah, then, our discoverer, was the son of Zibeon, and father of one of Esau's wives. He also had another name, Beeri, which Fürst considers may be rendered illustrious, though Gesenius and most others derive it from the noun בַּיִת (Beer), a well of water. This word, familiar in the names of places (*e.g.*, Beeroth, Beersheba, etc.), is usually applied to wells, but not to springs: some excavation, or at least some masonry for the protection of the mouth seems to be implied, hence, in a secondary sense, it means a pit. The spring or fountain, rising spontaneously, is אֵין (Ain or En), which also means an eye,—a spring of living water being the eye of

¹ The word אֲדוֹמִי (*Alluph*), rendered Duke, corresponds rather with our leader or chieftain. At the time the A.V. was made, there were no dukes in England, and previously the title had only been borne by men of royal blood. These Dukes of Seir were sheiks, and their government patriarchal.

² The custom of changing names prevailed throughout the Semitic family and may be observed among the Arabs in the present day. Mahomet, originally Machmad, became Achmad, and was also known as Ibn-Abdulla (= son of Abdullah), and Abu-Casem (father of Casem). The word Abu (father of), is still used by Arabs as a prefix to a surname.

the desert. Like its congener, the word is used in naming towns (*e.g.*, Endor, Engedi, &c.). From the word Beeri being chosen for his name, we might, therefore, conjecture that the thermal waters found by Anah did not rise above the surface or overflow; he found what looked like a well. On the other hand, the water came, if not quite to the surface, within easy reach. This I conclude because he would not have known that the water was warm if the well had been deep, for obviously he would be carrying nothing to draw with. He lived in a dry and thirsty land, where the history of every well was known, where to dig a new one was more honourable than to found a city, where the sheik who dug one gave it his name and claimed the territory, and where the accomplishment of so beneficial a work was the occasion of great public rejoicing.¹ I picture Anah, who had wandered far from home, as glad to rest and meditate on the strange phenomenon of a naturally-formed well, and after having somewhat recovered from his astonishment, as proceeding to slake his thirst, or to cool his hands in the refreshing water, when—wonder upon wonder!—he finds it warm, not hot enough to scald, or it would have been regarded with fear as of evil omen. At a later period, especially if the waters were found to possess healing properties, some excavation or other protective works would be undertaken by the discoverer, who perhaps then began to be called Beeri. It is, however, possible that at that early date the two words may not have been completely differentiated. Moreover, a derivative of אֵין (*Ain*) would have been too similar to Anah to serve as an addition. On the other hand, Beeri, having distinct reference to his discovery, would be a very natural name to add to Anah; and, if we couple these names, it may help us in threading our way through these ancient genealogies.

Anah-Beeri is called a *Hittite* (xxvi. 34). His daughter is

¹ As seen in the song (Numb. xxi. 17, 18) celebrating the digging of a well by princes and nobles, evidently a fragment of Hebrew poetry.

Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it:
The well which the princes digged,
Which the nobles of the people delved,
With the sceptre, with their staves. (R.V.)

included with the other wife of Esau among the "daughters of Heth" (xxvii. 46), and "daughters of the land;" but in xxxvi. 2, his father Zibeon is called a *Hivite*. Again Zibeon is said (v. 20) to be one of the sons of Seir the *Horite*, and is named (v. 30) as one of the "dukes that came of the Horites according to their dukes in the land of Seir."

To understand these statements it is necessary to remember that the names applied to nations or tribes as well as persons were often merely descriptive. Thus Hivites were villagers, just as Canaanites were dwellers in the plains or Lowlanders; and Amorites were Highlanders. The "giants," powerful tribes of large stature, Rephaim, Zuzim, Avim, and Emin or Anakim, were earlier inhabitants, if not aborigines. So also were the Horites or cave-dwellers, who occupied mount Seir. The Hittites—the *Khatti* of Assyrian, and the *Kheta* of Egyptian monuments,—seem to have been of quite a different race, and, indeed, to have included two distinct races. At a still earlier era a tribe of these people seems to have been established in the south of Palestine, and was in a state of advanced civilisation, as appears from the graphic account of the purchase from Ephron the Hittite of a burying place, which was "made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city" (Gen. xxiii.). With these facts before us, Beerī-Anah might be spoken of as a Hittite in reference to race, as a Hivite if he took up his abode in the plain. So Zibeon, when he grew up, became a Hivite (villager), although he was the son of Seir the Horite (cave-dweller); and it is quite as natural to think that Anah was established in his own village, when Esau married his daughter, as to suppose he was abiding with either his father or grandfather at Mount Seir, after his daughter had reached a marriageable age. Even if not, it is clear from the narrative that the Horites had free access to the plains, and that Anah could safely be in the "wilderness" tending his father's asses. There is another explanation which may be preferred by some; the word for Hivites, חִוִּי, is so like that for Horites, חֲרִי, that an error of transcription would be exceedingly likely to creep in. Again, the Horites, as we have seen, were cave-dwellers, they derived their name from חֹר, a hole or cave.

This same word was also applied to great men or nobles, and had another meaning—white. The form may be derived from two roots, one meaning to be white, pale; the other to be hot, dry. With the softer aspirate instead of the guttural initial the word becomes *הר*, the name of Mount Hor; and with slightly different pointing *הר*, a mountain. It has been suggested that Horites might have been inhabitants of Mount Hor, and the initials are so often interchangeable that there would be no objection to this etymology. But we shall see just now that the lofty peak of Hor can scarcely be included in the land of Seir, for, hundreds of years afterwards, it was not within the boundary of Edom.

We may now ask whether the locality of the hot springs discovered by Anah-Beerī can be determined. The word here translated wilderness, *מדבר*, does not quite correspond with the Arabah, although in our English Bible the two are frequently used as synonymous, and rendered by desert, wilderness, plain or plains indifferently. The word Arabah is applied in the Old Testament to the deep ravine which cleaves the Holy Land from Hermon on the north to the Gulf of Akaba on the south. It may, therefore, include the Valley of the Jordan, the Sea of Gallilee, and the Dead Sea, as well as the great desert valley between the Dead Sea and the eastern Gulf of the Red Sea, to which it is more frequently restricted. In the poetical books the word has only a general sense (Job xxiv. 5, where the two words are both found). At present the Arabs call the Jordan valley *El Ghor* (the valley), as far as the highlands which cross it south of the Dead Sea. But from that line to the head of the gulf is the dreary Arabah proper, *Wady el-Arabah* = wilderness of Zin.

Mount Seir, *שׁעיר*, seems to have been the original name given to the range of mountains extending from near the head of the Gulf of Akaba to within about eight miles of the Dead Sea, thus comprising a territory of about one hundred miles long (north to south), by about twenty broad, and enclosing many tablelands, mountain valleys, and glens, as well as the more rugged elevations. On the east Seir is bounded by the plateau of Arabia, from which it rises gradually into an unbroken ridge of limestone, three thousand feet above the sea level. On the west of the range lies the wilderness of Zin, of which it is the eastern boundary. Seir

means rugged, and the name afterwards became Edom, which means red, and is equally appropriate, whether taken from Esau's ruddy countenance, or from the colour of the porphyry and sandstone, which is on this side a marked feature.

At a later period the Edomites undoubtedly possessed the plains, and they even advanced during the captivity as far as Hebron, so that the whole of Southern Palestine was called Idumea, and Latin writers speak of Jews as Idumeans.¹ But at the time of Anah's discovery of the thermal springs it is altogether unlikely that these Horites—a troglodyte race—imposed their authority far beyond their own caves, rocky fastnesses, and the places commanded by them. It may, indeed, be supposed that the paucity of population at this early period left them in undisturbed possession of the plains for some distance, both on the west and east of their mountain chain. But centuries after this, we find that the Edomites, descendants of Esau, had multiplied and completely dispossessed or absorbed the Horites. Yet, although strong enough to forbid the Israelites a passage through his country, the king of Edom did not pretend to prevent their occupation of the wilderness of Zin. On receiving his refusal the Israelites marched to Mount Hor “by the border of the land of Edom” (Numb. xx. 23), which peak, therefore, could not have been within the power of the Edomites, who came out to guard their borders “with much people and with a strong hand.” After the death of Aaron the Israelites “journeyed from Mount Hor by the way to the Red Sea to compass the land of Edom” (Numb. xxi. 4); that is, they descended the wilderness of Zin southwards, rounded the head of the gulf, and then turned northwards on their journey, but at a distance from the border.

If the thermal springs had been in the wilderness of Zin, it seems highly probable that they would have been met with on this journey, and, therefore, again mentioned in the narrative. It is not likely that they lay to the east of Edom, for the conformation of the mountain seems less favourable for a descent and the country more of a desert. On the western side the so-called wilderness of Zin was no barren desert, but an unpopulated

¹ As, e.g., Virgil, *Georg.*, iii., 12; and Juvenal, *Sat.*, viii., 160.

country with plenty of pasturage. On this side also lay the route to Canaan, whence Esau came at a later date.

Could the springs have been within the border of Edom, or rather Seir? The first meaning of the word for wilderness is not a sandy desert but simply an uncultivated plain, fit for pasture, and, accordingly, any unpopulated tract of land. Now, in the chain of Seir, there are numerous smiling valleys and fertile plains, and these troglodytes who dwelt "in the clefts of the rocks," and held "the heights of the hills," might come out from their caves and go down in absolute security to such land to pasture their asses. In this rugged mountain range, which has evidently been convulsed by the vast forces of nature, "hot springs" would be likely to issue; and perhaps it was in one of these mountain valleys that Anah-Beerî first discovered the thermal spring, "as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father." If this be an unacceptable view on the ground that the spring would not have been overlooked so long, we may suppose that Anah wandered much further than others had done; perhaps he descended to the base of their mountain, or as far as, or even beyond the edge of the wilderness, which again would be a likely locality for such springs. It is obvious they were not in a part to which the population constantly resorted, or would have been more familiar, and so not named at all.

Having, then, as nearly as may be, located the springs, we may inquire whether they were utilised medicinally. This would partly depend on the temperature of the water, which, as we have seen, was probably suitable. If excessively hot the springs would remain objects of wonder or dread. The region probably yielded such springs as are likely to be useful, and in all ages people have readily resorted to them for treatment. Even in this early age we may be sure of a readiness to try the effect of the wonderful waters in disease. And unless they were found efficacious, they would soon have been forgotten, and, therefore, this record would not have mentioned them. It is true that when first gazed upon, a spring of hot water was calculated to excite the utmost wonder; and we may imagine that when Anah reported his discovery, these primitive dwellers in caves would eagerly follow him to the spot where they would gaze in rapt admiration and

awe at the strange wonder. Nevertheless, with passing time, unless there were occasion to frequent the place the impression would fade, and as those who first saw it died out, the springs would either be forgotten or regarded only as a natural phenomenon, so that Anah's fame would be dimmed, and his discovery fail to identify him. And yet we find his discovery used for such a purpose in this genealogical table, in the Book of Genesis, which at the very earliest date assigned to it, was not written until hundreds of years afterwards. No doubt, the writer may have obtained access to an earlier record of the genealogy of Esau (and this list looks as if it were such a document which had been inserted), or he may have accepted the traditions of his descendants. In the former case he would scarcely copy an unmeaning parenthesis of identity (the only one in his list); in the latter can we suppose that he would throw in such a statement in so exceedingly condensed a narrative, unless the springs named were known to his readers as well as himself; and what would be so likely to keep up this knowledge as their reputation as a remedy for disease?

Are we not, then, entitled to conclude that these thermal waters enjoyed such a reputation at the time the Book of Genesis was written; and that, therefore, the name of Anah-Beerli had been handed down with honour, and his great discovery distinguished him from his uncle Anah mentioned in this record, as well as from any one else of the same name? When he found the springs he was a young man living with his father, and taking his share in the occupations of the family, and so came to be minding the asses of Zibeon his father. At this time Zibeon himself was a family man, living, no doubt, in one of the valleys, at the head of his own village or settlement, which comprised the dwellings of his family and dependants. He was not a cave-dweller, like his father Seir, and is hence naturally called Zibeon the Hivite.

After his discovery Anah added Beerli to his name, and by the time he had a marriageable daughter, was known by that only; by race he belonged to the earlier inhabitants, and, therefore, when Esau married his daughter, he was properly described as Beerli the Hittite.

We have seen that attentive examination of these ancient writings may yield us curious and interesting information. We have succeeded in extracting from a mere parenthesis in a genealogical table the history of the discovery of thermal springs. A similar parenthetical statement in the same chapter appears to me to give substance to the somewhat shadowy figure of Seir the Horite, of whom we know so little that his historic form seems to loom but dimly through the vista of the ages. He is not said to have been the father of the Horites; he was probably the greatest ruler of that troglodyte race which preceded the Edomites. He may have died early, and his authority been divided between his sons, the dukes. It is equally probable that he ruled largely through his sons, who, as almost independent sheiks, still respected the patriarchal authority of their father as supreme.

The parenthesis in question ("and Lotan's sister was Timna" *v.* 22) shows that he had at least two wives, but whether at the same time or in succession, we cannot tell. In a polygamous age the former would not be unlikely; but it is quite possible the latter may have been the case.

That the first wife had two children,—one a son, the other a daughter,—I infer, because each time the sons of Seir are enumerated, the first named is Lotan. This would not have been the case unless he had been the oldest; in all such tables the firstborn son stands first in the list. The names of the seven sons of Seir are given, and we are told that they were all dukes. Then come the names of the children of the firstborn son—Lotan,—followed by our parenthesis, "and Lotan's sister was Timna." Obviously she would have been sister to all, unless the others were sons of another wife, when she would be only half-sister of the other six, and would be most properly described as Lotan's sister. Possibly she might have been older than her brother, for even in that case the eldest son would still be named first. There is nothing to show which was the first-born child.

Timnah is the name of one of the Dukes of Esau (*v.* 40), and whether that name be territorial or personal, it might have been taken after Timna, just as we have seen in the case of Aholibamah (*v.* 41). In *v.* 12 we have a Timna as concubine of

Eliphaz, Esau's son.¹ Timna was probably not an uncommon name ; but some critics seem to have made a difficulty by refusing to see that in a genealogical record the same name would probably be borne by more than one person. So they make Lotan's sister the concubine of Esau's son, although Esau had himself married Lotan's brother's grand-daughter !

The Timna of Eliphaz had a son named Amalek, who, however, is numbered with Adah's sons. This would only be in accordance with custom, if Timna, like other concubines mentioned in Genesis, had been a bondmaid. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that Timna had been Adah's handmaid ; but upon this some German writers have founded the conjecture that by this time the Horites had been subjected by the Edomites, and Lotan's sister made a slave of. This violent supposition derives no support from the records, and it is in the highest degree improbable that Eliphaz should have married Seir's daughter, when his own father's wife was Seir's great grand-daughter ; nor is it likely that Adah would have held in bondage the great-aunt of another of Esau's wives.

A more natural suggestion occurs to me. Adah was a daughter of Elon, the Hittite, and may have had a captive of some other tribe as her handmaid, even before her marriage. If not, her father probably gave her one as a customary wedding present, just as Laban gave Zilpah to Leah, and Bilhah to Rachel. Such a handmaid would, however, be much older than her mistress's son, and, therefore, Timna might rather have been the child of such a one. But even apart from this, Adah would not lack for handmaids when she was the wife of a great warrior chief, who years before was at the head of 400 fighting men. Timna was probably such a handmaid. She may have been captured in some fight of Esau's, or quite as likely "born in his house." Among the many bond-servants in Esau's train, Timna, one of Adah's maids, was no doubt young and beautiful. Esau's eldest son loved her, and she was given him for a concubine. The union would be regarded as an honourable form of marriage,

¹ In the briefer summary 1 Chron. i. 36, which is evidently taken from this, Timna is included among the sons of Eliphaz ; but there probably we should read "and (of) Timna also Amalek."

but neither the bondwoman nor her children would hold the same rank as the free. My supposition is strengthened by the name Timna gave her son—Amalek. This was probably after her own tribe, for the Amalekites were a nation in southern Palestine in Abraham's time.

By recognising the probability of one person in a family being, as we say, named after another, all the pretty puzzle constructed by commentators disappears. It may assist the reader to put the list of Seir's family in tabular form thus :—

CHILDREN OF SEIR'S FIRST WIFE.		CHILDREN OF SEIR'S OTHER WIFE OR WIVES.				
Lotan <i>and his sister Timna.</i> ¹	Shobal.	Zibeon.	Anah. Dishon. Aholibamah (Daughter).	Dishon.	Ezer.	Dishan.
Hori. Hemam.	Alvan. Manahath. Ebal. Shepho. Onam.	Aiah. Anah.		Hemdan. Eshban. Ithran. Cheran.	Bilhan. Zaavan. Akan.	Uz. Aran.
			Aholibamah (Esau's wife).			

This table will show that those who insist that the two Anahs must be identical only multiply difficulties. To be consistent they should also eliminate one Aholibamah and one Dishon, reducing the number of Seir's sons thus :—

Lotan.	Shobal.	Zibeon.	Ezer.	Dishan.
Hori. Hemam.	Alvan. Manahath. Ebal. Shepho. Onam.	Aiah. Anah.	Bilhan. Zaavan. Akan.	Uz. Aran.
		Dishon. Aholibama.		
			Hemdan. Eshban. Ithran. Cheran.	

This table is only possible if we were to make the sons of Seir to mean his descendants. But the objection to this is, that

¹ Not much has been made of the names in the above table. Timna, said to mean a coy one, has the form of the third future feminine of נָמַן , and the corresponding masculine form occurs as a man's name, Imna (1 Chron. vii. 35). Zibeon is supposed to mean ravenous, and Anah answer; Manahath may be repose; Hemdan delight; Ithran superior. But I do not attach importance to this, for the names may be only transliterations from the native tongue. Several are names of places (*e.g.*, Uz, Ebal), as well as persons. Many have not a Hebrew look. Aiah would sound like the Arabic *ayah*, nurse.

all seven sons are enumerated again as dukes, that is, heads of tribes. Yet so able a critic as Hengstenberg is driven by his prepossession, that there was only one Anah, to say we have both father and son in the list, and, therefore, they must be "sons of Seir in the widest sense." And he conjectures that Zibeon's line was preserved through Aiah, and Anah founded an independent family, unconscious of the fatal objection to this, that in such case we should certainly have had the sons of Aiah enumerated. Hengstenberg also argues that there could be but one Anah, as otherwise "the family of one would be altogether wanting, while it belongs to the writer's plan to give it as he has done with the other six."

To my mind the plan was rather to show the genealogy of Esau's wife as the descendant of Seir. The only reason for introducing the list at all is the connection with Esau, just as the genealogy of Esau was only called for on account of his relationship to Israel. My first table shows that the first Anah had a family, and, therefore, the objection on that ground is founded on an error; but even if it had been a fact, it is surely by no means inconceivable that one of seven sons might die unmarried. To me it seems even more natural to leave Aiah, as the record does, without children, than to suppose them to bear the name of their grandfather, Zibeon, whose line was preserved in Anah. No doubt, if there were any necessity for such an explanation, the influence of Esau, his powerful son-in-law, an independent chief, would tend to increase the prestige of Anah. But if we examine the record closely, we find that Aholibamah's sons are all named as dukes, but not the sons of Esau's other wives, though their sons in turn became dukes. It is not at all unnatural that the sons of a daughter of the tribe, who had married an independent prince, should rank with the other tribal heads; and this brings us to another prevailing error which is worth correcting.

It is too often supposed that, as we are told elsewhere, that the Edomites dispossessed the Horites, Esau went in force and drove them out. The record does not support any such interpretation. Esau and Jacob separated after the death of their father Isaac, because their "riches were more than they might

dwelt together, and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle"; and we have (v. 6) a graphic account of Esau, his wives, sons, daughters, and dependents, setting out on their journey. What more natural than that he should direct his steps to the land of one of his wives, where her ancestor Seir, had been the greatest patriarchal ruler; where his descendants her near relatives, were the governing sheiks; and where her own father, Anah-Beer, a prince of distinction, the celebrated discoverer of the thermal springs, would doubtless be glad to welcome his daughter and her children in the train of the mighty prince to whom he had married her? Her sons became dukes like these heads of tribes and we may picture these numerous kindred chiefs dwelling together in amity for a considerable period. Esau's descendants grew in number and power; in the next generation we find his grandsons by his other wives are recognised dukes, and, eventually the Edomites outnumbered the earlier inhabitants, and after, perhaps, some fighting, conquered and dispossessed or absorbed them. But Esau may have slept with his fathers long before dissensions arose between his descendants and those of the tribe of his wives.

