

*F*ROM EDOM TO IDUMEA: SEPTUAGINT REFERENCES TO EDOM AND IDUMEA

Abstract

This paper compares Hebrew (MT) and Greek (LXX) Biblical references to the Edomites and their homeland. The key terms that have been taken into account in the present paper are Edom (אֶדוֹם), Edomites (אֶדוֹמִים), Seir (שַׁעִיר), and Esau (עֵשָׂו). The purpose of the comparison of the Hebrew and Greek references is to check whether the LXX passages contain any textual differences that may reflect historical events that occurred between the time of the composition of the Hebrew Bible and the time of the creation of the Septuagint, especially the formation of the province of Idumea directly south of Judea and increased cultural activity between the Judeans and Idumeans.

In the most general terms, the LXX renderings of the Hebrew terms Edom (אֶדוֹם), Edomites (אֶדוֹמִים), Seir (שַׁעִיר), and Esau (עֵשָׂו) do not contain any changes that would be important in terms of the historical geography of southern Palestine or the emotional attitude of Biblical writers towards the Edomites/Idumeans. The term אֶדוֹם is rendered as either Ἐδὼμ (mostly) or Ἰδουμαία, and in most cases the two Greek names are used as synonyms. In turn, the Greek equivalents of עֵשָׂו, שַׁעִיר, and אֶדוֹמִי are Σηίρ, Ἡσαῦ, and Ἰδουμαῖος.

Only in some cases may we speak about important differences. First, the LXX Job appendix (Job 42:17a and 42:17b-e) reflects the very specific historical context of when the Idumeans settled directly south of Judea and became more closely connected with the Judeans, either through actual conversion or increased cultural exchange. Second, although in most cases the Greek names Ἰδουμαία or Ἐδὼμ are used interchangeably, one may notice a certain preference for the term Ἰδουμαία in some parts of the LXX, which may not always be a coincidence. For instance, the

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term Ἰδουμαία is used only for the genealogy of Eliphas (Gen. 36). Given the fact that Eliphas also plays an important role in the genealogy of Job in the LXX Appendix and this is also the only Idumean genealogy that was known to Josephus (in *Ant.* 2.4-6), it may be suggested that the names of the Eliphas chieftains were particularly well known in Hellenistic and Early Roman times, and the Judeans saw them as being connected with the contemporary Idumeans. Furthermore, the LXX Samuel tends to connect David with (the conquest of) Ἰδουμαία (2 Sam. 8:12-14; while Saul's conquests are attributed to Ἐδóμ). Given the tendency of 1-2 Macc. to refer to David as a model of the Hasmoneans (1 Macc. 2:57, 4:30; 2 Macc. 2:13), this tendency may not be coincidental.

Keywords

Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, Edom, Edomites, Idumea, Idumeans

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to compare Hebrew (MT) and Greek (LXX) Biblical references to the country of Edom.¹ The key terms referring to Edom in the Hebrew Bible that will be taken into account in the present paper are Edom (אֶדוֹם), Edomites (אֶדוֹמִים), Seir (שַׁעִיר), and Esau (עֵשָׂו).² These names are understood as the most essential terms conveying the idea of the geopolitical and geoethnic entity of the Edomites and their homeland.³ The purpose of the comparison of the Hebrew and Greek references is to check whether the LXX passages contain any textual differences that may reflect historical events that occurred between the time of the composition of the Hebrew Bible and the time of the creation of the Septua-

¹ The texts compared in this paper are the WTT Hebrew text (which is an encoding of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, which in turn attempts to be a faithful reproduction of the latest hand of the Leningrad Codex) and the LXT Greek text (which is essentially based on the LXX edited by Alfred Rahlfs), both available in BibleWorks 10.

² First, these terms are chosen as the most relevant since they are most frequently used for Edom and the Edomites in ancient sources as the most general ethnic, geographical, or political labels. Second, it is necessary to limit our research for matter of convenience. If the present research task were to be expanded, other terms, mainly Edomite local toponymy (e.g., Bosrah, Teman, Dedan, etc.) could be included. For local Edomite toponymy, see Bartlett 1989: 37–54.

³ Thus, we do assume that all these terms refer to a well-known entity. Of course, much can be said about the deficiencies of this approach. For instance, it has been shown that Seir and Edom were primarily distinct entities. However, all such subtleties are not of direct importance to the present study, since its focus is on how the Greek scribes treated the references to Edom that they encountered in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Likewise, the problems of the transmission of various textual Hebrew and Greek traditions cannot be dealt with here (especially as, in many cases, the results of scholarship remain very speculative). For an introduction to Septuagint studies, see Tov 1999; Marcos 2000; Jobes, Silva 2015.

gint. The historical event that underlines the working hypothesis is the migration of the Edomites from the Transjordan into the Negev and the creation of the province of Idumea (by the Hellenistic period), which included the northern Negev and southern Judea as far as Beth Zur (see Figures 1-2).

Two of the most specific aspects of interest for the present paper are the attitude of the Biblical writers (positive or negative) and the historical geography of southern Palestine. In the first case, much has been written about the relationship between the Israelites (Judahites) and the Edomites, encompassing a wide variety of attitudes ranging from common descent (Jacob and Esau) through (possibly mutual) religious heritage (YHWH theophany from Seir and Teman) and appreciation of wisdom (Jer. 49:7 and Obad. 8) to various stages of hostility (see Obadiah's prophecy/wish for the destruction of the Edomites).⁴ Do the Greek references to Edom/Idumea reflect any changes in the Jewish attitude towards the Idumeans for better or for worse? In the second case, it is widely known that by the Hellenistic period a new province of Idumea had emerged (the first explicit mention is Diodorus 19.95 and 98),⁵ including the northern Negev and southern Judah as far as Beth Zur.⁶ However, the importance of this change is not always fully realized. It should be stressed that several important sites that had once belonged to the kingdom of Judah could now be found in the midst of Idumean territory. For instance, Hebron, the famous site of the tomb of Hebrew patriarchs, including Abraham, was located on Idumean soil.⁷ Do the Greek references to Edom/Idumea reveal any differences in terms of historical geography?

⁴ For an overview, see Edelman 1995. For more details, see Bartlett 1989: 83–102; Dicou 1994.

⁵ Idumea is called *ἐπαρχία* in Diod. 19.95 (which is most likely to be emended to *ὕπαρχεια*) and *σατραπεία* in Diod. 19.98 (which is apparently used in a colloquial/metaphorical way). See Kokkinos 1998: 52–54; Hackl, Jenni, Schneider 2003: 452. What is more, the toponym Idumea is also attested in the Zenon Papyri (PCZ 59015 [Ἰδουμαία] for the year 259/258 BCE).

⁶ The northern border of Idumean settlement in the Persian Period (towards Yehud), attested archaeologically, can be drawn from Emek Ha-Elah south towards Keilah and then southeast of Beth-Zur, from Beth Zur the border ran east until just south of En Gedi, and next, the eastern border continued along the Rift Valley, the western border probably fell along the line of the settlements of Tell Zafit, Tell Erani, Tell el-Hesi, Tell Jemmeh, and Tell el-Farah, in the south Idumea was essentially demarcated by the Beer-Sheva and Arad valleys. See Kloner, Stern, 2007: 139–144.

⁷ This problem is implicitly present in the Book of Jubilees 37:1-38:14, which depicts the fight for Hebron that occurred between the sons of Jacob and the sons of Esau. It has been disputed whether this passage reflects historical events (Hasmonean expansion and capture of the Hebron area) or simply expresses the ideology of territorial rights disguised as patriarchal history. See Mendels 1987: 78; Duke 2010: 94; Livneh 2013: 208–209.

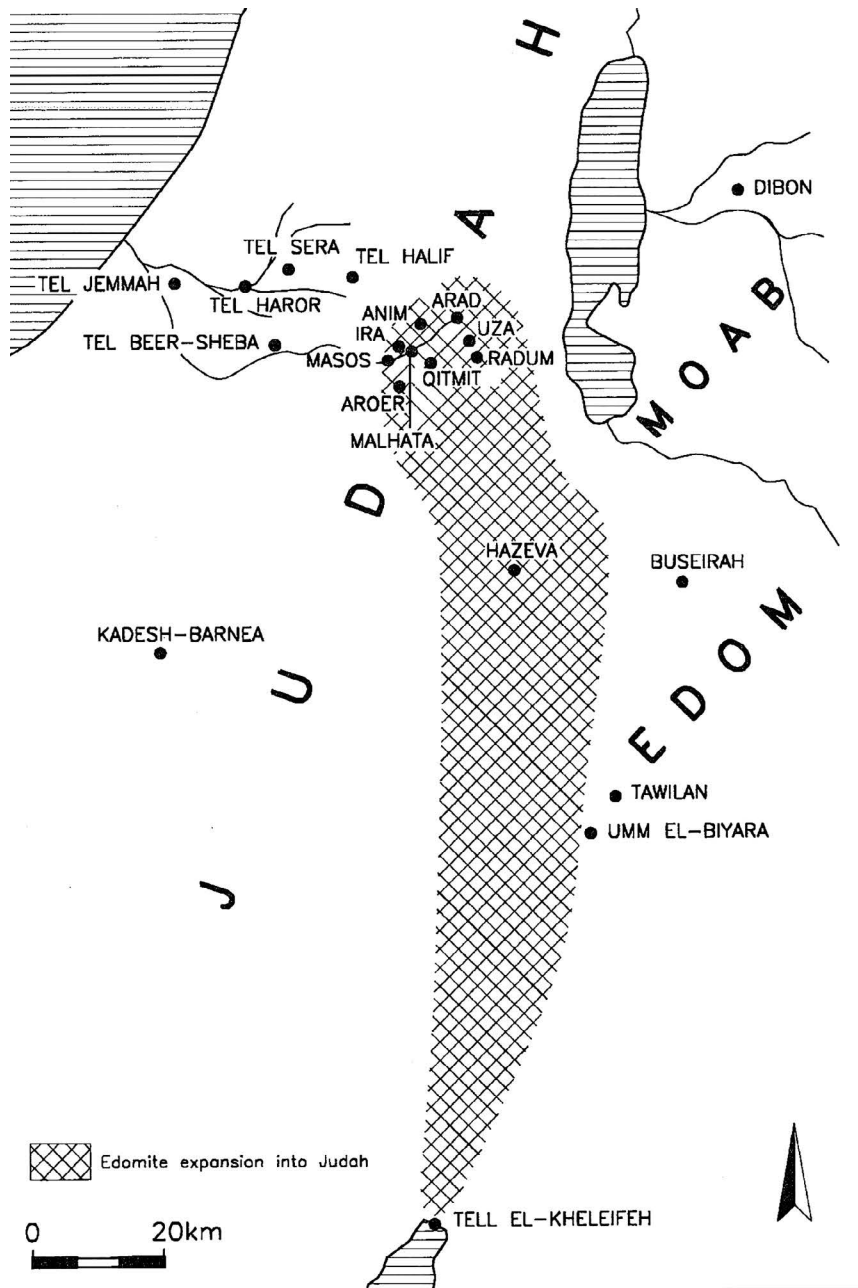


Figure 1: Edomite expansion into the Judah period (Beit-Arieh 1995, 40)

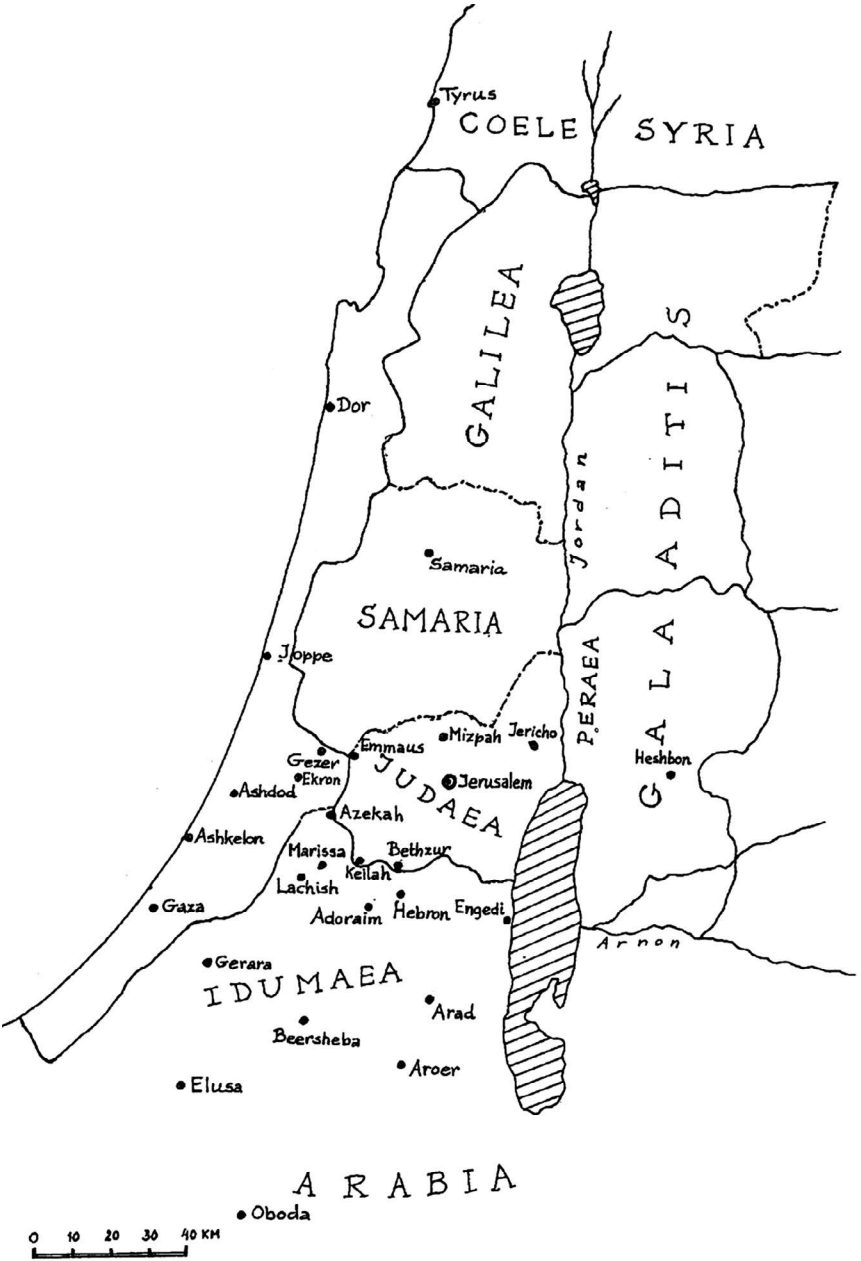


Figure 2: Idumea and Judea in the Hellenistic and Early Roman period (de Geus 1979-80, 58)

Hexateuch⁸

In the Book of Genesis, most references to the ‘Edomite topic’ are connected with the figure of Esau, the brother of Jacob and the forefather of the Edomites.⁹ First of all, Esau plays an important role in the context of the narrative of Jacob (25:19-27:46, 28:1-22, 32:1-33:20, 35:1-29). Furthermore, Gen. 36 is entirely devoted to Esau and his descendants, listing Esau’s descendants in Gen. 36:1-30 and enumerating the rulers of Edom (‘before any Israelite king reigned’) in Gen. 36:31-43.

In the Hebrew text of Genesis, עשׂו is mentioned seventy-six times (Gen. 25:25-30, 32, 34; Gen. 26:34; Gen. 27:1, 5-6, 11, 15, 19, 21-24, 30, 32, 34, 37-38, 41-42; Gen. 28:5-6, 8-9; Gen. 32:4-5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 18-20; Gen. 33:1, 4, 9, 15-16; Gen. 35:1, 29; Gen. 36:1-2, 4-6, 8-10, 12-15, 17-19, 40, 43), while the Greek equivalent Ἡσαῦ occurs eighty-one times (Gen. 25:25-34; Gen. 26:34; Gen. 27:1, 5-6, 11, 15, 19, 21-24, 30, 32, 34, 36-38, 41-42; Gen. 28:5-6, 8-9; Gen. 29:1; Gen. 32:4-7, 9, 12, 14, 18-20; Gen. 33:1, 4, 9, 15-16; Gen. 35:1, 7, 29; Gen. 36:1-2, 4-6, 8-10, 12-15, 17-19, 40, 43). Five additional Greek references to Ἡσαῦ can be found in Gen. 25:33, 27:36, 29:1, 32:6, 35:7, 36:18. First, in Gen. 25:33 and 27:36 the lack of the personal name in the Hebrew text results from the use of the *wāw-copulativum* (for instance, in 27:36 the Hebrew text uses the phrase וַיֵּאמֶר, while the Greek has καὶ εἶπεν Ἡσαῦ). Second, the Greek text of Gen. 29:1 is longer: instead of saying briefly that Jacob went to ‘the Land of the Easterners,’ the Greek text is more specific and points to Laban (as the recipient of Jacob’s travel), who is characterized as the brother of Rebecca, mother of Jacob and Esau. Third, in Gen. 32:6 the phrase ‘to announce to my lord’ is supplemented with the personal name Esau in the Greek text: ἡγοῦναι καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι τῷ κυρίῳ μου Ἡσαῦ. Fourth, in Gen. 35:7 the Hebrew phrase about Jacob fleeing from ‘his brother’s face’ (פְּנֵי אָחִיו) is also supplemented with the personal name of Esau (ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἡσαῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ). Finally, the Greek text of Gen. 36:18 (sons of Oholibamah, Esau’s wife) mentions Oholibamah twice (as does the Hebrew text), but in the second reference the LXX drops Oholibamah’s title as the wife of Esau.

Concerning the LXX presentation of Esau, it can be stated that it does not essentially differ from that in the Hebrew Bible. Esau is presented as the first-born of Jacob, physically ‘red, hairy all over like a skin’ (Gen. 25:25: πυρράκης ὅλος ὥσει δορὰ δασύς; and 27:11 [as opposed to smooth Jacob]: ἀνὴρ δασύς ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνὴρ λεῖος) and skilled in hunting and living in the open country (Gen. 25:27). The LXX faithfully reports Esau selling his birthright to Jacob (Gen. 25:29-34) and being additionally cheated out of his father’s blessing by his brother (Gen.

⁸ See also Marciak 2015 as a preliminary treatment of the selected Hexateuch references.

⁹ The numbers given here are a result of the use of the search window in Bible Works 10.

27:1-30). Esau is said to have taken foreign Hittite wives (Gen. 26:34), but also to have married Mahalath (מַחֲלַת/Maeleth), daughter of Abraham's son Ishmael and sister of Nebaioth (Gen. 28:9). The LXX closely renders the most strained episodes in Esau and Jacob's relationship: Esau's declaration of his intention to kill Jacob (Gen. 27:41: ἀποκτείνω Ἰακωβ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου) and Jacob's emotional preparations (ἐφοβήθη δὲ Ἰακωβ σφόδρα καὶ ἤπορεύτο) to meet Esau after his return from Mesopotamia (Gen. 32:3-33:16).

When it comes to the use of the term Edom (עֲדוֹם/ Ἐδώμ), in all but two cases the term is mentioned in the Book of Genesis in chapter 36 in the context of the genealogy of Esau's descendants. The only two exceptions to this rule are Gen. 25:30 and Gen. 32:4. Gen. 25:30 tells the story of Esau selling his birthright for red lentils, and this episode is supposed to explain why Esau was also called Edom. In Gen. 32:4, the references to the name Edom (and Seir) indicate the place where Jacob and Esau met.

The name עֲדוֹם appears thirteen times in the Hebrew Genesis (Gen. 25:30; Gen. 32:4; Gen. 36:1, 8-9, 16-17, 19, 21, 31-32, 43). In the Greek Genesis, Εδώμ is mostly rendered with Ἐδώμ (Gen. 25:30; Gen. 32:4; Gen. 36:1, 8-9, 17, 19, 21, 30-32, 43). The only two irregularities in this scheme are Gen. 36:16 and Gen. 36:30. In Gen. 36:16, Εδώμ is rendered with Ἰδουμαία. This is remarkable as it is the only attestation of the Hellenistic name of Idumea in the LXX Genesis. Gen. 36:11-12 is devoted to the genealogy of Eliphaz, the firstborn of Esau. The following Edomite chieftain sons of Eliphaz are mentioned: חִימֹן, אֹמֶר, צִפּוֹר, גַּעֲתָם, קֶנֶז, עֲמֶלֶק in the Hebrew text, and Θαιμάν, Ωμάρ, Σωφάρ, Γοθόμ, Κενέζ, Αμαλήκ in the LXX text. Thus, all the LXX renderings except Σωφάρ match the Hebrew names well, in accordance with the general rule that Hebrew names ending in a consonant remain unaltered in the LXX.¹⁰ In turn, as a rule, Hebrew names ending in a vowel take on various terminations.¹¹ However, the termination -p in Greek names in the LXX is irregular, and this may suggest that perhaps the current Hebrew form צִפּוֹר is not preserved perfectly (in Gen. 36:11 and 15). Apparently, the same individual is referenced in 1 Chr. 1:36 as צִפִּי, and the personal name צִפּוֹר is attested in the Hebrew text of the Book of Job as the name of one of Job's friends (and as such in an Edomite context, broadly speaking; see Job 2:11, 11:1, 20:1, 42:9-17). Consequently, it appears that the original Hebrew form may have been צִפּוֹר (dropping the final *rēsh* and the metathesis of the *pē* and *wāw*), and the equivalent LXX name would be a perfect rendering of the parent Hebrew name.

How, then, might we account for the fact that only the genealogy of Eliphaz in Gen. 36 uses the name Ἰδουμαία and not Ἐδώμ? It seems that we have only two

¹⁰ Thackeray 1909: 160–171, esp. 160.

¹¹ Thackeray 1909: 160.

options. First, the difference may, as always, be pure coincidence (as it apparently is in other books where either Ἰδουμαία or Ἐδῶμ are used as synonyms). Second, one may speculate that it is the connection with the person of Eliphaz that led to the use of the name Ἰδουμαία in Gen. 36:15-16, as Eliphaz also plays an important role in the genealogy of Job in the LXX Job appendix (and Job's location is not put in Edom, but in Idumea; see below LXX Job 42:17a-e). What is more, it is also Josephus who, in his retelling of Esau's genealogy in *Ant.* 2.4-6 (where he also uses the term Ἰδουμαία – the name Ἐδῶμ is never used by Josephus), limited it to only the Eliphaz line.¹² While one might perhaps argue that this fact could be a result of the importance of the firstborn in Semitic cultures, it is also possible to suggest that in the Hellenistic period the names of the Eliphaz chieftains were particularly well known to their Judean contemporaries, who saw them as being connected with the contemporary Idumeans. Consequently, this association may have led the LXX writer to update the reference in Gen. 36:15-16.

The second terminological irregularity of interest to us is Gen. 36:30, wherein the Greek term Ἐδῶμ replaces another name for Biblical Edom, שַׁעִיר. The form used in Gen. 36:30, אֶרֶץ שַׁעִיר, is unusual (it is the only such occurrence in the Bible; the most common name is הַר־שַׁעִיר), and in the LXX it was rendered with γῆ Ἐδῶμ.

In turn, the next 'Edomite' name, Seir (root I שַׁעִיר), occurs nine times in the Hebrew Genesis (Gen. 14:6; Gen. 32:4; Gen. 33:14, 16; Gen. 36:8, 9, 20, 21, 30). Its Greek equivalent, Σηὶρ, can be found eight times in the LXX (Gen. 14:6; Gen. 32:4; Gen. 33:14, 16; Gen. 36:8, 9, 20, 21). As can be easily seen, the only difference between the Hebrew and Greek attestations of the name Seir is Gen. 36:30, where שַׁעִיר has been replaced by Ἐδῶμ in the LXX.

Concerning the broader literary context, five references to Seir are made in the context of the Edomite genealogies in Gen. 36 (Gen. 36:8, 9, 20, 21, 30), and three (Gen. 32:4; Gen. 33:14, 16) in the narrative about the brotherly relationship between Jacob and Esau. Almost all of these references mention Seir as the home of the Edomites (Esau's descendants), but no topographical or geographical details are offered. Only Gen. 14:6 and Gen. 36:20-21 do not connect Seir with the Edomites. To the contrary, Gen. 14:6 recalls Seir's previous inhabitants, the Horites, and Gen. 33:20-21 names the chieftain sons of Seir, who are explicitly called the Horites, and this genealogical line is included in the Edomite genealogy.

Importantly, the difference in the meaning of the term שַׁעִיר as a common name ('hairy,' 'thick') and a proper name is well distinguished in the LXX. The former meaning appears in Gen. 27:11 and 23 when Esau is called δασύς (while the Hebrew uses the ambiguous term שַׁעִיר), which means that Esau is a hairy man as

¹² Feldman 2000: 129.

opposed to Jacob, who is a smooth man. The latter meaning is attested in the LXX and appears as a geographical notion (Gen. 14:6; Gen. 32:4; Gen. 33:14, 16; Gen. 36:8-9, 30) or as a name of the eponym of some Edomite clans (Gen. 36:20-21, 30).

The geopolitical meaning of the term שַׁעִיר is of direct interest to the present study. In reporting the military campaign of King Kedorlaomer against the allied kings of Sodom and Gomorrah (and with several others), the Hebrew text of Gen. 14:6 locates Mt. Seir in the vicinity of El-Paran. The LXX rendering only presents one substantial change: the Hebrew פֶּאֶרָן אֵיל is rendered as τερμένθος τῆς Φαραν. In turn, Gen. 32:4 points to Edom and Seir as the location of Esau. Both terms are clearly treated as synonyms, as Jacob is said to have sent messengers אֲרֻצָּה שְׂדֵה שַׁעִיר אֲדוֹם (to the land of Seir, [to] the field of Edom). In the LXX (εἰς γῆν Σηὶρ εἰς χώραν Ἐδωμ), the term χώρα may have the same connotation as שְׂדֵה ('a cultivated area, field, land, ground'), but the most common meaning is 'less agricultural' and more geopolitical, as it denotes 'a tract of land inhabited by a political entity or ethnic group.'¹³ Next, Gen. 33:14 is a short reference to Seir as the place of the meeting of Jacob and Esau, and the narrative does not provide any topographical details concerning its location. We can only infer from the context (Gen. 32:22) that, in the most general terms, it was located south of the Jabbok river (יַבְבֶּק = Ἰαββοκ). Lastly, in the genealogical description of the sons of Esau (Gen. 36), their homeland is located on Mt. Seir (Gen. 36:8-9: בְּהַר שַׁעִיר and ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σηὶρ), and in Gen. 36:30 the Hebrew phrase אֶרֶץ שַׁעִיר, the location of the Edomite tribes of Horites, is rendered in the LXX as γῆ Ἐδωμ, which shows that Σηὶρ and Ἐδωμ may often function as synonyms in the LXX.

There is only one occurrence of our key terms in the Book of Exodus. Ex. 15:1-22 is the Song of Moses and Miriam, and the rulers of Edom (אֲלֹפִי אֲדוֹם = ἡγεμόνες Ἐδωμ) are mentioned in Ex. 15:15 alongside the rulers of other neighboring peoples (Philistia, Moab, Canaan) as being terrified by the miracle of the Red Sea crossing. Given the fact that in Ex. 15:5 the tribal elites of Edom are called ἡγεμόνες and the tribal leaders of Moab are called ἄρχοντες, it appears that only stylistic reasons underlie the choice of the term ἡγεμόνες for the rulers of Edom (both terms may be translated in a very general way as 'rulers,' or 'leaders,' but may also denote very specific administrative titles).¹⁴

Many attestations of our key terms can be found in the Biblical books that tell of the Israelites' wanderings in the desert (after the exodus from Egypt) and their settlement (conquest) of Canaan: Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua.

In the Book of Numbers, the Hebrew term אֲדוֹם (Num. 20:14, 18, 20-21, 23; Num. 21:4; Num. 24:18; Num. 33:37; Num. 34:3) is rendered with the Greek word

¹³ Friberg, Friberg, Miller 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

¹⁴ Thayer 1889, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

Ἐδώμ (nine cases) without any exceptions. What is more, the Hebrew term שַׁעִיר appears in Num. 24:18, but in the Greek text it is replaced by the name Ἡσαῦ. All these references belong to five distinct narrative contexts: Num. 20:14-23 (Edom denies Israel passage), Num. 21:4 (a stage in Israel's itinerary), Num. 24:18 (Balaam's Oracle), Num. 33:37 (a stage in Israel's itinerary), and Num. 34:3 (the southern boundary of Israel's inheritance in Canaan).

Several details concerning the historical geography of southern Palestine can be found in the 'Edomite' references in the Book of Numbers. First, Num. 20:16 mentions the city of Kadesh as a sort of border town in Edom from where the Israelites seek permission to pass through the Edomites' land on their way to enter Canaan (Num. 20:14-23). The Hebrew text locates Kadesh קֶצֶה גְבוּל (in relation to Edom). The Hebrew term קֶצֶה translates as 'end, edge, border, extremity' in the spatial sense.¹⁵ Thus, it denotes a point that belongs to a territory although it is located on the extremity (it is still located inside, and not outside, of a given enclosure). In turn, גְבוּל may refer to a mountain, boundary, enclosure (as a specific technical term), or territory.¹⁶ Given the meaning of קֶצֶה as an aspect of something, it stands clear that גְבוּל should be understood as a 'territory enclosed with borders.'¹⁷ The LXX parallel passage uses the expression ἀκ μέρους τῶν ὁρίων. Thus, קֶצֶה is rendered as μέρος and גְבוּל as ὅριον in the LXX. The word μέρος literally translates to 'part' ('in contrast with a whole'),¹⁸ and as such it frequently denotes one's portion, heritage, or lot, especially in classical literature.¹⁹ In turn, the plural form, τὰ μέρη, frequently appears in New Testament geographical or geopolitical passages, where it points to subdivisions of geographical, political, or administrative entities ('districts,' or 'regions'; for instance, μέρη of Galilee in Mt. 2:22). Thus, it appears that in Num. 20:16 we have an idiomatic expression, ἀκ μέρους, which can be literally translated as 'from a part [of]'.²⁰ With this expression, the state of being an integral part of something is particularly emphasized (this phrase is, for instance, used for parts of the human body in Paul's famous analogy of Christ's Ecclesia as the human body in 1 Cor. 12:27).²¹

Next, the Greek term ὅριον is a common equivalent of the Hebrew גְבוּל in the LXX.²² In the singular, the term denotes a boundary or limit.²³ In the plural,

¹⁵ Holladay 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

¹⁶ Holladay 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

¹⁷ Gray 1912: 269.

¹⁸ Louw, Nida 1996, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

¹⁹ LSJ9, *ad loc.* (BW 10); Thayer 1889, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

²⁰ Louw, Nida 1996, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

²¹ Louw, Nida 1996, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

²² Thayer 1889, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

²³ Thayer 1889, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

ὄρια, it may denote both a boundary (as in the singular) or a geographical area within boundaries – that is, a region, land, territory, or district (for instance, in Mt. 2:16, King Herod is reported to have ordered the killing of all the male children in Bethlehem and ‘in all its environs’: ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς).²⁴ It appears that the phrase ἐκ μέρους τῶν ὁρίων in Num. 20:16 may be translated as ‘from a part of your land.’ The LXX’s version essentially expresses the same as the Hebrew phrase קצה גבולך: Kadesh was located within Edom’s borders.²⁵

Another important geographical landmark of Edom is Mt. Hor, which is mentioned as the place of Aaron’s death in Num. 20:23. Mt. Hor is located על-גבול ארץ-אדום (Num. 20:23) in the Hebrew text, and ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων γῆς Ἑδωμ in the Greek text (LXX Num. 20:23). Of course, as with many other prepositions, the term על (root II על) may have various meanings (‘on, over, in front of, because of, with regard to, concerning, according to, over against, into, in addition to, against, down from,’²⁶ and the term גבול may refer to a mountain, boundary, enclosure (as a specific technical term), or territory. However, the two words taken together represent a rare phrase in the Hebrew Bible that is only attested five times (Num. 20:23, 22:36; Josh. 19:12; Ezek. 11:10, 48:21). Given the fact that this phrase precedes a locality, ארץ-אדום, גבול, should not be understood in the general way as a ‘territory enclosed with borders’ (as in Num. 20:16),²⁷ but as a specific aspect of the following locality. Thus, the Hebrew phrase is to be translated as ‘on the border of.’ This phrase is rendered in the LXX eight times (Num. 20:23, 22:36, 33:44; Josh. 17:8; 1 Mal. 14:33, 34; Ezek. 11:10, 11). It usually corresponds to the Hebrew phrase על-גבול, but also to בגבול (Num. 33:44) and אל-גבול (Josh. 17:8). In turn, in Ezek. 48:21 the Hebrew phrase על-גבול is rendered with ἕως τῶν ὁρίων. Given the fact that the phrase is followed by a locality, γῆς Ἑδωμ, it follows that ὄρια is not to be understood as a region, but as a boundary or frontier. Thus, the translation ‘on the border’ or ‘on the frontier’ should be accepted. It follows that the LXX version of the location of Mt. Hor agrees with the Hebrew *Vorlage* in that Mt. Hor is located on the Edomite frontier.

In Num. 33:37, Mt. Hor is again mentioned as a reference point to the Edomite territory. This time, the location of Mt. Hor is put as בקצה ארץ אדום, which

²⁴ Friberg, Friberg, Miller 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10); Thayer 1889, *ad loc.* (BW 10); Moulton, Milligan 1997, *ad loc.* (BW 10); Gingrich 1983, *ad loc.* (BW 10); Danker 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

²⁵ This stands in contrast to the fact that the Israelites are reported to have come and temporarily settled in Kadesh. Thus, the contradiction is as follows: Kadesh belongs to Edom, and the Israelites reside there before entering the territory of the Edomites. This contradiction has been explained by suggesting that the current text includes two distinctive perspectives: one historical, which reflects the Edomite possession of Kadesh (perhaps from the mid-to-late eighth century BCE), and another that is purely literary. See Bartlett 1989: 90–93 and Levine 2000: 492.

²⁶ Holladay 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

²⁷ Gray 1912: 269.

can be translated as ‘on the edge of the land of Edom.’ In turn, the LXX has the phrase *πλησίον γῆς Ἐδώμ*. The Greek phrase is striking, especially as the appearance of the preposition *πλησίον* is not parallel to the phrase *בְּקֶצֶה*. The usual translation of the term is ‘near.’ This meaning suggests that, strictly speaking, Mt. Hor was not located in the Edomite territory. The difference between the MT text and the LXX must be recognized, but its consequences are perhaps not to be overestimated: in Num. 33:37, the LXX version closely follows the Hebrew interpretation of Mt. Hor as a city on the Edomite frontier.

Num. 34:3-4 is an important witness to the historical geography of the frontier zone between Judah and Edom. Namely, Num. 34:3-12 sketches the borders of the Israelite tribes in Canaan, and Num. 34:3-5 describes the southern border. The southern border is said to run southward from the end of the Salt Sea to include several geographical points, especially the Ascent of the Scorpions, the Zin desert, and Kadesh Barnea. The Zin desert is particularly connected with Edom. According to the Hebrew text, the Zin desert is reported to lie *עַל-יַדִּי אֲדוֹם*. The expression *עַל-יַדִּי* means ‘near,’ or ‘next to,’ and is literally derived from the word ‘hand,’ denoting the closest proximity, something within reach or at hand. The LXX uses the phrase *ἕως ἐχόμενον Ἐδώμ*. The term *ἕως* is of course a preposition meaning ‘as far as,’ or ‘to.’²⁸ In turn, the form *ἐχόμενον* is a rare present middle participle from the verb *ἔχω*. This participle is used to express a close association of place (‘neighboring,’ ‘nearby’).²⁹ The whole phrase can therefore be translated as ‘near Edom,’ and as such is a close match to the Hebrew phrase *עַל-יַדִּי*.³⁰

In the Book of Deuteronomy, the Hebrew term *אֲדוֹם* does not appear at all, and neither does its Greek equivalent *Ἐδώμ*. The role of the main ethnic label for the Edomites is played by the Hebrew *בְּנֵי-עֵשָׂו* and the Greek phrase *υἱοὶ Ἡσαῦ* (Deut. 2:4-5, 8, 12, 22, 29). What is more, the term *אֲדוֹמִי* (*Ἰδουμαῖος*) appears in Deut. 23:8, and the name *שֵׁעִיר* (*Σηῖρ*) appears in Deut. 1:2, 44; Deut. 2:1, 4-5, 8, 12, 22, 29; Deut. 33:2.

All but two references to the ‘Edomite’ topic in the Book of Deuteronomy are made in the context of the Israelites’ wanderings in the desert after the exodus from Egypt within a literary unit known as the first speech of Moses (Deut. 1:1-4:43). This unit retells the Israelites’ journey through the desert from Sinai (Horeb) to Beth-Peor in the Jordan valley in a very abbreviated form.³¹ The two

²⁸ Gingrich 1983, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

²⁹ Friberg, Friberg, Miller 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

³⁰ The translations ‘from the wilderness of Sin to the border of Edom (Num. 34:3 by Brenton 1851) are inexact. By contrast, a parallel phrase *ἐχόμενον τοῦ Γολγολ* in Deut. 11:30 is translated more precisely by Brenton 1851: near Golgol.

³¹ Phillips 1973: 12.

exceptions are Deut. 23:8 and Deut. 33:2. The former passage belongs to the corpus of civil and religious regulations that form the core of the Book of Deuteronomy (Deut. 12:1-26:15). The latter is a brief reference to Seir in Moses' Song and as such belongs to the closing chapters of Deuteronomy, which speak about Moses' last moments (Deut. 31-34).

In terms of terminology, the term Seir (שַׁעִיר / שִׁירָה) is either used alone, apparently denoting a region (Deut. 1:44: בַּשַּׁעִיר עַד־חֶרְמָה and ἀπὸ Σηὶρ ἕως Ἐρυθραίας; Deut. 2:4, 8, 12, 22, 29: בַּשַּׁעִיר = ἐν Σηὶρ), or with the term הַר / ὄρος, indicating a mountain range (Deut. 2:1: הַר־שַׁעִיר = ὄρος Σηὶρ; Deut. 2:5: הַר־שַׁעִיר = τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σηὶρ). Seir was a major landmark on the Israelites' march to the land of Canaan: it is presented in the most general (and slightly vague) terms as a traverse territory between Horeb and Kadesh Barnea (Deut. 1:2), or the land which the Israelites had to pass around (or through) marching from Kadesh Barnea to the land of Moab (Deut. 2:1, 4-5, 8, 29). Seir is also characterized as the home of the sons of Esau (Deut. 2:4, 8, 22, 29; although it is also said to have been previously inhabited by the Horites, who were driven away by the Edomites; see Deut. 2:12, 22). Additionally, Seir is also referred to in Moses' poetic speech in Deut. 33:2, which recalls God's epiphany to the Israelites in Kadesh Barnea: YHWH is said to have appeared from Sinai, Seir, and Mt. Paran. To be precise, the connection with Seir is expressed with the Hebrew verb זָרַח (to rise, appear), which is rendered in the LXX with ἐπιφαίνω – the Biblical term par excellence for divine manifestation.

In turn, the reference to the term אֲדוּמִי appears in Deut. 23:8, which is a *locus classicus* for rules of acceptance or exclusion from the assembly of the Israelites. The Hebrew term אֲדוּמִי is rendered with Ἰδουμαῖος. The LXX version may be considered important as it is the only such case in the Pentateuch when the term Ἰδουμαῖος is used. At the same time, it is hard to argue that this linguistic version is an update created by contemporary conditions (conversion of the Idumeans by the Hasmoneans) since there was no other way for a Greek writer to render the Hebrew term אֲדוּמִי than with the term Ἰδουμαῖος. Two alternative renderings of this term are not known in Greek (unlike the toponym אֲדוּמָה, which has been rendered as both Ἐδῶμ or Ἰδουμαία).³²

³² While the LXX word Ἐδῶμ appears to be a direct transcription of the Hebrew אֲדוּמָה (although Josephus uses the name Ἀδωμος for this purpose in *Ant.* 2.3), the origin of the Greek form Ἰδουμαία is not entirely clear. According to Josephus (*Ant.* 2.2-3), the country was named Ἰδουμαία by the Greeks, which was a more agreeable pronunciation than its direct equivalent (Josephus' Ἀδωμος). Accordingly, most scholars seem to follow this line of reasoning and see Ἰδουμαία as another rendering of אֲדוּמָה next to Ἐδῶμ. However, it has also been claimed that Ἰδουμαία has no connection at all with אֲדוּמָה, but instead arose independently from the geological conditions of southern Palestine (large areas with the famous 'terra rossa' soil, אֲדוּמָה). See Bartlett 1999: 102–114.

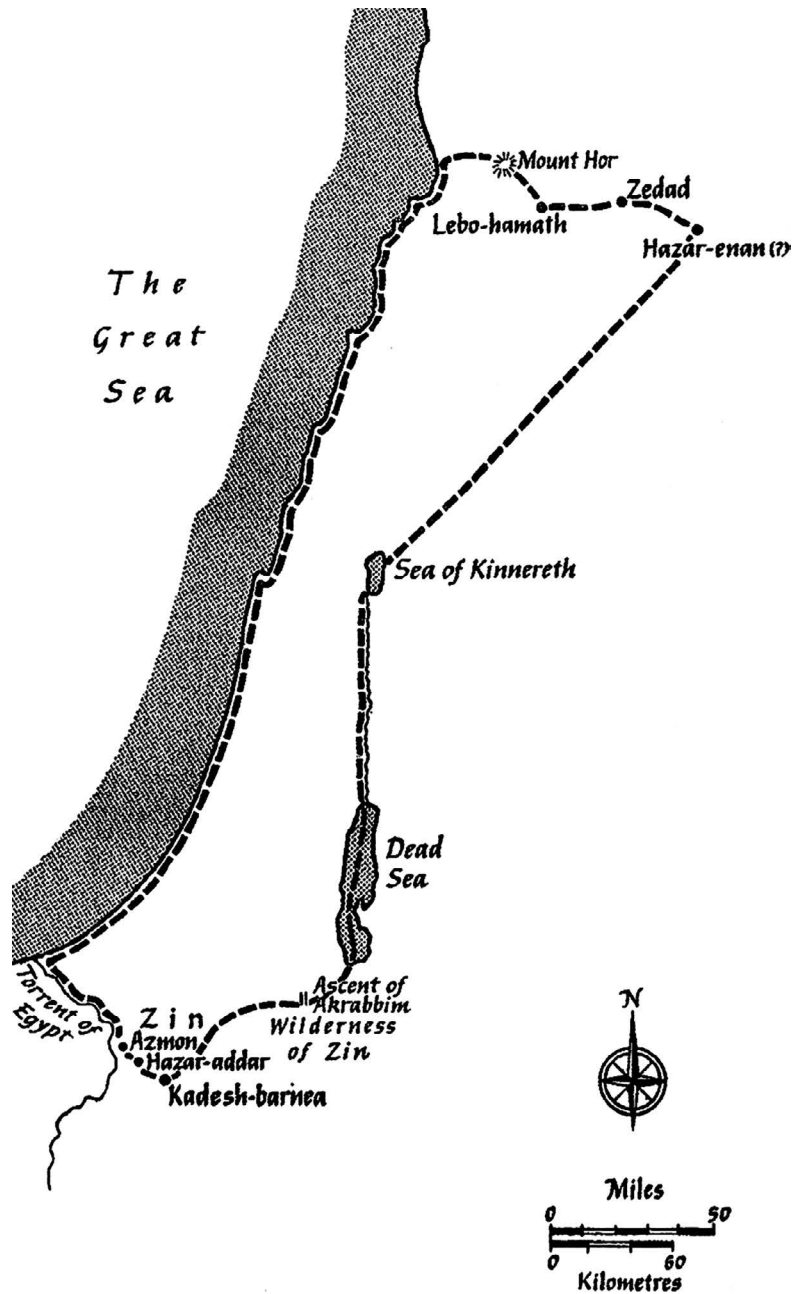
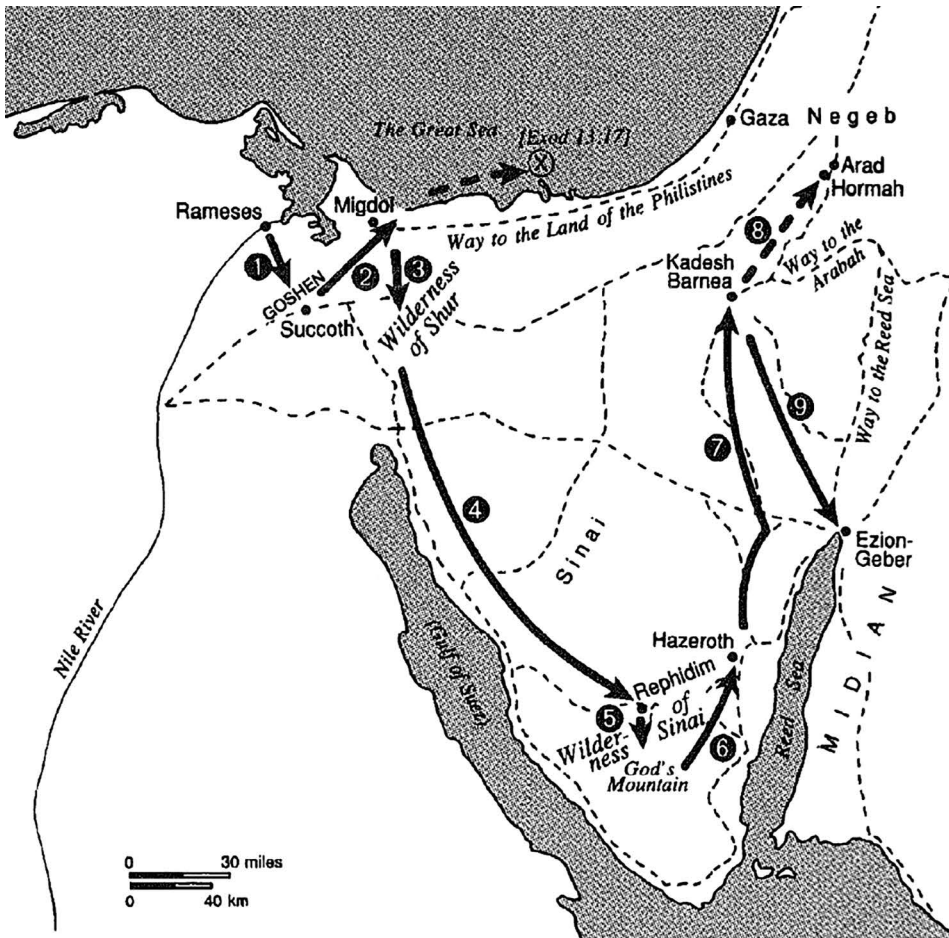


Figure 3: Judah's southern border according to Joshua 15:1-10 (Sturdy 1976, 233)



Key

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. From Rameses to Succoth | Exod 13:37 |
| 2. Succoth to a point between Migdol and the sea | Exod 14:1 |
| 3. From that point into the Wilderness of Shur | Exod 15:22 |
| 4. From the Wilderness of Shur to Rephidim | Exod 17:1b, 8 |
| 5. Rephidim to God's Mountain | Num 10:33 |
| 6. God's Mountain to Hazeroth | Num 11:35 |
| 7. Hazeroth to Kadesh | Num 13:26; 32:8 |
| 8. Foray into the Negeb | Num 14:44-45; 21:1-3 |
| 9. Kadesh to the Reed Sea | Num 14:25; 20:21 |

In the Book of Joshua, the Hebrew term אֲדוֹם appears twice: in Josh. 15:1 and 15:21. In the Greek text, the name Ἐδῶμ can also be found twice: in Josh. 15:21 and 15:44. Thus, only Josh. 15:21 is a parallel place, as the Hebrew term אֲדוֹם in 15:1 is rendered as Ἰδουμαία. In turn, Josh. 15:44 differs considerably in the Hebrew and Greek versions (see below).

The term שַׁעִיר appears four times (Josh. 11:17, 12:7, 15:10, 24:4) in the Hebrew text, while its Greek equivalent Σηίρ appears three times (Josh. 11:17, 12:7, 24:4). As can easily be seen, Josh. 15:10 differs from this scheme. Additionally, in Josh. 24:4 we also find the terms עֶשֶׂו and Ἡσαῦ in the Hebrew and Greek texts, respectively.

Generally speaking, the references to the ‘Edomite’ topic in the Book of Joshua are mainly made in chapter 15, which is devoted to the allotment of the tribe of Judah (see Figure 3). It is in the context of Judah’s southern border that Edom is referred to as her neighbor (Josh. 15:1, 15:10, 15:21, 15:44). Otherwise, Edom or Seir is mentioned in other places of the Book of Joshua (Josh. 11:1, 12:7, 24:4) where all conquests are summarized (Josh. 11:16-20: summary of all conquests; 12:1-23: list of defeated kings). In this context, Edom serves as a reference point to the southernmost border of the Israelites’ conquered lands. Besides this, Seir is mentioned as the home of the sons of Esau in Josh. 24:1-27 when Joshua delivers a speech summarizing the history of the Israelites’ conquests and ancestors.

The passage Josh. 15:1-4 is of special importance as it sketches the southern border of the tribe of Judah and in doing so mentions Edom as Judah’s neighbor in general and as a reference point for the course of the southern border in particular (the text is similar, but not identical, to Num. 34:3-4). The passage has a specific structure. Josh. 15:1 describes Judah’s southern border in general, but Josh. 15:2 goes on to sketch the southern border anew (until Josh. 15:4). Thus, it seems that Josh. 15:1 gives us a general summary, and a more detailed description follows from Josh. 15:2.

In Josh. 15:1, the MT and LXX texts differ considerably. Let us, therefore, quote the passage in question:

וַיְהִי הַגּוֹרֵל לַמָּטָה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִשְׁפַּחַת אֶל־גְּבוּל אֲדוֹם מִדְּבַר־צֶן נֹגֵבָה הַמִּקְצָה תִּמְנָן
καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ ὅρια φυλῆς Ἰουδα κατὰ δῆμους αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ἰδουμαίας
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρήμου Σιν εἰς Καδὴς πρὸς λίβαν

The most striking difference is the lack of Kadesh in the Hebrew text and its mention in the Greek text. However, it has been suggested that the Hebrew version is distorted and the lack of Kadesh is simply a scribal omission.³³ At any

³³ Mainly because of the problematic expression מִקְצָה תִּמְנָן. The term Teman is a *taaw*-performative noun from the root YMN meaning ‘south,’ and as such it can be used for a general description

rate, one should not overestimate the geopolitical consequences of the omission of Kadesh in Josh. 15:1, as the city is mentioned as one of the frontier landmarks along the southern border in Josh. 15:3. In Josh. 15:3-4, the southern border of Judah in the Hebrew and Greek is drawn by referring to several geographical landmarks along its line: the border starts at the southernmost tip of the Salt Sea³⁴ and runs southward to include the Ascent of Scorpions, the Zin desert, and Kadesh Barnea. Given the connection between Edom and the Zin desert (with Kadesh in the LXX) in Josh. 15:1 and the fact that Egypt is also indirectly mentioned as Judah's neighbor (the Brook of Egypt) in the further course of the southern border, it appears that the Edomite neighborhood of Judah can be located in the course of the border from the Salt Sea to Kadesh Barnea. It is important to note that a special effort is made in the Hebrew text to draw the border line in a way that would include all the aforementioned locations on the Judahite side of the frontier. Namely, in Josh. 15:3-4 (as well as in 15:7, 10, 11), the verb עבר is used, which 'describes a segment of the border which is somehow diverted from what might otherwise seem to be a more straightforward route.'³⁵ In the Greek text, the same effect is achieved first by the use of the verb ἐκπεριπορεύομαι (to make a detour, to encompass), which conveys very well the idea of a diverted line to include a point located slightly off the straight line (in this case, with regard to the Zin desert in v. 3), and next by the prepositions ἀπέναντι ('opposite, in front of, before'), used for the Ascent of Scorpions, and ἀπὸ λιβός ('from the south'), with regard to Kadesh Barnea (in both cases, the Hebrew preposition מִנֶּגַב ['from the south'] is rendered).³⁶

of any southern region. Indeed, commentators mostly understand this expression as an indication of the general extreme southern direction. See, for instance, Görg 1991, 72: 'im äußersten Süden'; Buttrick 1953: 628: 'at the farthest south'; Woudstra 1981: 232: 'in the extreme south.' The LXX version also supports the meaning of Teman as a southern region – πρὸς λίβα. However, the current text has two expressions, נֶגֶב and מִקְצֵה תִּמָּן, both expressing the southern direction, which is in fact a tautology. See Butler 1983: 179. What is more, it is also theoretically possible to interpret Teman as a proper name (a synonym for Edom, or at least a name for one of its regions, especially for the northern part of the Edomite plateau around the city of Bozrah). See Edelman 1995: 4; Marciak 2015: 41, n. 34.

³⁴ Remarkably, although the Hebrew text of Josh. 15:2 calls the southern tip of the Salt Sea (the modern Dead Sea) לִשְׁוֹן, meaning 'tongue' (obviously after its shape), and this name is preserved locally until today, the Greek text has a different and rare name (attested only in Josh. 15:2, 5, and 18:19), λοφία, which most likely should be translated as 'backfin' (LSJ9, *ad loc.* [BW 10]). As such, this name apparently compares the form of the southernmost tip of the Salt Sea to the tail fin of a fish (type protocercal). The name λοφία may also refer to 'the mane on the neck and back of certain animals' (especially 'the mane of horses, the bristly back of boars and hyaenas'; see LSJ9, *ad loc.* [BW 10]), but this meaning is less adequate for a name used to describe a body of water. See also Marciak 2015: 42, n. 37.

³⁵ Boling 1982: 365.

³⁶ Butler 1983: 179–180.

All in all, the Hebrew and Greek versions of the section of the southern border of Judah towards Edom in Josh. 15:1 agree, and it should be stressed that in both cases the Ascent of Scorpions, the Zin desert, and Kadesh Barnea are located in the territory of Judah.

The Former Prophets

In the Book of Judges, the term אֲדוֹם appears four times (Jdg. 5:4; Jdg. 11:17 [twice], 18), and the term שַׁעִיר is attested only once (Jdg. 5:4).

All occurrences in the Book of Judges belong to two Biblical units: Jdg. 5:4 is part of the Song of Deborah (Jdg. 5:1-31), and Jdg. 11:17-18 belongs to Jephthah's message to the King of the Ammonites (Jdg. 11:15-27). Jdg. 5:4 speaks about YHWH's epiphany from Seir and Edom; the Hebrew terms שַׁעִיר (from Seir) and מִשְׁדֵּה אֲדוֹם (from the field of Edom) have exact equivalents in the LXX: ἔκ Σηίρ and ἐξ ἀγροῦ Ἐδωμ. In turn, in Jdg. 11:15-27 Jephthah reiterates the history of the Israelites' relations with their neighbors from Transjordan; in this context, אֲדוֹם in the Hebrew text and Ἐδωμ in the LXX occur as usual.

The term אֲדוֹם is mentioned four times in the Books of Samuel (1 Sam. 14:47; 2 Sam. 8:14 [three attestations]). What is more, four instances of the term אֲדוֹמִי (אֲדָמִי) can also be found in the Books of Samuel (1 Sam. 21:8; 1 Sam. 22:9, 18, 22). As for the LXX, 1 Sam. 14:47 uses the term Ἐδωμ once (Saul's conquest of Edom), while 2 Sam. 8:12-14 speaks of Ἰδουμαία (2 Sam. 8:12, 13, and two instances in 2 Sam. 8:14) and Ἰδουμαῖοι (2 Sam. 8:14) being conquered by David. Lastly, all occurrences of the Hebrew term אֲדוֹמִי (אֲדָמִי) are rendered as Σύρος (Syrian) in 1 Sam. 21:8 and 1 Sam. 22:9, 18, 22.

The attestations of Ἰδουμαία in the Books of Samuel are highly interesting from a textual point of view. First, while Saul's conquests are rendered faithfully (in textual terms), a different term is used for David's conquests – it is Idumea which became subjugated to David's power. Furthermore, while David's conquests of Edom are limited in the Hebrew text to 2 Sam. 8:14, in the Greek text they are also mentioned in 2 Sam. 8:12-13. In these cases, however, the reason is very prosaic: the Hebrew terms אֲדוֹמִי (אֲדָמִי) and אֲרָם are very close paleographically, and the two terms were misread either by the writers of the LXX 2 Sam. 8:12-13 or its Hebrew Vorlage.³⁷ Thus, David's conquests of Aram became conquests of Edom/Idumea in the Greek version of 2 Sam. 8:12-13. The same reason lies behind the LXX renderings of all references to Doeg the Edomite (1 Sam. 21:8; 1 Sam. 22:9, 18, 22) as Doeg the Syrian (Σύρος).

³⁷ See Abel 1961: 109; Goldstein 1976: 260; Lemaire 2010: 115–122.

Leaving aside the paleographical interchange of the terms אֲדוֹמִי (אדומי) and אֲרָם, we can still notice that there is a tendency in the LXX Samuel to connect David with (the conquest of) Idumaia. This could of course be a coincidence. At the same time, given the tendency of 1-2 Macc. to refer to David as a model (1 Macc. 2:57, 4:30; 2 Macc. 2:13), it is also possible to suggest that the LXX writers saw the connection between David's conquest of Edom and the Hasmonean conquest of Idumea, and this led to the change of terminology in the LXX. After all, the only figures in the Judahite-Judean Biblical history who managed to expand their territory so far in the south(east) to firmly subjugate the Edomites/Idumeans were King David (at least in the light of the Biblical tradition) and the Hasmonean rulers.

In the Books of the Kings, the term אֲדוֹמִי is mentioned sixteen times (1 Kgs. 9:26; 1 Kgs. 11:14, 15 [two occurrences], 16; 1 Kgs. 22:47; 2 Kgs. 3:8, 3:9, 3:12, 3:20, 3:26, 8:20, 8:21, 8:22, 14:7, 14:10). Additionally, four cases of the term אֲדוֹמִי (אדומי) are also attested (1 Kgs. 11:1, 14, 17; 2 Kgs. 16:6). No references to Seir or Esau can be found in the Books of the Kings. As for the LXX, the term Ἐδῶμι appears twelve times (1 Kgs. 9:26, 11:15, 11:25; 2 Kgs. 3:8, 9, 12, 20, 26; 2 Kgs. 8:20, 21, 22; 2 Kgs. 14:7), and the name Ἰδουμαία appears six times (1 Kgs. 11:1, 14, 15, 16; 2 Kgs. 14:10). The ethnicon Ἰδουμαῖος can be found four times (1 Kgs. 11:14 [two cases], 17; 2 Kgs. 16:6).

Generally speaking, to examine all appearances of the 'Edomite' key terms in the Books of the Kings is to follow the history of the hostilities of the Israelites and Judahites with Edom.³⁸ To be precise, the attestations mentioned above belong to the following accounts. First, 1 Kgs. 9:26 (Salomon builds a ship at Ezion-Geber on the shores of the Red Sea in Edom) is a part of 1 Kgs. 9:10-26, which enumerates several of 'Salomon's other activities.' Second, the reference to Salomon and his Edomite wives in 1 Kgs. 11:1 is made in the broader context of all Salomon's foreign wives in 1 Kgs. 11:1-13. Third, four attestations in 1 Kgs. 11:14-17, 25 belong to the account of 1 Kgs. 11:14-25, which tells the story of Salomon's adversaries, especially Hadad from Edom. Fourth, 1 Kgs. 22:47 is a short reference to the lack of kings in Edom during the reign of Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs. 22:41-50). Fifth, five attestations in chapter 3 of 2 Kings (2 Kgs. 3:8, 3:9, 3:12, 3:20, 3:26) belong to the narrative on the mutual campaign of the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom against Moab (2 Kgs. 3:1-27). Sixth, three attestations in chapter 8 of 2 Kings (2 Kgs. 8:20, 8:21, 8:22) briefly speak of Edom's successful revolt against Judah during the reign of Jehoram (2 Kgs. 8:16-24). Finally, 2 Kgs. 14:7 and 14:10 refer to King Amaziah's victory over the Edomites in the Valley of Salt and the capture of their city Sela.

³⁸ For an overview of the Edomite history, see Bartlett 1989: 67-161; Knauf-Belleri 1995: 93-117.

In most cases in 1-2 Kgs., the LXX uses the term Ἐδώμ where the Hebrew text has the name אֲדוֹם. Only a few irregularities can be found. First, the passage with the most irregularities is 1 Kgs. 11:14-22. This passage tells the story of Solomon's adversaries, especially Hadad from Edom. The Hebrew term אֲדוֹם (1 Kgs. 11:14, 15 [two instances], 16) is usually rendered as Ἰδουμαία (1 Kgs. 11:14, 15, 16 [two instances]), and the ethnicon אֲדוֹמִי (1 Kgs. 11:14, 17) is always replaced with Ἰδουμαῖος (1 Kgs. 11:14 [two instances], 17). However, the Greek text of 1 Kgs 11:14 is slightly longer and repeats the characterization of Hadad, which leads to additional use of the term Ἰδουμαῖος (compared to the Hebrew text). Further, in 1 Kgs. 11:15 the double mention of אֲדוֹם is rendered once as Ἐδώμ and once as Ἰδουμαία. Both terms are clearly used as synonyms, as the narrative speaks about the same event but specifies the involvement of two figures, David and Joab. The former is said to have conquered Edom, and the latter is said to have slaughtered every male in Idumea. In Kgs. 11:16, the Hebrew pronoun שֶׁם is rendered as Ἰδουμαία in the LXX. Second and third, two other irregularities in the use of the name Edom between the Hebrew text and the LXX result from the paleographical similarity of the names Edom and Aram. The term אֲדוֹם in 1 Kgs. 22:48 is rendered as Συρία in the LXX (1 Kgs. 16:28), and in the LXX Ἐδώμ appears in 1 Kgs. 11:25, although אֲרָם is mentioned in the parallel Hebrew text. Fourth, the Hebrew references in 2 Kgs. 14:7 and 2 Kgs. 14:10 use the term אֲדוֹם, but in the LXX we find the synonymic use of the two Greek terms Ἐδώμ and Ἰδουμαία (2 Kgs. 14:7 and 14:10, respectively).

In summary, the main name for Edom in the Greek Books of the Kings is Ἐδώμ, but the name Ἰδουμαία also appears, though twice less frequently as Ἐδώμ. There can be no doubt that both terms are used as synonyms in the Greek Books of the Kings, and no specific reason for the switch from the more frequent form Ἐδώμ to the less frequent form Ἰδουμαία can be found. As elsewhere in the LXX, Ἰδουμαῖος is the only Greek form of the Hebrew ethnicon אֲדוֹמִי (אֲדָמִי).

The Later Prophets

In the Book of Isaiah, the Hebrew term אֲדוֹם is mentioned four times (Isa. 11:14; Isa. 34:5, 6; Isa. 63:1), while the name שַׁעִיר is mentioned only once, in Isa. 21:11. In turn, the LXX uses the name Ἐδώμ only once, in Isa. 63:1, while the name Ἰδουμαία appears four times (Isa. 11:14; Isa. 21:11; Isa. 34:5, 6), and the term Σηὶρ can be found once, in Isa. 21:11.

The aforementioned references belong to several distinctive accounts in the Book of Isaiah. Isa. 11:14 (foretelling the conquest of Edom) belongs to the Messianic prophecy (Branch from Jesse) in Isa. 11:1-11. Isa. 21:11(-12) is a prophecy

against Edom in the context of prophecies against many other nations spanning Isa. chapters 13-23. References to Edom in Isa. 34:5, 6 belong to the account of Isa. 34:1-17 (Judgement Against the Nations). Lastly, the mention of Edom in Isa. 63:1 belongs to Isa. 63:1-19 (God's day of vengeance and redemption).

The only two irregularities in the scheme presented above are Isa. 21:11 and Isa. 63:1. The mention of 'Εδώμ in Isa. 63:1 (instead of Ἰδουμαία) appears not to have any specific linguistic, literary, or historical motivations, and as such can be seen as a synonymic use of the term in question. In turn, in Isa. 21:11 we can find an additional reference to Idumea in the LXX. In this case, the Greek text renders the Hebrew term דומה. As a result, instead of providing a prophetic vision of Duma (מִשַׁע דּוּמָה), the LXX delivers the vision of Idumea (τὸ ὄραμα τῆς Ἰδουμαίας). Indeed, the term דומה is a rare word in the Hebrew Bible; it may be understood as 'a silence,' but it also denotes a Biblical city (there are only three attestations: Gen. 25:14, 1 Chr. 1:30, and Isa 21:11; interestingly, in the first two texts דומה is rendered as Ἰδουμα in the LXX).³⁹ Although one may classify this city as an Edomite city in the most general terms, more specifically it appears to be connected with Qedarite tribes.⁴⁰ It appears that either the LXX author confused the two paleographically similar names דומה and אדום or put his own interpretation on דומה as a little-known term by generally identifying it with Edom/Idumea.

Eight attestations of the name אדום can be found in the Book of Jeremiah (Jer. 9:25; Jer. 25:21; Jer. 27:3; Jer. 40:11; Jer. 49:7, 17, 20, 22). Additionally, the name עשו is mentioned twice (Jer. 49:8, 10). In the LXX, the name 'Εδώμ appears once in Jer. 9:25, while the term Ἰδουμαία appears as many as seven times (Jer. 30:1, 11, 14, 16; Jer. 32:21; Jer. 34:3; Jer. 47:11). Additionally, Ἡσαῦ is mentioned once in Jer. 30:4.

Almost all 'Edomite' references in the Book of Jeremiah are prophecies against Edom as Judah's enemy and are made in the context of Jeramiah's oracles against other neighboring countries and peoples. Thus, Jer. 9:25 belongs to the context of Jer. 9:17-26; Jer. 25:21 (LXX = 32:21) is part of Jer. 25(32):15-38 (the oracle known as 'the cup of God's wrath'); Jer. 27:3 (LXX = 34:3) belongs to the context of Jer. 27(34):1-22 (God's order to surrender to Nebuchadnezzar); and Jer. 49:7-22 (LXX = 30:1-16) is a longer account containing a prophecy against Edom in the context of Jeramiah's final prophecies against other nations in chapters 46-51. Only Jer. 40:11 (LXX = 47:11) is a short reference to the Jews living in Edom (as well as in Moab and Ammon), who, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE, moved to Judah, which was temporarily ruled by Gedaliah.

³⁹ For the Hebrew term Duma, see Bartlett 198: 43, 169–170.

⁴⁰ Bartlett 1989: 43, 169–170.

Generally speaking, the Greek renderings do not feature any essential changes (compared with the Hebrew text) that would be important for the present study. Two minor differences can be found in Jer. 49:22 (LXX = 30:16) and Jer. 49:8 (LXX = 30:2). Jer. 30:16 does not include the reference to the Edomites' capital, Bozrah. The Greek text instead speaks of ὀχύρωμα, 'the fortress.' Indeed, the Hebrew term could be understood as both a common name ('enclosure,' 'fold for sheep') and a proper name indicating the Edomite capital.⁴¹ The fact that the LXX translator chose the common meaning may suggest that he no longer knew of a particular Edomite place.⁴² In turn, LXX Jer. 30:2 omits one reference to Esau, but the text of the entire oracle against Edom uses many synonymic names (Jer. 30:1, Idumea and Teman; Jer. 20:2, Dedan; Jer. 30:4, Esau; Jer. 30:11, Idumea; Jer. 30:14, Idumea and Teman; Jer. 30:16, Idumea) to refer to the object of its prophecy, and so there can be no doubt as to whom the prophecy is directed against.

In the Book of Lamentations, the term אֲדוֹם (בְּתֵּי־אֲדוֹם) appears twice (Lam. 4:21, 22) in the context of the oracle, which contrasts the fate of the daughter of Edom (בְּתֵּי־אֲדוֹם) and the daughter of Zion (בְּתֵּי־צִיּוֹן). In the LXX, the two terms are rendered as θύγατερ Ἰδουμαίας and θύγατερ Ἐδῶμ in Lam. 4:21 and 4:22, respectively. No changes that are important for the present study can be noted.

In the Book of Ezekiel, the only two 'Edomite' terms are אֲדוֹם and שְׁעִיר. The former is mentioned seven times (Ezek. 25:12, 13, 14 [two instances]; Ezek. 32:29; Ezek. 35:15; Ezek. 36:5), and the latter is mentioned five times (Ezek. 25:8; Ezek. 35:2, 3, 7, 15). In the LXX, the name Ἰδουμαία appears five times (Ezek. 25:12, 13, 14; Ezek. 35:15; Ezek. 36:5), and the term Σηίρ appears four times (Ezek. 35:2, 3, 7, 15).

When it comes to the literary context, Ezek. 25:8-14 and 35:1-15 are distinctive literary units containing prophecies against Edom (to be precise, Ezek. 25:8-14 contains prophecies against Moab and Edom). These units are placed in the broader context of other prophecies against foreign nations (esp. Ezek. chapters 25-33). By contrast, Ezek. 32:29 and 36:5 are brief references to Edom inserted into the prophecies directed against Egypt (Ezek. 32:1-32) and to the 'Mountains of Israel' (Ezek. 36:1-38), respectively.

There are only two irregularities between the Hebrew and Greek references. Ezek. 32:29 speaks of Ἀσσουρ instead of Edom. The difference is obviously to be attributed to the paleographical similarity of the Hebrew names; this time the Greek version is Ἀσσουρ (attested fifty-five times in the LXX) and not Συρία

⁴¹ Holladay 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10); Brown, Driver, Briggs 1907, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

⁴² Bartlett 1989: 45.

(Σύρος). The forms Ἀσσοῦρ (Ἀσσοῦρία) and Συρία are frequently interchangeable in ancient texts,⁴³ but the current form is a well-chosen name to refer to the historic kingdom of Assyria. Furthermore, in Ezek. 25:8 the reference to Seir is dropped in the LXX. However surprising, this omission is logical (more logical than its mention in the Hebrew text), as the unit (Ezek. 25:8-11) is in fact exclusively devoted to Moab, and only the next unit (Ezek. 25:12-15) focuses on Edom.

The Book of Joel 4:19 contains a brief reference to אֱדוֹם in the context of prophecies against foreign nations. According to the Hebrew text, אֱדוֹם will turn into a desert waste (מִדְבַּר שְׁמָמָה), while in the LXX Ἐδῶμ is prophesized to become a desolate plain (πεδῖον ἀφανισμοῦ).

Five references to אֱדוֹם can be found in the Book of Amos (Amos 1:6, 9, 11; Amos 2:1; Amos 9:12). In turn, the LXX refers to Ἰδουμαία four times (Amos 1:6, 9, 11; Amos 2:1). The references from the first two chapters of the Book of Amos are made in the context of the prophecies against foreign nations (Amos 1:6, 9, 11; Amos 2:1). The only irregularity in the LXX is Amos 9:12. Namely, the Hebrew text contains the term אֱדוֹם, which is clearly understood as the name of Judah's geopolitical neighbor. At the same time, the LXX uses the term ἄνθρωπος, as it clearly understood the Hebrew terms not as אֱדוֹם but as אִדָּם.⁴⁴

The Book of Obadiah, the shortest book in the Hebrew/Greek Bible, is entirely devoted to Edom. The explicit terms denoting Judah's southern neighbor, אֱדוֹם and עֵשָׂו, are, however, mentioned only two and six times, respectively. The name אֱדוֹם appears in Obad. 1:1 and 8, while the name עֵשָׂו can be found in Obad. 1:6, 8, 9, 18-19, 21. All these attestations are rendered in the LXX as Ἰδουμαία (Obad. 1:1, 8) and Ἡσαῦ (Obad. 1:6, 8, 9, 18-19, 21), respectively. The Hebrew and Greek texts are considered to be very close in general,⁴⁵ and, as far as textual differences for the present study are concerned, no important issues can be found.

In the Book of Malachi, we can find two 'Edomite' terms relevant for this study: אֱדוֹם and עֵשָׂו. The former term is attested only once (Mal. 1:4), while the latter appears twice (Mal. 1:2, 3). All these attestations appear in Mal. 1:2-5, which conveys an oracle about Edom. The aforementioned attestations are rendered in the LXX as Ἰδουμαία (Mal. 1:4) and Ἡσαῦ (Mal. 1:2, 3), respectively. No important changes between the Hebrew and Greek references to Edom/Idumea can be detected in the Book of Malachi.

⁴³ For this phenomenon, see Nöldeke 1871 and, more recently, Rollinger 2006.

⁴⁴ For this paleographical phenomenon, see Pope 1998 and Lust 2006 in particular.

⁴⁵ For the Book of Obadiah, see Ben Zvi 1996.

The Writings

The term אֶדוֹם is mentioned seven times in the Psalms: Ps. 60:2, 10, 11; Ps. 83:7; Ps. 108:10, 11; Ps. 137:7. Moreover, the ethnonym אֶדוֹמִי appears in Ps. 52:2. In turn, the name Ἐδῶμ appears only once in the LXX, in Ps. 136:7. The name Ἰδουμαία can be found four times in Ps. 59:10, 11; Ps. 107:10-11. The ethnonym Ἰδουμαῖος can be found twice, in Ps. 51:2 and Ps. 82:7. Generally speaking, the only irregularity between the Hebrew and Greek texts is in Ps. 60:2 (59:2), where the term Edom is awkwardly omitted in the Greek text as the object of Joab's victory. In the LXX, Joab is said to have won a battle in the Salt Valley; the more precise location of the valley (the Hebrew text: 'in Edom') is not present in the LXX.

In all cases but one, the Greek Psalms use the Greek name Ἰδουμαία. The only occurrence of the term Ἐδῶμ in the Greek Psalms is a well-known psalm describing the destruction of Jerusalem, for which both Edom and the Babylonians are blamed (Ps. 136:7). Although the only occurrence of the term Ἐδῶμ may be a pure coincidence, it is also possible to speculate that perhaps the strong historical undertone of Ps. 136 led the LXX writer to use a more historical/anachronistic name.⁴⁶

The book that accounts for perhaps the most striking difference between the Hebrew and Greek references to Edom/Idumea is the Book of Job. After the story of Job, the Greek text contains two notes (Job 42:17a and 42:17b-e, commonly known as the LXX Job appendix) that do not have any parallels either in the Hebrew text or in other ancient versions of Job (Peshitta, Qumran Targum [11QTgJov], or the Rabbinic Targum of Job).⁴⁷ The first note (Job 42:17a) expresses the belief in Job's resurrection (and is not of direct interest to the present study, although, in general, it suggests a Hellenistic-Roman date of the creation of the LXX Job appendix), while the second note (Job 42:17b-e) focuses on the background of Job. First and foremost, LXX Job 42:17b states that Job's former name was Jobab, and consequently (Job 42:17c-e) it attributes an Edomite descent to him (the genealogical data is clearly derived from the Edomite genealogy and the king list in Gen. 36): Jobab was the grandson of Esau and one of the Edomite kings. Consequently, LXX Job 42:17c can claim Jobab to be the fifth from Abraham in the Edomite genealogy.

⁴⁶ In contrast, two other ancient Jewish writings frequently labeled as the Pseudepigrapha, Hen. 89:66 and 1 Esd. 4:50, mention the burning of the Jerusalem temple and attribute this act to 'the wild boars' (an allegory for Esau's descendants in Hen.) and οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι (1 Esd. 4:50), respectively. For the so-called *stab-in-the-back* tradition of the Edomites' participation in the destruction of Jerusalem, see Tebes 2011.

⁴⁷ See Swete 1900: 256–257; Gentry 1995: 536, n. 2; Reed 2001: 31.

Furthermore, according to Greek Job 42:17b, Job/Jobab lived in the land of Ausitis (Αὐσίτις), on the borders of Idumea and Arabia (ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀραβίας), and (Job 42:17c) had an Arabian wife. The Greek name of the location of Job is Αὐσίτις (Job 1:1, 32:2, 42:17b). This is clearly a Hellenized adjectival rendering of the Hebrew name (Job 1:1: אֲרָץ עֻז), which was created by (in accordance with the common LXX pattern) adding suffixes, in this case -(ε)ῖτις, to a transcribed form.⁴⁸ It has been suggested that Ausitis may be identified with the site now currently known as Ḥorvat 'Uza (which features evidence of Hellenistic occupation),⁴⁹ especially if it is really to be located in the frontier zone between Idumea and Arabia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁵⁰ If this identification is correct, it would show that the geographical background of the Job story was also reinterpreted and updated in the LXX Job appendix so that the identity of 'Uz could conform to the changed geopolitical situation in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁵¹

There can be no doubt that LXX Job 42:17b-e represents a Hellenistic Jewish interpretation of the issues that were not addressed by the Hebrew text:⁵² the identity of Job, his ethnicity, and his relationship to the nation of Israel.⁵³ Importantly, the identification of Job as an Edomite king and his Abrahamic descent through Esau imply a positive view of the Idumeans and their connection with the chosen nation of Israel. This tradition contrasts with the many negative views of the Edomites expressed in the Hebrew Bible. However, it also returns to the less frequently (by far) attested positive views of the Edomites as 'brothers' and

⁴⁸ Thackeray 1909: 169–170; Reed 2001: 38, n. 23.

⁴⁹ Reed 2001: 45–46. Several issues must be distinguished here. Edomite 'Uz was certainly not located at Ḥorvat 'Uza, as it was probably called Kinah in the monarchic period. However, this does not mean that its name could not have been different in Hellenistic times, and it is possible that the current name indeed preserved the name known from LXX Job and used in the Hellenistic period. At any rate, the site features Hellenistic occupation.

⁵⁰ The location 'on the border of Idumea and Arabia' is the usual translation. The border between the Iron Age Edom and Arabia was definitely not the same as the border between Idumea and Arabia in the Hellenistic and Roman period. However, it should also be noted that the phrase ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις is very rare in the Biblical literature (attested only in LXX Job 42:17 and 1. Macc. 5:9), and the meaning of the term (in the plural) in classical literature may indeed refer to 'frontier, border,' but in the NT language the plural form always means a defined geographical area within boundaries ('region,' 'district'). Consequently, following the NT example, the phrase in question would be rendered 'in the territories of Idumea and Arabia,' which would suggest that the LXX writers had a very vague idea about the geographical context of the site.

⁵¹ Reed 2001: 45–47.

⁵² It has also been claimed that Job was an Edomite on the basis of indirect data gleaned from the Hebrew text, especially due to toponyms connected with Job's friends (they all appear to point to a southern location for the homeland of Job: Teman, Dedan, Sheba, Tema, Buz). For this issue, see Day 1994.

⁵³ See Thackeray 1900: 169–171; Reed 2001: 33.

Edom as the location of YHWH's epiphany and the heartland of a specific type of wisdom (Obad. 8; Jer. 49:7 [Ba. 3:22-23]). One may perhaps suggest that the LXX Job appendix 'reflects a very specific historical context, in which there was less reason to question the place of an Edomite/Idumean Job in the chosen nation Israel,' either due to the actual conversion of the Idumeans or because of the increased cultural connection between the Idumeans and the Judeans in the Hellenistic-Roman period.⁵⁴

The only occurrence of the 'Edomite' term in the Book of Daniel is Dan. 11:41, which foretells the invasion of 'the Beautiful Land' by the 'king of the North,' but prophesizes that Edom (as well as Moab and Ammon) will be spared. The Hebrew text uses the term אֱדוּמִי, and the LXX uses Ἐδῶμι. The use of this term is remarkable. In the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the province of Idumea was located directly south of Judea, and there was a settlement of the Nabateans in the old Edomite homeland east of the Jordan. Given the fact that Dan. 11:41 does not draw the line of Antiochus IV's itinerary (as Moab, Ammon, and Edom will not be attacked), this reference is not to be understood as geographical, but as ethnic-cultural in character. Thus, it does not show where the land of Edom was located according to the Book of Daniel, but that the author of the Book of Daniel thought that Judah's neighbor, Edom, still existed in his times. In other words, Dan. 11:41 suggests a continuity between the Iron Age Edomites and Hellenistic Idumeans.

In the Books of Chronicles, the term אֱדוּמִי appears twelve times (1 Chr. 1:43, 51, 54; 1 Chr. 18:11-13; 2 Chr. 8:17, 21:8-10, 25:19-20). The name שַׁעִיר occurs seven times (1 Chr. 1:38, 4:42; 2 Chr. 20:10, 22, 23; 2 Chr. 25:11, 14). Furthermore, there are also two occurrences of the name עֵשָׂו (1 Chr. 1:34-35) and two of the term אֱדוּמִי (2 Chr. 25:14, 28:17). In turn, the LXX uses the term Ἐδῶμι five times (1 Chr. 1:51, 54; 2 Chr. 21:8, 9, 10) and the name Ἰδουμαία five times as well (1 Chr. 18:11, 12; 2 Chr. 8:17; 2 Chr. 25:14, 19). Furthermore, we have seven occurrences of the term Σηὶρ (1 Chr. 1:38, 4:42; 2 Chr. 20:10, 22, 23; 2 Chr. 25:11, 14) and three cases of the term Ἰδουμαῖος (1 Chr. 18:13, 2 Chr. 25:20, 2 Chr. 28:17).

Generally speaking, the aforementioned references to the 'Edomite' topic can be found in the following sections of the Books of Chronicles: the references in 1 Chr. 1:34 (Descendants of Sarah), 1 Chr. 1:35-37 (Esau's sons), 1 Chr. 1:38-42 (Seir's sons), and 1 Chr. 1:43-54 (Rulers of Edom) belong to the first chapter of 1 Chr., which briefly explores human genealogy from Adam to Abraham. In addition, the following accounts are mainly parallel to the narrative material from the Books of the Kings: 1 Chr. 18:11-13 belongs to 1 Chr. 18:1-13 (David's victories); 2 Chr. 8:17 (fleet at Ezion Geber and Elath on the Red Sea shore) is part of 2 Chr.

⁵⁴ Reed 2001: 53.

8:1-18 (Solomon's other activities); the references in 2 Chr. 20:10, 22, 23 are made in the context of 2 Chr. 20:1-29 (the reign of Jehoshaphat and the war with Edom, Moab, and Ammon); 2 Chr. 21:8-10 speaks of Edom's revolt in the context of the reign of Jehoram, King of Judah (2 Chr. 21:4-20); 2 Chr. 25:19-20 refers to the war between Judah and Edom in the context of the reign of Amaziah, King of Judah (2 Chr. 25:1-28); 2 Chr. 28:17 reports the Edomites' attack against Judah during the reign of King Ahaz in Judah (2 Chr. 28:1-27).

Generally speaking, the Hebrew term אֲדוֹם is rendered five times as Ἐδῶμ (1 Chr. 1:51, 54; 2 Chr. 21:8, 9, 10) and seven times as Ἰδουμαία (1 Chr. 18:11, 12; 2 Chr. 25, 14, 19) or Ἰδουμαῖος (אֲדוֹם כְּלִי-אֲדוֹם) turns into πάντες οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι in 1 Chr. 18:13, and in 2 Chr. 25:20 אֱלֹהֵי-אֲדוֹם is rendered as θεοὶ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων). As always in the LXX, the Hebrew ethnicon אֲדוֹמִי is rendered as Ἰδουμαῖος (2 Chr. 28:17) and once (2 Chr. 25:14: Amaziah smites the Edomites) turns into the noun Ἰδουμαία (smitten by Amaziah). One observation is warranted: although the Hebrew name is rendered as both Ἐδῶμ and Ἰδουμαία, and consequently both terms may be seen as synonyms in the Books of Chronicles in general, the preference for one of these Greek terms is persistent within distinctive units. Namely, in the genealogy of Esau's descendants, the term Ἐδῶμ is exclusively used (1 Chr. 1:51, 54; in 1 Chr. 1:43, the appearance of the Hebrew term אֲדוֹם is completely omitted in the Greek, which instead speaks of οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν: 'their kings'), and the revolt against Judah is presented as the action of Ἐδῶμ (not Ἰδουμαία) in 2 Chr. 21:8-10, while in all other units the term Ἰδουμαία is used in the Greek Chronicles (esp. David's conquests in 1 Chr. 18:11-13). In this sense, 1-2 Chronicles differs considerably from 1-2 Kings.

Conclusions

It seems that the present analysis allows us to draw several conclusions. In the most general terms, the LXX renderings of the Hebrew terms Edom (אֲדוֹם) Edomites (אֲדוֹמִים), Seir (שְׁעִיר), and Esau (עֵשָׂו) do not contain any changes that would be important in terms of the historical geography of southern Palestine or the attitude of Biblical writers towards the Edomites/Idumeans. The term אֲדוֹם is rendered as either Ἐδῶμ (mostly) or Ἰδουμαία, and in most cases the two Greek names are used as synonyms. In turn, the Greek equivalents of עֵשָׂו, שְׁעִיר, and אֲדוֹמִי are Σηὶρ, Ἡσαῦ, and Ἰδουμαῖος.

Only in a few cases may we speak about important differences. First and foremost, there can be no doubt that the LXX Job appendix (Job 42:17a and 42:17b-e), created in Hellenistic times, reflects a very specific historical context: when the Idumeans settled directly south of Judea and became more closely con-

nected with the Judeans either through actual conversion or increased cultural exchange (which is also perceived positively in the LXX Job appendix). Furthermore, although in most cases the Greek names Ἰδουμαία and Ἐδὼμ are used interchangeably in the LXX, one may notice a slight preference for the term Ἰδουμαία in some parts of the LXX, and this may not always be a coincidence. First, the term Ἰδουμαία is used only for the genealogy of Eliphaz (Gen. 36). Given the fact that Eliphaz also plays an important role in the genealogy of Job in the LXX Appendix and Josephus (the only Idumean genealogical line quoted by Josephus) (in *Ant.* 2.4-6), it may be suggested that in Hellenistic and Early Roman times the names of the Eliphaz chieftains were particularly well known to their Judean contemporaries, who saw them as being connected with the contemporary Idumeans. Second, there is a tendency in the LXX Samuel to connect David with (the conquest of) Ἰδουμαία (2 Sam. 8:12-14; while Saul's conquests are attributed to Ἐδὼμ). Given the tendency of 1-2 Macc. to refer to David as a model of the Hasmoneans (1 Macc. 2:57, 4:30; 2 Macc. 2:13), this tendency may not be coincidental. In turn, in the Books of Chronicles the name Ἐδὼμ is used exclusively in the genealogy of Esau's descendants, (1 Chr. 1:51, 54; 1 Chr. 1:43), while in the political history only the term Ἰδουμαία appears (including David's conquests in 1 Chr. 18:11-13).

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