

**Ἰουδαία in the Geographical List
of Acts 2:9-11 and Syria
as "Greater Judea"**

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The appearance of Ἰουδαία in the geographical list presented in Acts 2:9-11 has puzzled interpreters almost from the time of the publication of the book of Acts. It will be argued that this word should be retained in the text and should be understood in the light of traditional and especially messianic ideas about the extent of the promised land. The close association of Judea and Syria is especially important for understanding the meaning of Ἰουδαία in Acts 2:9-11.

Keys Words: Ἰουδαία, Syria, Diaspora, promised land / borders of Israel

Acts 2:9-11 still confronts interpreters with seemingly insoluble problems. This text constitutes a geographical list of nations and territories that extend from the east to the west (vv. 9 and 10), followed by four additional groups that appear in a rather curiously staggered fashion in v. 11. As a whole, this list seems rhetorically well composed in sound and content, and the textual witness is, despite select factual (*sachliche*) difficulties, on the whole surprisingly unified so that nothing speaks against the assumption that Luke composed the text just as it has been transmitted to us. Except for the beginning, the text falls mostly into pairs:

- 9 Πάρθοι καὶ Μηδοὶ καὶ Ἰελαμίται,
καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν,
Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν,
Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν,
10 Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν,
Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην,
καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι

The list begins with the Parthians, the nation that rules the east, and appropriately ends with the Romans, who represent the actual world power in the west. These two powers provide a meaningful framework for this list of nations: the three nations mentioned after the Parthians are subjugated by them, the other areas by the Romans. Verse 11, by contrast, disturbs this framework. Although the phrase Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, Κρήτες καὶ Ἄραβες fits the rhythm of the language well, it does not seem related to the same subject matter. Why did Luke not simply end the list with the sensible ending "Jews and proselytes?" With this ending he would have confirmed that this list deals with the host nations—that is, the countries of the origin of Jews who now inhabited Jerusalem and originally came out of the Diaspora (including the proselytes) a list that should really include the entire then-known world population of significance, because these pious Diaspora Jews stemmed "from all nations under the heavens."¹ According to Luke, they hear the Spirit-filled disciples of Jesus all speak in the languages of the countries or nations in which they had been born, languages that they themselves had spoken in their childhood.²

It is unnecessary to inquire to what extent Luke means to describe actual languages that were spoken back then by the majority of the people and thus also by the local Diaspora Jews. The Jews in the listed countries between the realm of the Parthians and of Rome spoke predominantly Aramaic and Greek. It is therefore of little value to speculate with Theodor Zahn in his commentary about the extent to which the older national languages were still in use in Asia minor. The Diaspora Jews who lived there would have understood those languages as little as the Coptic in Egypt or Libyan in the Cyrenaica. This list, which Luke adopted (as he did other lists in Acts) from already-existing, probably written tradition, is not a list of languages but is of a different nature. This is apparent from the fact that it begins by naming three tribes/nations from the east, then, beginning with "those who dwell in Mesopotamia," the names of countries, or rather provinces, are introduced, five in Asia minor and two (or rather, three) in Africa, whereby the whole closes again with a nation, the Romans, just as the "Parthians, Medes, and Elamites" from the east are listed at the beginning.

1. Acts 2:5 Ἦσαν δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν. Compare Haman to Artaxerxes, earlier in Esth 3:8 (M + LXX): Ὑπάρχει ἔθνος διεσπαρμένον ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.

2. Acts 2:8, καὶ πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκαστος τῆ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν.

The "Judea" introduced between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia and the "Cretans and Arabs" at the end remain a complete riddle. It is this mystery that forms the focus of our present investigation.

First, however, one must differentiate clearly between the purpose of the list provided by the evangelist Luke—who certainly intentionally shaped it this way, and who, as a well-traveled doctor and as traveling companion to Paul, possessed solid geographical knowledge—and the many-sided speculations concerning its derivation and its original meaning.³ Luke is concerned with the sources of the nations and countries of Jews and proselytes, who at that time lived in Jerusalem, and he is concerned with their languages. In other words, to him Jerusalem appears, at least concerning the geographical home of its Jewish (or converts to Judaism) citizens, to be a city with international characteristics (*Gepräde*). This motif emerges several times in Acts.

The next parallel to our list is the listing of Greek-speaking Diaspora synagogues in Jerusalem (Acts 6:9), which reverses the order of Acts 2:10. The list begins with the synagogue of the "libertines," that is, the Roman freedmen, then the synagogue of the Alexandrians (Egyptian Jews) follows, and then it jumps to Cilicia (a hidden allusion to Paul, who then appears in 7:58), and ends finally in the province of Asia. We meet Jews from Asia in Jerusalem in 21:27 and Jewish Christians from the Cyrenaica (and Cyprus) in 11:20 and 13:1. According to Luke, even the Alexandrian Apollos seems to have traveled to Jerusalem, because he could hardly have learned of "John's baptism" in the Egyptian metropolis (18:24-25).

According to H. Conzelmann: "Luke is dependent upon a list of nations which reflects the political situation of an earlier time. . . . It describes the constituency of the twelve kingdoms, excluding Europe. Such lists come from the geographers and the historians of Alexander and of the twelve kingdoms."⁴ But this view is hardly correct, for Pontus and even Cappadocia never really belonged to the dominion of Alexander or, later, to the Seleucid Empire. Conzelmann cites merely the ending of Q. Curtius Rufus's list (6.3.3)⁵ from one of Alexander's speeches about the provinces subjugated by him, which lists Persia (instead of the geographically almost identical "Elamites" of biblical times), Media, and Parthia. Only this ending pointing to the east shows a genuine connection with our list. In both lists, Parthia (that

3. On this point, see now the convincing study by C. Thornton, *Der Zeuge des Zeugen* (WUNT 56; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1991).

4. H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 14.

5. Rufus probably wrote in the middle of the second century.

is, the Parthians), which stands at the beginning (or at the end), proves a redaction during Roman times.⁶

It is correct, however, that Alexander's crusade determined the geographical terminology of the Hellenistic and Roman period, and for that reason the stereotypical terms keep reappearing, even if they—as in the case of the Medes and Elamites—actually no longer corresponded to the geographical-ethnic realities in the first century AD.⁷ This does not explain, however, either the "Cretans and Arabs" at the very end of the list or the Romans who within the enumeration, possess a necessary function as the western counterpoint to the Parthians in the East. For Luke, both Parthians as well as Romans, in their role as the present political "lords of the world," may well point to the ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς in the prophecy of the resurrected one in Acts 1:8. The apostle's arrival in Rome in the last chapter signals the fulfillment of an essential part of this prophecy.⁸ Since Luke pictures only the west, we do not learn anything from him about the development of the eastern mission beyond the Euphrates. The same is true of all other early Christian sources before the *Acts of Thomas*, around AD 200.⁹ Luke and the early Christian literature that has been preserved up to the middle of the second century are as indifferent to this matter as they are to Egypt. By contrast, in Acts 8:26-39, Luke already has

6. Characteristically, the reference to the Parthians is missing in the Diadochean list after the death of Alexander (in Arrian [2d cent. AD]: τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον [F. Jacoby (ed.), *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden: Brill, 1958) 156 frg. 1.5-8]); also missing are the Cyreneans and the Romans. This means that Arrian's list is older.

7. The lists given by Conzelmann (*Acts*, 14 n. 7) from Ps.-Scylax 81ff. to Lucian's *De syria dea* 32 show a consistently diverging characteristic and can in no case be traced back to a common origin.

8. Acts 28:14, καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθαμεν, and v. 16, ὅτε εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς Ῥώμην

9. The earliest possible attestation of the Edessan Thomas tradition occurs in the second half of the second century. See M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien* (WUNT 108; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1998) 193; cf. p. 12 nn. 35, 41-42. That the early Christian mission already reached beyond the Euphrates into the east may be assumed, yet we do not know even as much about it as we know about the Christians in Alexandria before Basilides, ca. 130; cf. Hengel and Schwemer, 389-94. Besides reports about the conversion of the king of Abgar of Edessa to Christianity, which emerge toward the end of the second century, we only possess a strange and possibly earlier note by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.10.3, about Pantaenus, the teacher of Clement of Alexandria, who on a trip to India is supposed to have found "the writings of Matthew in Hebrew," which "Bartholomew, one of the Apostles" is believed to "have left" there. On the later mission in the kingdom of the Parthians, see A. von Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (4th ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924) 1.108-10, referring to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.1. It is peculiar that neither the apologists nor Irenaeus mentions the kingdom of the Parthians and its Christian communities.

the Ethiopian eunuch and minister of finance spread the new message of salvation to the uttermost ends of the earth in the deep south.

Nor can the "Cretans and Arabs" (Acts 2:11) after the summarizing "Jews and proselytes" be explained (as does Conzelmann¹⁰) as a geographic extension or summation in the sense of "'those who live on islands and those who live on the mainland' (or 'westerners and easterners?')"; Luke's clear ethnic designation calls for a more concrete meaning.¹¹

The supposition that the list originates from an astrological catalogue that connected certain countries with signs of the zodiac is equally unconvincing.¹²

In reality, Luke adopted a list that constitutes an overview of the territories in which the Jewish Diaspora was numerically strongest. The next parallel is the more elaborate list that Philo inserts into King Agrippa I's letter to Caligula.¹³ It describes Jerusalem as a "native city" (πατρίς) of the king and as a μητρόπολις of not just one territory, Judea, but many countries, based on the settlements that Jerusalem has founded by its missionary endeavors over time (διὰ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἐξέ-
έπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν καίρων). Philo first names the "neighboring lands" (τὰς ὁμόρους), Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, and Coele-Syria, followed by

10. Conzelmann, *Acts*, 14, following O. Eissfeldt, "Cretans and Arabs," *TLZ* 72 (1947) cols. 207-12; repr. in Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1966) 3.28-34.

11. Therefore, Philo's reference to the conclusion of the long and complicated listing of the spreading of the Jewish Diaspora is insufficient (*Legatio ad Gaium* 281-83). At the end, Philo mentions the three continents Europe, Asia, and Lybia and then "continent and islands, shores, and interiors"; this, however, cannot be meant by the post-script "Cretans and Arabs."

12. So, for example, S. Weinstock, "The Geographical Catalogue of Acts II, 9-11," *JRS* 38 (1948) 43-46, based on an older examination by F. Cumont, *Klio* 9 (1909) 263-73, about Paulus Alexandrinus's list of countries (2d half of the 4th century); the text is also printed by P. van der Horst, "Hellenistic Parallels to the Acts of the Apostles," *JSNT* 25 (1985) 49-60, esp. p. 53. There also is another enumeration of geographical listings, which go beyond Conzelmann's. For arguments against an astrological origin, see B. M. Metzger, "Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2, 9-11," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (E. F. Bruce Festschrift; ed. W. W. Gasque; Exeter: Paternoster / Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 123-33; repr. in Metzger, *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional, Patristic* (NTTS 10; Leiden: Brill, 1980) 46-56; and E. Gating, "Der geographische Horizont der sogenannten Völkerliste des Lukas (Acta 2,9-11)," *ZNW* 66 (1975) 149-69. Paul's list has a completely different character.

13. Philo, *Legat.* 281-83. Cf. E. M. Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium* (Leiden: Brill, 1961) 294; and A. Pelletier, *Les Oeuvres de Philo d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1972) 32.263, both of which refer to Acts 2:9-11. Compare also van der Horst, "Hellenistic Parallels," 54: "Of special interest is Philo's list in *Legat.* 281 since it indicates the degree of dispersion of the Jews in the middle of the first cent. AD"; and J. M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations* (WUNT 84; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1995) 168: "The closest parallel."

"those lying far apart" (εἰς τὰς πόρρω διωκισμένους): "Pamphylia, Cilicia, most of Asia minor up to Bithynia and the corners of Pontus." The same is true of Europe: here he limits himself to the seven regions of Greece, from Thessaly to the Peloponnese. "However, not only the continents are filled with Jewish settlements, but also the best known islands: Euboea, Cyprus, Crete.¹⁴ I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates" (because all "except a small portion . . . are inhabited by Jews").¹⁵

While Philo speaks about Jewish colonists, who are sent from the mother city, Jerusalem, to all parts of the civilized world, Luke exhibits a contrary tendency: he talks about pious Jews (and pagan converts to Judaism), who have returned from all over the world (ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν) to Jerusalem. Here they hear in their native language (i.e., in the language of their country of origin) the new message, addressed to the entire world, concerning the "great deeds of God" (2:11), as a first step toward a worldwide mission. The linguistic miracle is symbolically to prepare this worldwide mission.¹⁶ Both accounts have in common the universal spreading of the Jewish Diaspora, for which both lists are fragmentary. Philo's list lacks the reference to the Roman Diaspora, Luke's the one to Greece, although both are well informed about these missing areas. Philo mentions explicitly the great significance and obedience to the law of the Roman community that had been founded by Jewish prisoners of war after the conquest of Jerusalem in AD 63 by Pompey.¹⁷ Luke names the Jewish communities, or synagogues, in Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth.

In Agrippa's letter to Caligula, the reference to the Jews in Greece was more important than the one to the Babylonian Diaspora; the emperor did not have to be made aware of the Jews in Rome itself,

14. Compare Philo, *Legat.* 214: the Jews "have spread across all continents and islands." Compare also Esth 3:8 (see above, n. 1).

15. *Legat.* 216: Petronius knows "that Babylon and many other Satrapies are inhabited by Jews."

16. The Lukan description, according to which the Diaspora Jews hear in Jerusalem the Spirit-filled disciples in the many languages of their own native countries, overturns the contemporary Jewish notion that "the sacred language"—that is, Hebrew—will be spoken in the messianic kingdom as one language, as it had been before the confusion of languages. See text 4Q464, edited by E. Eshel and M. Stone, in *Qumran Cave 4.XII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (ed. M. Broshi et al.; DJD 19; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 118-221, together with *Jub.* 12:26-27 and its numerous listings of rabbinic texts.

17. Compare Philo, *Legat.* 155-58; compare also 160, where we are told of Sejanus's plans against the Jews in Rome and Philo's contact with Roman Jews as leaders of the Alexandrian delegation.

who supported Philo in his delegation in Rome. Luke's list, however, could have selected those areas in which the Jewish Diaspora was particularly strong and thus represented a real political power.

Yet the rather unintelligible ῥουδαίων between the "inhabitants of Mesopotamia" and "Cappadocia" appears to prevent any meaningful interpretation. No other passage in Acts in its first quotations has caused the exegetes in the old church as great a headache as this ῥουδαίων, which, since it is clearly attested in the manuscripts, cannot simply be summarily dismissed as a gloss or scribal error. Its retention in spite of all interpretive difficulties could, rather, serve as evidence for the outstandingly faithful transmission of the text.¹⁸ The earliest citations in the church fathers show that the ῥουδαίων was already a stumbling stone. Tertullian, who is the first to cite this text as an example for "all nations" who believe in Christ, and who adds many others, replaces the term with the seemingly more meaningful Armenia.¹⁹ Since, however, there is very little evidence for a Jewish Diaspora in this area, which was fought for by both Romans and Parthians, his interpretation is doubtful.²⁰

Closer to historical reality are Eusebius and Jerome, who, when interpreting Isa 11:11-14, which describes the homecoming of the

18. See B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971) 293-94, for an overview of possible hypotheses: "the committee was impressed by the overwhelming preponderance of external evidence supporting ῥουδαίων and therefore retained it in the text." The older hypotheses and conjectures are listed by C. Clemen, *TSK* 68 (1895) 297-357; compare E. Nestle, *ZNW* 9 (1908) 253-54, who, after the conjectures Armenia, Syria, India, Iudamaea, Cilicia, Bithynia, Lydia, and the country Yaudi and Gordaea, also adds the Adiabene as an eleventh possibility. W. H. P. Hatch, in the same journal on pp. 255-56, followed up with the supposition Aramaia. See also J. H. Ropes, in *Beginnings of Christianity* (ed. E. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; London: Macmillan, 1920), vol. 1: *The Acts of the Apostles*; vol. 3: *The Text of Acts* (1926) 14-15; Gating, "Der geographische Horizont," 150 nn. 5-6, 180-81; C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994-98) 1.121.

19. Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos* 7.4 (CChr.SL 2.2, p. 1352), Augustine (*Contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti* 9) is supposedly based on this (cf. CChr.SL 25.1 [ed. J. Zycha, 1891] 204). Besides these references, one also finds in Augustine *Iudaeae* and *Iudaei*; see also C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (editio octava critica maior, 1872; repr. Graz, 1952). That is, Augustine wavered in his understanding of this passage.

20. For this, see the new E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols.; rev. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-87) 3.6, 10, with reference to J. Neusner, "The Jews in Pagan Armenia," *JAOS* 84 (1964) 230-40. Their weak and late attestation explains why neither P. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) nor J. M. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora from Alexander to Trajan* (323 BCE-117 CE) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996) even mentions Armenia in his index.

Diaspora, substitute Συρίαν for Ἰουδαίαν.²¹ Since both elsewhere retain Judea, which is only transmitted in manuscripts, this substitution is probably less a conjecture than a substantially correct interpretation for, according to Josephus, "the Jewish people has been dispersed among the nations of the world; *they mingled most strongly (with the native populace) in Syria and Judea, because of their proximity (to their homeland).*"²² Syria and Judea are linked in a unique way. The solution to this riddle is to be found in this connection.

Other conjectures from the early church are "Indian" by John Chrysostom,²³ which lies completely outside the geographical framework; also Ἰουδαῖοι, which would then have to be connected with οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, which then conflicts with 2:5, οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαίῳ, in Jerusalem, at least according to the Peshitta, a reading that Zahn defends astutely and that is also found once in Augustine.²⁴ Finally, Theophylact, in his commentary, drops the problematic Ἰουδαίαν and moves from the inhabitants of Mesopotamia over to Cappadocia.²⁵ This simplest solution, of eliminating the offensively incomprehensible Ἰουδαίαν, found the consent of such self-declared critical spirits as von Harnack and others but is improbable even on the basis of textual criticism alone. The problem just cannot be removed in this rather convenient fashion.²⁶

The best explanation (this was already seen by ancient scholars such as Eusebius and Jerome) for the difficult term Ἰουδαίαν would be

21. See Eusebius, *Comm. Isa.* 63 (on 11:11), ed. J. Ziegler, GCS (1974) 87.16; Jerome, *Comm. Isa.* (CChr.SL 73, 1.2, 1963) 155.

22. *J.W.* 7.46; cf. 2.62-63, 465; also Philo, *Legat.* 245: in each city of Asia (minor) and of Syria in great number; and 281: the settlers sent out into the bordering areas of "Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria including Coelesyria." See also Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 82ff., 292-93; Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, 3.13-15; Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 242-58. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.9.8; and *Comm. Ps.* 67.32, has Ἰουδαίαν. Jerome, *Comm. Mich.* 1.41-47 (CCSL 76, 1.6, p. 468) reads *Judaeam*.

23. This is, however, not a direct citation but an interpretation (Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 4; PG 60, col. 47); the direct citation has Ἰουδαίαν (*ibid.*, PG 60, col. 44).

24. Peshitta: *jihūdāje'*; for exhaustive reference, see T. Zahn, *Die Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur 9; Leipzig: Deichert, 1916) 31, 133-36, 246; and in Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. The reference to Augustine, *Contra litteras Petilianianis*, ed. Petschenig (1909) 266, 10. The reference to the Sahidic translation is wrong; see Ropes (in Foakes Jackson and Lake [eds.], *Beginnings of Christianity*, 3.14-15); compare also T. Zahn, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas* (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 5/1-2; Leipzig and Erlangen: Deichert, 1922) 85ff.

25. PG 125, col. 536.

26. A. von Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament: III. Die Apostelgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908) 65-66, though he does add: "There is no satisfying explanation for the interpolation" (p. 66). Compare also E. Preuschen, *Die Apostelgeschichte erklärt* (HNT 4/1; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1912) 12; A. Loisy, *Les Actes des*

that it stood for *Syria*, which not only possessed the comparatively densest Jewish population among all other lands of the Diaspora but was, under changing borders, most closely connected with Judea. Greeks and Romans, as well as Jewish authors such as Philo and Josephus, regarded Judea politically and geographically as an appendage to Syria, though it nonetheless enjoyed a certain independence. As a result of the Jewish War of 66-70, Judea was changed into its own province beside Syria. After the Bar Kokhba rebellion, the name Judea disappeared; it was replaced by the province of Palestine, which nonetheless remained geographically always a part of Syria. Geographical designations almost always changed according to the political situation.²⁷

Apôtres (Paris: Nourry, 1920; repr. Paris: Rieder, 1925) 191; E. Haenchen (*Die Apostelgeschichte* [KEK 3; 6th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968] 134 n. 5), who, however, also refers to H. H. Wendt, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (MeyerK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1880) 85 (not 83). Wendt, however, rejects this hypothesis. See further discussion in C. S. C. Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles* (BNTC; London: Black, 1957) 65. Even F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf (*Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* [14th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975] §262.4) assert that ᾿λουδαίαν is "very probably . . . a later intrusion." The missing article is, as in Matt 4:25 in reference to ᾿λουδαίαν, "transferred" from the prior τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν.

27. Among the Ptolemies, the still-small "Jehud" was part of the province "Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη"; cf. M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (3d ed.; WUNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck, 1988] 681 (see index s.v. "Seleucids"). It belonged to Coele-Syria, while during Roman rule the territory was under the supervision of the governor of Syria.

Josephus is able to designate the non-Jewish Hellenistic populace of Palestine as "Syrians" (e.g., *J.W.* 2.266; on the conflicts in Caesarea, see 1.205, 259; 2.458, 461, 625; 3.57). The kingdom of Agrippa II has a mixed Jewish-Syrian populace. See also Philo, Flacc. 29: "The Alexandrians know that Agrippa I, the grandson of Herod and the Hasmonean woman Mariamne, is of Syrian descent and as the successor of Philip he ruled over a great part of Syria" (*Legat.* 179, 222: "We Jews were the first in all of Syria to congratulate Gaius when he began his reign"; 245). According to Josephus, *J.W.* 2.90, the Jewish delegates requested Rome not to tear apart the "remains of Judea" and deliver it into the hands of the sons of Herod "but to join it with Syria" (= *Ant.* 17.314: προσθήκη δὲ Συρίας γεγονότας, according to the text of R. Marcus). The same sentiment is expressed in *Ant.* 18.2, where we are told that the Jews did not want to obey the sons of Herod but the imperial representative who had been sent there (cf. 108). Compare the same idea in *J.W.* 2.97 (= *Ant.* 17.320) for the Hellenistic cities Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos. According to *Ant.* 17.355, after the dethronement of Archelaus, his territory was added to Syria. For the Greeks, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine formed practically a geographical unit (cf. Herodotus 2.104.3; see M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* [3 vols., Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974-84] 3.150-51; see index s.v. "Syria Palestina"). Palestine also counts as a part of Syria; the same is true for Judea (cf. *ibid.*, 1.348 §141, on Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 76-77: *Judaeo Syro*, "Syrian Jew"). Ovid can also call a Jew a "Palaestinius Syrus" (cf. *Ars* 419). On this, see Stern, *ibid.*, 1.349: "In the first century CE the Jewish writers in Greek, Philo and Josephus already use the name Palestine or Syria—Palestine to designate the whole land of Israel."

In the Jewish mind, on the other hand, during the high points of Jewish history, large parts of Syria were under the dominion of Israel. The kingdom of David, for example, reached from Edom to beyond Damascus to Zoba on the Euphrates and to Hamath on the Orontes.²⁸ The Euphrates, the border between Roman Syria and the Parthian Empire up to the middle of the second century, thus became, especially in Deuteronomistic language, the ideal eastern border of the holy land.²⁹ Already in the prophecy given to Moses, the borders of the holy land were supposed to include the greater part of Syria, "from the desert to the great river Euphrates, and to the great ocean toward sunset, that shall be your land,"³⁰ a vision that then also influenced the "ideal" circumference of the messianic kingdom. Thus, says Deutero-Zechariah, about the prince of peace who will enter Jerusalem:

his rule extends from ocean to ocean, from the river (i.e., Euphrates) to the ends of the earth.³¹

The key word *Yehuda* appears mysteriously in the concluding description of Jeroboam II's victories over his Syrian enemies,

who restored the boundaries of Israel.³² . . . The remaining history of Jeroboam, all his deeds and victories, how he went to war and returned Damascus and Hamath to Judah in Israel, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel?³³

No matter what the original meaning of this controversial text was (which was often regarded as corrupt), the LXX and the Targum apparently understood this passage in such a way that the regaining of the Syrian territories "for Judah in Israel" happened in the interest of the supposedly united Northern and Southern Kingdoms; one could also say that it happened in the interest of "greater Judea" or—which is the same thing—of the restored, true Israel. The meaning of the LXX and Targum text could also point to a still-expected,

28. 2 Sam 8:1-14; cf. Ps 60[59]:2 LXX and Symmachus.

29. On this interesting point, see the recent and important study by M. Bockmuehl, "Antioch and James the Just," in *James the Just and Christian Origins* (ed. B. Chilton and C. A. Evans; NovTSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 155-98, esp. 169-79. His observations coincide independently in many points with my own.

30. Josh 1:4; Gen 15:18; Exod 23:31; Deut 11:24.

31. Zech 9:10; Mic 7:12; cf. Ps 72:8; the same formulation reappears in Sir 44:21, where it also certainly has messianic meaning.

32. 2 Kgs 14:25.

33. 2 Kgs 14:28: **בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לְיְהוּדָה לְיִתְחַמֵּת אֶת־דְּמֻשֶׁק אֶת־דְּמֻשֶׁק אֶת־דְּמֻשֶׁק אֶת־דְּמֻשֶׁק** cf. LXX καὶ ὅσα ἐπέστρεψεν τὴν Δαμασκὸν καὶ τὴν Αἰμάθ τῶν Ἰουδα ἐν Ἰσραὴλ; Tg.: **בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לְדָבִית**. **יְהוּדָה** On Josephus, see below, n. 47.

The formulation "those from the house of Judah" is typical for the Southern Kingdom in the *Targum of Kings*. The Syrian drops the offensive **יְהוּדָה**, and reads only **יִשְׂרָאֵל**.

future messianic kingdom just like David's great kingdom. In the synonymous parallelism of Ps 76:1, "In Judah God is known, his name is great in Israel," Judah and Israel are seen as united, and the victory of the God of Zion is celebrated. Verse 11 probably reads: "Yea, the grim Edom shall praise you and the remainder of Hamath shall celebrate you. . . . He humiliated the mind of the princes // terribly he met the kings of the earth."³⁴

O. Eissfeldt has connected this Judah in 2 Kgs 14:28 with the 'Ioudaía of Acts 2:9 by providing new evidence for a suggestion by H. Gunkel, which C. Clemen adopted. Gunkel had surmised that 'Ioudaía derives from the region of *Ya'udi (j'dj)*, attested in Assyrian cuneiform script and Old Aramaic inscriptions of Zincirli, a land whose name could easily be mistaken for *Y^ehûdâh*.³⁵ In 2 Kgs 14:28, *Yehûdâh* may indeed originally have had something to do with the north Syrian *Ya-û-di*, but that this name, attested in 660 BC, should reappear over seven centuries later in Acts 2:9 and yet remain without any other attested parallel is unlikely. Rather, the LXX and the Targums of the prophets point to a desire to extend Judea's influence, by means of the unity of the restored Israel, as far as possible to the Syrian north. The starting point is the Israel of David's kingdom, which in Hellenistic-Roman times served repeatedly as model and above all determined the geography of messianic expectations. It is to be observed that "Judea" was a variable, geographically. It stood for the small Persian territory of Jehud, between Jerusalem and Beth Zur, as well as for the much greater kingdom of the Hasmonean expansion, the even greater domain of Herod or of his nephew Agrippa I, which included significant areas of southern Syria with its numerous pagan inhabitants. This corresponds to Strabo's geographical picture of Judea as an important part of southern Syria: the territory may be divided into Commagene; Seleucis, as its most important part; Coele-Syria; Phoenicia; and *Judea*, whereby the latter designates "the inner area above Phoenicia up to the Arabs between Gaza and the Anti-Lebanon."³⁶ A

34. On the text and the translation, see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen I* (3d ed.; BKAT 15/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1966) 524ff. The superscription in the LXX reads: ᾠδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰουδαίον; thus the translators understood the psalm as an eschatological hymn of victory against the Seleucids.

35. "Judah" in 2 Kgs 14:28 and "Judea" in Acts 2:9; see O. Eissfeldt, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität Halle* 12 (1963) 229-38 = *Kleine Schriften* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1968) 4.99-120, esp. 115-17. See also "Judah" and "Judea" as designation of north Syrian regions; cf. *FF* 38 (1964) 20-25 = *Kleine Schriften*, 4.121-31. See on pp. 115-16 the elaborate citation from C. Clemen, *TSK* 68 (1895) 297-357.

36. Strabo 16.2.2.21. The size of Coele-Syria is, however, controversial: some wanted to extend it to the entire Syria south of the Seleucis. These, with the Tetrapolis Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea would be the "last part" of the province (16.2.4).

certain contrast is provided by a concurrent listing of the seven nations (ἔθνη) of Syria: Syrians, Coele-Syrians, Phoenicians, and "mixed with these" Jews, Idumaeans, Gazeans, and Azoteans, whereby Strabo counts the latter four as belonging to the region of Judea (and the Idumeans had already converted to Judaism under Hyrcanus I).³⁷ Even a significant part of the inhabitants of Azotos, perhaps as many as half of them, were Jews.³⁸ A third possibility mentioned by Strabo is that Judea designates merely those areas in southern Syria that were mostly inhabited by Jews.³⁹

Since the term *Israel* as it is used in salvation history was mostly unknown to the ancient world, it would be understandable if the generally used designation *Judea*, in the sense of the greater Judea hoped for in messianic times, was transferred *pars pro toto*, or *a parte potiori* to all of Syria.

Moreover, one has to consider that in the first century the territories of the consciously Jewish Herodian clientele princes under Roman authority extended far beyond the areas inhabited predominantly by Jews, even to the middle of Syria. Individual pagan rulers, such as Azizos of Emesa and King Polemon of Pontos even converted to Judaism and were circumcised in order to marry the daughters of Agrippa I. The dynasty of Herod in general had manifold dynastic connections to Syrian and Asian rulers. The dynasty also exhibited its power through magnificent buildings in Phoenician and Syrian cities.⁴⁰ Apparently the Romans regarded the ruling Jewish dynasty of Herod as a stabilizing element in the east. That this attitude could, of course, change abruptly is demonstrated by the attempt of King Agrippa I to summon the princes of Syria and Asia Minor to a council meeting, which was rudely canceled by the personal intervention of the Syrian governor Marsus.⁴¹ This may be evidence that the Jewish kings tried to assume more political influence in Syria.

Josephus not only emphasizes (by special reference to Antioch) that there were more Jews in Syria than in other countries, but he talks in

37. For a more exact dating of the conquest and forced conversion of Idumaeans, see D. Barag, "New Evidence on the Foreign Policy of Hyrcanus I," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 12 (1992-93) 22-26. In the first Jewish Wars and in the Bar Kokhba uprising, the descendants of the Idumeans prove themselves to be law-abiding, freedom-loving Jews.

38. See M. Hengel, "Der Historiker Lukas und die Geographic Palästinas in der Apostelgeschichte," *ZDPV* 99 (1983) 147-83, esp. pp. 166-67 = *Between Jesus and Paul* (London: SCM, 1983) 97-132 (112ff.). According to Philo, *Legat.* 197-206, the populace of the neighboring, politically similarly-situated Iamnia was even dominantly Jewish.

39. Among others, Luke seems to be familiar with this further understanding of Judea; see Hengel, "Der Historiker Lukas," 151; and W. Gutbrod, "Ἰσραήλ," *TDNT* 3.384-86.

40. Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 93-95, 347 n. 421.

41. *Ibid.*, 95 nn. 380-81; 347 n. 1421.

this context explicitly about the "*mixing of nations*."⁴² After the unexpected Jewish victory over the Syrian governor, Cestius Gallus, at the Beth-Horon Mountain in 66 BC, serious anti-Jewish pogroms took place because the Syrians felt threatened by the Jewish minority that they had always hated. Josephus describes the situation with great rhetorical skill: "The whole of Syria was a scene of frightful disorder; every city was divided into two camps, and the safety of one party lay in their anticipating the other." Suspicion was directed, not only at the Jewish people themselves, but also at their pagan allies, as a group that "aroused suspicion," a group whom one "feared . . . as much as pronounced aliens . . . the whole province was full of indescribable horrors."⁴³

According to Philo, on the other hand, Petronius, governor of Syria, emphasized to the insane Caligula the significance of the large Jewish populace in Syria and Palestine for the peace and stability of the Roman border province.⁴⁴

The connection between the Jewish ethnos (that is, its motherland in the narrower sense) and Syria was unique and manifold and differed fundamentally from its relationship with other areas of the Diaspora. This pertains also to the interpretation of its own salvation history. Here, the Old Testament ideal continued to operate. In fact, it was even augmented. According to the Jewish historian Eupolemus, a follower of the Maccabees and Jerusalem priests, David subjugated the Syrians at the Euphrates, Commagene, which bordered Cappadocia, the entire country east of Jordan, the Phoenicians, and the Nabateans.⁴⁵ That is, David, at least according to Eupolemus, conquered and made *all of Syria* up to its northern border pay tribute. Josephus is of the same opinion, possibly following Nikolaus of Damascus: David defeated

42. *J.W.* 7.43: τὸ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων γένος πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις, πλείστον δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀναμειγμένον ἐξαιρέτως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦν πολὺ διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος. Cf. 2.263: Jews and Syrians in Caesarea; 3.57: in the kingdom of Agrippa II; see also Strabo 16.2.2; Philo, *Legat.* 220.

43. *J.W.* 2.462-63, 465 (LCL); on this, see Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 82ff. On the Syrians' hatred and fear of the Jews, see *J.W.* 2.461, 478; also 5.556: Arabs and Syrians; 7.46: after the arrival of Vespasian, the hatred of the Jews in all of Syria reached its climax; 363: in Caesarea. See also *J.W.* 1.88: The Syrians have an "innate hatred of the [Jewish] people" (ἐμφυτον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέχθειαν). Josephus wrote as an eyewitness.

44. Philo, *Legat.* 207-61. Compare for example 226-27, where the protesting Jews attacked Phoenicia like a cloud, to the surprise of those who underestimated the great numbers of this people; further 244-45; cf. the less rhetorically exaggerated *Ant.* 18.262-63, 269-72, 277, 282-83, 286-87, 302-3. Presumably there was unrest in Antioch in connection with Gaius's plans; see Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 281-86.

45. Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.30.3-4; cf. N. Walter, *JSHRZ* 1/2, 99-100; Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 189.

the mighty King Hadad of Damascus and subjugated "Damascus and the rest of Syria."⁴⁶ Josephus, in reference to Jeroboam II, repeats this assertion: according to the prophecy of the prophet Jonah, David subjugated the "entire country" of the Syrians.⁴⁷

However, we find this special interest in "all of Syria" as early as the Palestinian and Jewish-Hellenistic Abraham tradition, which even pagan authors followed.⁴⁸ Especially impressive is the description of Abraham's journey around the promised land: setting out from the Nile, he travels along the (Mediterranean) Sea to the mount of Tauros, and from there he moves east to the Euphrates and follows the river to the "Red Sea," that is, the Persian Gulf. He then skirts the Arabian peninsula until he reaches the Nile once more. In other words, the promised land includes all of Syria and Arabia.⁴⁹ The geographical picture of Abraham's journey is reminiscent of the messianic version in Ps 72:8: "he reigns from sea to sea [that is from the Mediterranean sea to the Persian Gulf, or Indian Ocean] and from the [River] Euphrates to the ends of the earth!" Another example is the secondary addition of Mic 7:11-12: "this is a day when your borders will spread out, this is a day when they will come to you from Assur (Syria?),⁵⁰ even from Egypt and Tyrus⁵¹ to the (Euphrates) river,⁵² from sea to sea, from mountain to mountain."⁵³ The extension of borders is already

46. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.100-104; see Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 87.

47. *Ant.* 9.207. See above, n. 33, on 2 Kgs 14:28.

48. According to Nicolaus of Damascus, Abraham ruled as king over Damascus, before he moved on to "Canaan, which is now called Judea" (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.145). According to Pompeius Trogos, the Jews stem from Damascus, *Syriae nobilissima civitas*. Abraham and Israel were (supposedly) kings there (Justin, *Epitome* 3.2.1). See Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 87.

49. 1QapGen 21:15-19. See now also M. Morgenstern et al., "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apokryphon," *AbrN* 33 (1995) 30-54. In 17:10, the "mountain of the bull" appears already in the dividing up of Shem's inheritance. On this entire matter, see Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 118-19.

50. See T. H. Robinson and F. Horst, *Die Zwölf kleinen Propheten* (HAT 14; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1964) 151: "The mentioning of Assur, which could possibly be understood as 'Syria,' could certainly pertain to the times of the Maccabees so that what is meant is 'Seleucid' (Assur) and Ptolemaic kingdom (Egypt)." On the linguistic usage of Assur = Syria, see Meleagros von Gadara, *Anth. Gr.* 7.417.2; also on this Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 155-56. This interpretation is possible even as early as the beginning of the third century.

51. Read *missôr*.

52. By this the LXX intends the destruction of the Seleucid kingdom through the expansion of the cities of God's people (Mic 7:11-12 LXX): ἡμέρας ἀλοιφῆς πλίνθου. ἐξά-λειψίς σου ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, καὶ ἀποτρίψεται νόμιμά σου. ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη· καὶ αἱ πόλεις σου ἤξουσιν εἰς ὁμαλισμὸν καὶ εἰς διαμερισμὸν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ αἱ πόλεις σου αἱ ὄχυρα εἰς διαμερισμὸν ἀπὸ Τύρου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ Συρίας ἡμέρα ὕδατος καὶ θορύβου

53. On the design of the text and its translation, see Robinson and Horst, *Die Zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 150; see also H. W. Wolf, *Dodekapropheton 4: Micha* (BKAT 14.2;

mentioned in Ezek 47:15-18 and the interpretation of this passage in the LXX and the Targum to the Prophets: In the north the borders reach from the Mediterranean Sea to the border between Damascus and Hamath, which is situated farther north (compare above, at the discussion on 2 Kgs 14:28), and in the east to the territory between the Hauran and Damascus. The Targum also adds: "and you shall share it as an inheritance for yourself *and the proselytes who have converted among you* and have had children among you."⁵⁴ Thus, despite all opposition, it seems that Jewish propaganda has been fairly successful in the Syrian realm. Josephus recounts, though probably exaggerates, that the women of the Damascenes had "for few exceptions all converted to the Jewish form of worship."⁵⁵ At this point, the mission of the Hellenistic Jews and of Paul outside of Eretz Israel began.

The eschatologically interpreted text Zech 9:1 talks about Damascus becoming the "place of rest" or "dwelling place" of Yahweh. The Targum of the Prophets goes even one step further: "and Damascus desires to belong again to the land of the house of Shekinah."⁵⁶

In a discussion between the Tannaites R. Yehuda b. Elai and R. Yose, son of the Damascene, about the interpretation of Zech 9:1, Yose claims, based on his connection to the city of Damascus and on Isa 41:7 and Cant 7:5, "that the land of Israel will spread out and rise up on all sides . . . and the gates of Jerusalem will reach to Damascus . . . and the exulting people will come and dwell in its midst."⁵⁷ According to another Tannaitic tradition, only seven of the nations promised in Joshua's time were actually subjugated. Three are left for messianic times. According to R. Simeon b. Yohai (ca. 100-150) these three are the Damascenes, Apamea (here identical with northern

Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982) 186ff., 200. The borders of Jerusalem or, in the later interpretation, also of Israel, are expanded for the homecoming exiles from the Diaspora.

54. Tg. Ezek. 47:22.

55. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.560-61. Luke's plural synagogues in Damascus in Acts 9:2 and 20 is factually correct; see Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 80-84. On the mission in Syria and Cilicia, that is, to the Euphrates and Tarsus, see *passim*.

56. See K. J. Cathcart and R. P. Gordon, *Aramaic Bible*, vol. 14: *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (Wilmington, Del.: Glazier, 1989) 303.

57. *Sipre Deut.* §1 (on Deut 1:1); H. S. Horovitz and L. Finkelstein, *Siphre D'be Rab: Siphre ad Numeros adjecto Siphre Zutta* (Corpus Tannaiticum; Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1917; repr., Jerusalem: Shalem Books, 1992) 7-8. Both Tannaites lived in the middle of the 2d century. An elaborate parallel is found in *Cant. Rab.* 7:5 §3, where the interpretation of the Haggadist R. Yohanan is presented as generally known. Further parallels in Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 88 n. 344, in connection to G. Stemberger, "Die Bedeutung des 'Landes Israel' in der rabbinischen Tradition," *Kairos* 25 (1983) 176-99, esp. p. 193. See now Bockmuehl, "Antioch and James the Just," with further evidence especially for Antioch.

Syria—i.e., the Seleucis)⁵⁸ and Asia Minor (that is, only the territories [except for Egypt] that Philo believed to possess the greatest Diaspora [see discussion above]).⁵⁹

As far as the halakic praxis is concerned, "the Syrian realm [possessed] a median status between Israel and foreign territory."⁶⁰ By reason of Abraham's prophecy (Gen 15:18-21) and also in view of the kingdom of David, the messianic expectations entailed an extension of the borders of Eretz Israel, especially in the area of Syria. The halakic praxis may at this point also be related to contemporary messianic hope. A concrete example from the realm of the sacrifice halaka may demonstrate this connection. In the recently (1989) discovered ^cAkeldama graves southeast of Mount Zion on the slope, above the confluence of the Hinnom and Kidron Valleys, there is a family burial ground with numerous, predominantly Greek inscriptions from the Second Temple period. One also features the ossuary of a man with the Greek name Ariston; beneath his name is written in an Aramaic form of Hebrew: "Ariston of Apamea, Jehuda the proselyte."⁶¹ Since, on this burial ground of wealthy Jews, only one person was buried per ossuary, it is a fair conjecture that this Ariston was a proselyte from Apamea who had adopted a Jewish name after his conversion.

We meet another religiously zealous Ariston from Apamea in the Mishna. His firstfruits were accepted by the priests, even though they came from pagan territory, with the justification that he who "owns land in Syria is as one who owns land in the suburbs of Jerusalem."⁶² Proselytes from Syria/Phoenicia are also found in Acts 6:5 (Nicolaus, the proselyte from Antioch) and in other Jerusalem ossuary inscriptions ("Judas, proselyte from Tyros").⁶³ The inclusion of Syrians in the holy land is also attested by the same treatise, which goes on to say

58. Apamea had a particularly large urban area; see F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC-AD 33* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993) 149, 250-51, 256-63.

59. *Gen. Rab.* 44.23 (on Gen 15:19-20); J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck (eds.), *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1980) 2.446. Rabbi (Jehuda han-našî) mentions Arabia and Nabatea.

60. The material is arranged in exemplary fashion by Stemberger, "Die Bedeutung des 'Landes Israel,'" 198 n. 24; cf. M. Hengel, with R. Deines, "Der vorchristliche Paulus," in *Paulus and das antike Judentum* (ed. M. Hengel and U. Heckel; WUNT 58; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1991) 279-80 for additional evidence.

61. T. Ilan, "The Ossuary and the Sarcophagus Inscriptions," in *The Akeldama Tombs: Three Burial Caves in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem* (ed. G. Avni and Z. Greenhut; Israel Antiquities Authority Reports 1; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1996) 66 §19.

62. M. Hal. 4:11.

63. B. Bagatti and J. T. Milik, *Gli scavi de "Dominus flevit": Monte Oliveto-Gerusalemme* (2 vols.; Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 13; Jerusalem: Francescani,

that sacrificial offerings from Alexandria and Babylon were rejected.⁶⁴ The treatise also describes the discussion between the moderate R. Gamliel II and the zealot R. Eliezer (b. Hyrcanos), in which R. Eliezer defended the validity of the same obligation of tribute for all of Syria as for Eretz Israel, while R. Gamliel argued (related to the "meal offering") for a special status for people residing between the coast of Gezib, the Anti-Lebanon at Damascus, and the Euphrates, which corresponds to the old ideal biblical northern border.⁶⁵ For the privileged status of Syria in relation to Eretz Israel and foreign Gentile nations, see also *m. ʿOr.* 3:9; *m. Maʿaś* 5:5; *m. Šeb.* 6:2, 5; *t. Ter.* 2.9; *m. B. Qam.* 7:7.

R. Aqiba had an equalizing tendency: "Aqiba states the general rule that everything which is permitted in the land (Israel) should also be allowed in Syria."⁶⁶ G. Stemberger conjectures that the halakic borders were first expanded and then retracted. Behind the first tendency to expand borders may have been messianic-nationalistic ambitions in the last part of the late Second Temple period.⁶⁷

One should also look at the interpretation of the Table of Nations in Genesis 10, as Josephus interprets it for his own time. According to his interpretation, Canaan, son of Ham, settled in the area that is "now called Judea," because seven descendants of Canaan were killed by the Hebrews, now called Jews, because God's curse on Ham was passed on to Canaan and his descendants.

To be sure, the inhabitants of Sidon, Arce, Hamath/Epiphaneia, and Arados—that is, the Phoenician coastal tribes—also descend from the cursed one: on the basis of the merciless concluding sentence, "the remaining descendants of Ham escaped the curse,"⁶⁸ God, however, allowed the curse to pass on to the sons of Canaan," one may

1958-64) 1.84 §13; on this, see E. Puech, "Inscriptions funéraires palistiniennes: Tombeau de Jason et ossuaires," *RB* 90 (1983) 481-533, esp. p. 519. In my opinion it is to be read ΤΥΠΟΥ instead of ΤΥΠΑ. Even the proselyte (*CII* 1835) from Jerusalem has the name Judas.

64. *M. Hal.* 4:10; see also Josephus, *Ant.* 3.318-19; and Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 110-11: the rejection of sacrificial offerings from Babylon.

65. *M. Hal.* 4:7-8; cf. *m. Šeb.* 6:1 on Gezib (= Achzib in Josh 19:29; Judg 1:31); and G. Reeg, *Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften 51; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1989) 174. Gezib is about 15 km north of Acco and in Talmudic literature was considered the official northernmost location of Eretz Israel on the coast. On the purity of a field in Syria near Eretz Israel, see *m. Ohol.* 18:7: A field in Syria in proximity with Eretz Israel may be walked on in purity, and it falls under the tithing law and the laws for the year of the Sabbath: "The dwelling-places of the Gentiles," however, "are unclean."

66. *M. Šabb.* 6:2; cf. also R. Simon (b. Johai) at 6:5-6; see in addition, Stemberger, "Die Bedeutung des 'Landes Israel,'" 98 n. 24.

67. *Ibid.*, 184; cf. Hengel, *Der vorchristliche Paulus*, 279-80.

68. This refers to the Ethiopians, Gabaens, Egyptians, and Libyans.

surmise that one day this curse will be fulfilled, and the entire "land of Canaan," which—as Josephus always emphasizes—extends to Hamath on the Orontes, will belong to God's people.⁶⁹ Hamath⁷⁰/Epiphaneia, which already in Hellenistic times was part of the Seleucis, is repeatedly emphasized by Josephus as the northern border of promised land. This was also the point reached by the spies that Moses sent out, who, from the border of Egypt, traveled through the entire promised land of Canaan.⁷¹ Later the king of Hamath sought David's favor, impressed by David's victory over the Syrians. Solomon subjugated the Canaanites on the heights of Lebanon, "even to the city of Hamath" for the payment of tribute and for forced labor.⁷² Jeroboam II also arrived at this point after the subjugation of all Syria, at which point Josephus points out again that this was the ancient border of Canaan.⁷³ Furthermore, Jonathan the Maccabean routed the army of Demetrius II at this very place.⁷⁴ In these accounts, one can detect the national pride of the Jerusalem priest and imperial freedman Josephus, who is not only well acquainted with the national history and geography but also with the messianic hope of his people.⁷⁵ In the later rabbinic tradition and the Targums, it is possible simply to substitute "Antioch" for "Hamath."

If one considers all of this evidence and the points of view concerning the special connection of Judea and the Jewish people with Syria and Phoenicia situated in the north, it seems difficult to interpret the problematic, but nonetheless authentic, Ἰουδαίαν that occurs in the list of nations between the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and Cappadocia in any other way than as the same "Greater-Judea" that

69. On the list of nations, see *Ant.* 1.134-42; on Heber and the Hebrews, see *Ant.* 1.146, 148; on the subjugation of Canaan, see *Ant.* 1.185; 4.300. After their destruction, their land will belong to Israel (*Ant.* 2.194-95, 200, and others; compare also Scott, *Paul and the Nations*, 166-67).

70. Hamath is Amathē/Amathos in Josephus (LCL).

71. *Ant.* 3.303; cf. Num 13:21.

72. *Ant.* 7.107-8; 8.160-62. Josephus adds that not one of the Hebrews was sold into slavery.

73. *Ant.* 9.206-7.

74. *Ant.* 13.174; cf. 1 Macc 12:24ff.; from here he turns toward Damascus, clearly walking in the footsteps of Israel's great kings.

75. On this, see his depiction of the Balaam oracle in Numbers 24, in *Ant.* 4.114-22, and also his reference in *Ant.* 10.209-10 to the stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which will destroy the "iron" Roman Empire that will presently dominate, with God's permission. See also M. de Jonge, "Josephus und die Zukunftserwartungen seines Volkes," in *Josephus-Studien: Otto Michel zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet* (ed. O. Betz, K. Haacker, and M. Hengel; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) 205-19, esp. pp. 211-12. About Hamath = Antioch, see *Tg. Jer.* I and II and *Neofiti* to Gen 10:18; *Tg. Jer.* I and *Neofiti* Num 13:21; *Tg. Neofiti* Num 34:8 with relation to the Taurus/Amanus Mountains, the northern border of Syria. Cf. also *Tg. Jer.* I and II Num 34:7. For further evidence, see Bockmuehl, "Antioch and James the Just."

comprises the Roman province called Syria. This would be a Jewish contemporary linguistic context, behind which—with reference to the highlights of earlier history—may well stand expectations concerning the extensiveness of Eretz Israel in the messianic future and that possessed halakic consequences for the present. Based on salvation history, the term "Judea" would then be a *pars pro toto* for the Roman province of Syria; and the list is not constructed haphazardly but with deliberation, because it lists "only those countries particularly in which many strong Jewish communities existed."⁷⁶ This is true of the Diaspora beyond the Euphrates—one only needs to consider the conversion of the imperial dynasty of Adiabene.⁷⁷ The great number of Jews in Asia Minor is repeatedly attested, not only by Josephus and Philo, but also by many inscriptions; the same is true for Egypt and Cyrene. The Diaspora in Thracia, Macedonia, and Achaia are left out here because they are of less significance, while the Roman Jews had to be named due to their status as citizens of a metropolis. They form the western counterweight to the Parthians, with whom the list begins. In Jerusalem, too, if we disregard the special case of Syria = Judea at this point, the returnees from Babylon, Asia Minor, Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Rome possessed the greatest influence. In this sense, the structure of the Lukan list certainly makes sense.

This is also true for the four concluding groups mentioned in v. 11, which are also criticized: Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabs. I can deal with these only briefly. With them Luke returns to the beginning, the Jews in Jerusalem (2:5). The addition "and proselytes" sharpens the focus: there are converted Gentiles among the Jews in the holy city.⁷⁸ Even the strange doublet at the end, "Cretans and Arabs," seems purposeful to me. This describes *the immediate neighbors of the Jews in the motherland toward the west and the east*. At the same time, the Arabs are immediate relatives because they are descendants of Abraham. Nebajoth, to whom Josephus traces back the Nabateans, was the firstborn of Ishmael and grandson of Abraham. The "Cretans" are in my opinion a euphemism for the neighbors in the coastal plain, that is, the descendents of the Philistines. Did not the Philistines come from Caphtor, which could be identified with Crete, and were not the

76. A. Schlatter, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Ausgelegt für Bibelleser* (2d ed.; Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament 4; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1948) 21.

77. Compare Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus and Antiochien*, 108-9; see also Josephus, *Ant.* 11.133: The Diaspora beyond the Euphrates is the most numerous one. Only two tribes in Asia and Europe were subject to the Romans (Judah and Benjamin), the ten tribes with "countless myriads whose number cannot be ascertained remained in the east"; compare also *Ant.* 18.314-79, about the uprising of Anilaeus in Babylon and the fate of the Jews who resided there.

78. One need only consider the members of the Adiabenean dynasty, who permanently resided in Jerusalem prior to 70.

"Crethi and Plethi" David's bodyguards? Philistine and Canaanite, by contrast, were "non-words." The LXX translates consistently *pēlīštīm* 249 times as ἀλλόφυλοι. The Jews from the coastal plains who lived in Jerusalem could not very well be associated with the Philistines; the reference to the ancestry of one's former archenemy from the island of Crete sounded more distinguished. The coastal plains and Nabatean Arabia belonged to the earliest areas of Christian mission work.⁷⁹ That Cretans paradigmatically refers to islanders and Arabs to the inhabitants of the continent is implausible. If this were the case, one should sooner expect "Cypriots." Cyprus was not only closer, but it also possessed a large Jewish Diaspora. The coastal inhabitants and the (Nabatean) Arabs were geographically and on the basis of promise of the land especially closely connected to Israel; they were the first nations that were favorably predisposed for the "pilgrimage of the nations" to Zion on their geographical location alone.

The list is of Jewish origin. Luke did not compose it, but he did render it unfamiliar through the reference to the linguistic miracle.

Maybe the emerging vision of Greater Judea as the Roman Syria in the list may help to explain the fact that the early church of the first century restricted its missionary activity exclusively to Syria and that the first large Gentile-Christian communities came into existence not in Alexandria but in Antioch, the capital of Syria. The fact that Paul stayed in Syria and Cilicia (and before that in Nabatean Arabia) for sixteen years after his conversion at Damascus, right up to the Apostolic council, could become more intelligible in light of this explanation. In this area, which bordered Eretz Israel directly, which according to ancient biblical tradition was inseparably connected with it, Jews and god-fearing Gentiles were to prepare the coming of the Messiah and the concomitant return of God's people. The urgent problem of "Syria," so important for the history of the early church, does not present itself to us in the light of trendy and therefore questionable theories about the "Syrian syncretism" but as the question concerning the Jews and Judaizing pagan sympathizers in Syria. They were the first recipients of early Christian missionary activity outside of Eretz Israel.⁸⁰

79. Compare also Acts 8:40; Gal 1:17; see Hengel and Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 57, 85, 174-94.

80. A German version of this paper appeared in the Festschrift for Marc Philonenko as "Ἰουδαία in der geographischen Liste Apg 2,9-11 und Syrien als 'Grossjudda,'" *RHPR* 80 (2000) 51-68. I wish to thank Jens Zimmermann for translating this paper into English, Chris Young for in-putting the Greek, and C. A. Evans for editing the paper for its appearance in the *Bulletin for Biblical Research*.