

JAMES M. SCOTT

Paul and the Nations

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

84

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zum Neuen Testament

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

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World map (10 × 15 cm) with orientation on the East and Jerusalem in the center accompanying a thirteenth-century manuscript of the Psalms

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Paul and the Nations

The Old Testament
and Jewish Background of Paul's Mission
to the Nations with Special Reference
to the Destination of Galatians

by

James M. Scott



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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Professor Dr. Dr. Peter Stuhlmacher
in aufrichtiger Dankbarkeit**

Preface

The present study is the result of research and writing that I carried out as a Humboldt fellow at the University of Tübingen during the 1992–93 academic year. My original research proposal was to concentrate solely on the problem of the Galatian addressees from the perspective of Greco-Roman historical geography, hoping that, with the aid of new resources, I would be able to break the deadlock into which the worn-out discussion of the problem had slipped. Soon, however, I found it necessary to modify my approach by entertaining the possibility of a uniquely Jewish conception of geography and by extending the scope of my study to Paul's missionary strategy as a whole, thus setting the problem of the destination of Galatians within a new and broader context.

I would like to express my profound thanks to Professors Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Stuhlmacher, to Privatdozent Rainer Riesner, and to Frau Anna Maria Schwemer of the Evangelisch-theologische Fakultät for their friendly encouragement and critical interaction during my research stay in Tübingen. I am especially grateful to my host, Professor Stuhlmacher, to whom this volume is dedicated, for assisting my family and me in many practical ways. We shall not forget his and his wife's kind hospitality. The incomparable resources of the Theologisches Seminar greatly facilitated my work from start to finish. The Seminar staff is to be thanked for all their helpfulness.

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November, 1993

James M. Scott

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	D. N. Freedman (ed.), <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJT	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ANTJ	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AusBR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BDR	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BHH	B. Reicke and L. Rost (eds.), <i>Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch</i>
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>Bib. Ant.</i>	Ps.-Philo, <i>Biblical Antiquities</i>
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CPSSup	Cambridge Philological Society Supplements
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum

DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>EWNT</i>	H. Balz and G. Schneider (eds.), <i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's NT Commentaries
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IDB</i>	G. A. Buttrick (ed.), <i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>IDBSup</i>	Supplementary volume to <i>IDB</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes</i>
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>ISBE</i>	G. W. Bromiley (ed.), <i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>Jos. As.</i>	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament – Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament – Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i>
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament

NIDNTT	Colin Brown (ed.), <i>The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i>
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
OGIS	W. Dittenberger (ed.), <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
OTP	J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
Pss. Sol.	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
PTMS	Pittsburgh (Princeton) Theological Monograph Series
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLRBS	SBL Resources for Biblical Study
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Sib. Or.	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SO	Symbolae osloenses
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
STDJ	Studies on Texts of the Desert of Judah
Str-B	[H. Strack and] P. Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TBei	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
T. Ben.	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
T. Jud.	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
T. Lev.	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
Tg. Neof.	<i>Targum Neofiti I</i>
Tg. Onq.	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>
Tg. Ps.-J.	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>
Tg. Yer.	<i>Targum Yerushalmi</i>
TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>

TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TWAT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
TWNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
VP	<i>Vitae Prophetarum</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Introduction

... geographical knowledge is an essential element in any view of the world in a more immediate and direct way than is historical knowledge, and full understanding of the outlook of any individual in antiquity – or indeed at any period before the modern era – depends to a considerable extent on our ability to assess his geographical horizon.¹

The Destination of Galatians

Who are the addressees in Paul's letter "to the churches of Galatia" (Gal 1:2)? Who are the ones apostrophized as "O foolish Galatians!" (3:1)? As is well known, the discussion on this question has centered for the last century on two basic answers:

(1) the *North Galatian Hypothesis*, the traditional and still most widely accepted view, which holds that Paul wrote his letter to churches presumably founded on his so-called Second Missionary Journey in Galatia proper (cf. Acts 16:6), the original territory of the three Gaulic tribes who settled in central Anatolia;

(2) the *South Galatian Hypothesis*, a more recent view articulated in its classic form by W. M. RAMSAY in 1899, which holds that Paul wrote his letter to churches founded on his so-called First Missionary Journey at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra (and Derbe), located in the southern part of the more extensive Roman province of Galatia.

According to the North Galatian position, "Galatians" is an ethnic term and would not have been used by Paul to address the inhabitants of South Galatia.² According to the South Galatian position, on the other hand, there is no evidence from Acts that Paul ever established churches in North Galatia, and, departing from Antioch, he would have never deviated from his course toward the northwest by travelling over the Sultan Dagh into the land of North Galatia.³ The debate has been kept alive over the years mostly by proponents of the South Galatian Hypothesis, who, mostly by reiterating the classic argu-

¹ P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 1:520.

² Cf. Hans HÜBNER, "Galaterbrief," *TRE*, 12 (1984) 6; Jürgen BECKER, *Paulus. Apostel der Völker* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1989), p. 287; Werner Georg KÜMMEL, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (21st ed.; Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1983), p. 259.

³ Cf., most recently, Rainer RIESNER, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus. Studien zur*

ments of RAMSAY, have sought to effect a paradigm shift in the scholarly community. However, cumbersome arguments from Greco-Roman historical geography, based on sometimes obscure epigraphic evidence about a remote and recondite part of Asia Minor,⁴ coupled with an interpretation of Paul's missionary strategy as one of concentration on the main roads and centers of communication in the Roman provinces, have failed as yet to tip the scales. In fact, nowadays, the sentiment seems to be growing that the debate is either inconsequential and/or undecidable.⁵

A Jewish Perspective on the Problem

The curious thing about this whole debate is that it has proceeded almost exclusively on the basis of considerations from Greco-Roman historical geography without considering the possibility of a Jewish perspective on the matter. Paul may have been born in Tarsus, but he was raised and educated in Jerusalem.⁶ Therefore, the possibility of a Jewish background must always be considered when discussing Paul. In his important but unfortunately unpublished and little known Cambridge dissertation on "The Toponymy of the Targumim,"⁷ Philip S. ALEXANDER argues that Jews learned geography in conjunction with their study of the Bible, just as Greeks learned geography from their study of Homer.⁸ "Thus the Bible," writes ALEXANDER, "functioned

Chronologie, Missionsstrategie und Theologie (WUNT 71; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994), pp. 250–254.

⁴ Not even historians and archaeologists in the field of Anatolian studies, let alone NT scholars, find it easy to discuss this area. For example, David FRENCH, after many years of collecting and interpreting evidence of Roman roads in Asia Minor (including Galatia), must admit: "My knowledge is uneven. Much is still *terra incognita* to me" (*Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, Fasc. 2.1* [British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 9; BAR International Series 391(i); Oxford: BAR, 1988], p. i).

⁵ Cf. Hans Dieter BETZ, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), p. 5: "It is not necessary at this point to discuss fully the pros and cons of the two theories. The arguments used on both sides are mostly speculative. [. . .] . . . we are not in the position to say with certainty on which of his journeys Paul founded the churches." Also Heinrich SCHLIER, *Der Brief an die Galater* (12th ed.; Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), p. 17 n. 1, who describes the two theories as a question, "die exegetisch längst nicht die Bedeutung hat, die ihr oft zugeschrieben wird . . ." Even F. F. BRUCE, who clearly favors the South Galatian view, concludes his survey of the topic with this sobering statement: "The fact that so many competent scholars can be cited in support of either position suggests that the evidence for neither is absolutely conclusive" ("Galatian Problems 2. North or South Galatians?" *BJRL* 52 [1969–70] 243–266 [here p. 266]).

⁶ Cf. Martin HENGEL, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991), pp. 1–62.

⁷ P. S. ALEXANDER reports that he is preparing a monograph on *Early Jewish Geographical Lore* (cf. idem, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees," *JIS* 33 (1982) 197–213 [here p. 203 n. 11]).

⁸ P. S. ALEXANDER, "The Toponymy of the Targumim, with Special Reference to the Table

for the Rabbis in geography as a co-ordinating frame of reference and an information storage system. A new geographical fact was not assimilated until it was put on the 'Biblical map',⁹ for, as he goes on to explain, the Bible has an excellent range of texts that could be (and were) used as the basis of a comprehensive program of geographical study: (1) The Creation story in Genesis 1–3 provided the framework for a general and theoretical geography; (2) the Table of Nations in Genesis 10 provided a basic regional geography and ethnography; and (3) the Boundaries of the Land in Numbers 34 provided an outline geography of the Land of Israel.¹⁰

If the Bible was thus so fundamental to the Rabbinic understanding of geography, what place might it have had in the thinking of Paul about his mission in general and about the Galatians in particular? We know that Paul is otherwise deeply indebted to OT and Jewish traditions for his perspectives. Why not also for his geography? Of course, we are not interested here so much in a possible theoretical geography based on Genesis 1–3 or in the geography of the Land of Israel from Numbers 34 but rather in the Table of Nations of Genesis 10, for the Table of Nations provides the regional geography and ethnography that formed the basis not just of Rabbinic tradition but, as we shall see, of pre-Rabbinic tradition as well.¹¹ Is it possible that the Apostle to the ἔθνη derived his fundamental orientation to the nations from the Table of Nations? Here is a question that, oddly enough, has not even been considered. Yet, this is also a question that can contribute to our understanding of the identity of the Galatian addressees from Paul's perspective.

Method

In order to consider the possible influence of the Table of Nations on Paul's understanding of the Galatians, the following discussion is divided into three parts. First of all, we shall examine the Table of Nations itself along with the OT and Jewish tradition that develops from it (Chap. 1). Second, we shall consider whether there is evidence that Paul appropriates the Table-of-Nations tradition. This will necessitate not only an extensive study of Paul's use of ἔθνος against its OT and Jewish background (Chap. 2) but also an investigation into

of Nations and the Boundaries of the Land of Israel" (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1974), pp. 11–17. In ALEXANDER'S view, the geographic material of the Targumim has as its Sitz im Leben the instruction of children in the *Bet Sepher* (ibid., pp. 13–14).

⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 16–17. See now, for example, Nadav NA'AMAN, *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography: Seven Studies in Biblical Geographical Lists* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 4; Jerusalem: Simor, 1986).

¹¹ As ALEXANDER points out, the Table of Nations provided a basic regional geography and ethnography for Judaism and Christianity all the way up to the late Middle Ages ("Toponymy," p. 16; cf. idem, "Imago Mundi," pp. 212–213). We are dealing here with a very fundamental and pervasive tradition.

geographical aspects of Paul's missionary strategy (Chap. 3). Third, in light of these considerations, we shall turn to the question of the Galatian addressees itself (Chap. 4).

Chapter 1

The Table of Nations in Old Testament and Jewish Tradition

Introduction

The genealogy in Genesis 10, commonly known as the “Table of Nations,” represents an ethnographic and geographic tradition that is quite pervasive in the OT and in Jewish literature. Not only does the Chronicler appropriate this so-called “table” at the very beginning of his two-volume work (1 Chr 1:1–2:2), but other OT writers also make extensive use of the tradition (e. g., Ezekiel 27, 38–39; Daniel 11; Isa 66:18–20). Jewish literature of the Second Temple period continues and modifies this tradition, often combining it with prevalent Hellenistic conceptions of ethnography and geography.

The Table of Nations in the Old Testament

The Table of Nations in Genesis 10

The Table of Nations in Genesis 10 concludes with a summary, in which the plural term “nations” occurs for the first time in the Hebrew Bible in reference to all “the nations” of the world: “These are the families of Noah’s sons, according to their genealogies, in their nations (גוים, ἔθνη); and from these the nations (גויהו, τὰ ἔθνη) spread abroad after the flood” (v. 32).¹ Thus after the Deluge, in which “all flesh died that moved on the earth” (Gen 7:21; cf. vv. 22–23), Noah became, in essence, the father of all postdiluvian nations on earth. Noah, his three sons – Shem, Ham, and Japheth – and their wives emerged from the ark, receiving a mandate to be fruitful and multiply and to fill the earth (Gen 9:1), which is an exact reiteration of the mandate to Adam (Gen 1:28). Hence, from these sons the whole earth was repopulated (Gen 9:19). Genesis 10 gives a list of the (traditionally 70 or 72²) nations that descended

¹ Here, we are concerned with the final form of the text and its reception in later Jewish tradition. The text of Genesis 10 is usually understood as combining material from both P (vv. 1a, 2–7, 20, 22–23, 31–32) and J (1b, 8–19, 21, 24–30). See Table 1 for an overview. For a cartographic reconstruction of the territories covered by P and J, see H. Graf REVENTLOW, “Völkertafel,” in *BHH*, 3 (1966) 2112–2115 (here cols. 2113–2114).

² The Jewish tradition that humanity is made up of 70 nations is based on the count in the

from Noah's sons (see Table 1). Although several of the identifications in the list remain uncertain,³ and the criteria by which the nations were distinguished are disputed,⁴ nevertheless, the main contours of the earth's division among the three sons are relatively clear: the nations of *Japheth* in the northern and western lands, including Asia Minor⁵ and Europe (Gen 10:2–5);⁶ the nations

Table of Nations (see Table 1) although the sum itself is not stated in the text. The same number of Nations seems to underlie Deut 32:8 MT, which speaks of God's dividing mankind "in accordance with the number of the sons of Israel." According to Gen 46:27; Ex 1:5; Deut 10:22, this number was 70 (cf. *Num. Rab.* 9:14). On the other hand, the Septuagint and the 4Q Deuteronomy fragment, which read "the sons of God" (i. e. angels) instead of "the sons of Israel" reflect the notion, dated as early as the Persian period (Dan 10:20) and possibly earlier (Ps 82:7), that every nation has a divine patron. Note that *Tg. Yer.* to Gen 46:27 combines both of these interpretations. In some Jewish and Christian sources, the number of nations is assumed to be 72, following the Septuagintal version of Genesis 10. See further Samuel KRAUSS, "Die Zahl der biblischen Völkerschaften," *ZAW* 19 (1899) 1–14; idem, "Zur Zahl der biblischen Völkerschaften," *ZAW* 20 (1900) 38–43; Samuel POZNANSKI, "Zur Zahl der biblischen Völker," *ZAW* 24 (1904) 301–308; R. MEYER, "Die Bedeutung des Deuteronomium 32, 8f.43 (4Q) für die Auslegung des Moseliedes," in *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Wilhelm Rudolf zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Arnulf Kuschke; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1961), pp. 197–210; Daniel SPERBER, "Nations, the Seventy," *EncJud*, 12 (1971) 882–886; Isaiah GAONI, "Seventy Shepherds, Vision of," *EncJud*, 14 (1971) 1198–1199; Christoph UEHLINGER, *Weltreich und "eine Rede". Eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11,1–9)* (OBO 101; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp. 51–55; Martin HENGEL, *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s v. Chr.* (3rd ed.; WUNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1988), pp. 342–343 (on 1 Enoch 85–90); Brendon BYRNE, "Sons of God" – "Seed of Abraham": A Study of the Idea of the Sonship of God of all Christians against the Jewish Background (AnBib 83; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979), pp. 10 n. 3, 12, 22; Harry M. ORLINSKY, "The Septuagint and its Hebrew Text," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2: The Hellenistic Age* (ed. W.D. Davies, et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 537–540.

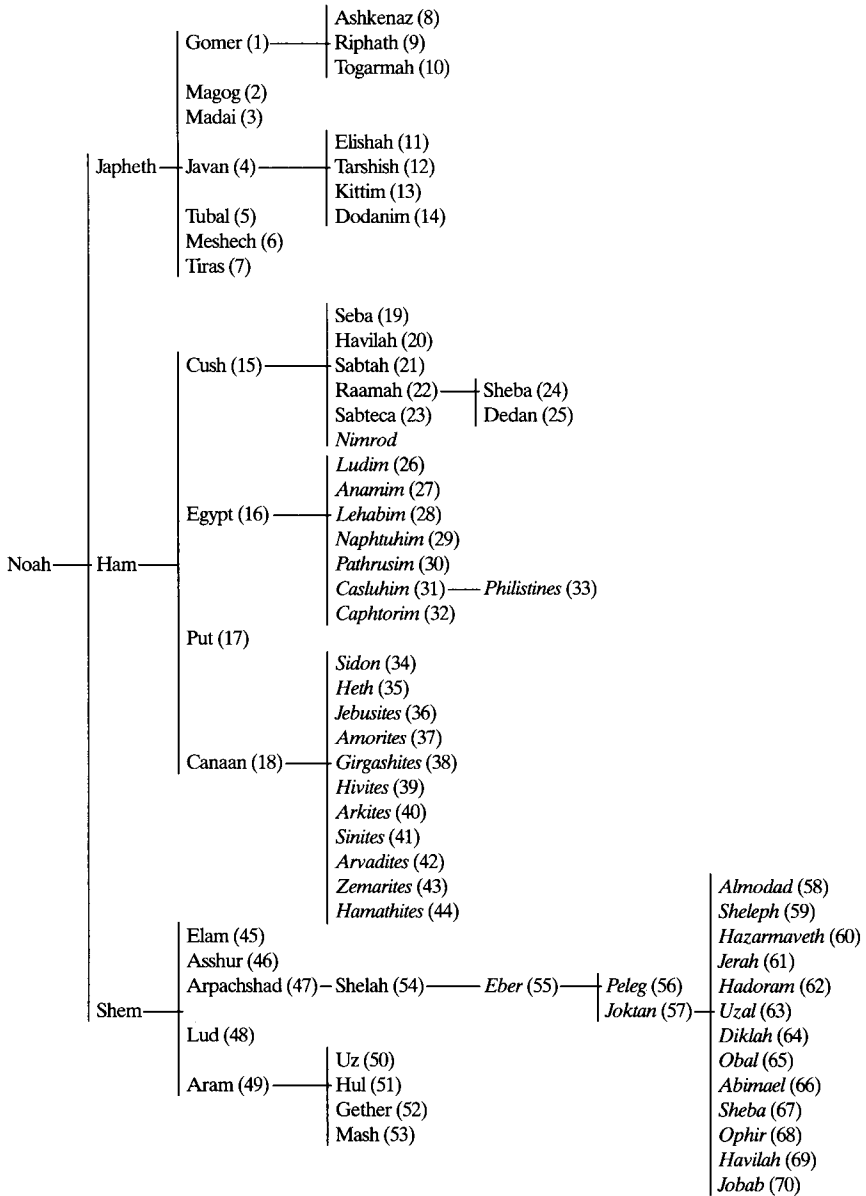
³ Cf., e. g., Claus WESTERMANN, *Genesis* (3 vols.; 3rd ed.; BKAT 1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983), 1:673ff.; J. SIMONS, "The 'Table of Nations' (Gen. X): Its General Structure and Meaning," *OTS* 10 (1954) 155–184; Alan P. ROSS, "The Table of Nations in Genesis 10 – Its Structure," *BSac* 137 (1980) 340–353; idem, "The Table of Nations in Genesis 10 – Its Content," *BSac* 138 (1981) 22–34. See further John Van SETERS, *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1992), pp. 174–187; John HAMLIN, "Three Metaphors for the Inhabited World [Genesis 10; Jer 25:15–29; Ezekiel 27]," *Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Bible Societies* 9 (1989) 49–58.

⁴ Cf. B. ODED, "The Table of Nations (Genesis 10) – A Socio-cultural Approach," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 14–31; Philip S. ALEXANDER, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," *ABD*, 2 (1992) 977–988 (here p. 980).

⁵ Although Lud in western Asia Minor (Lydia) is grouped with Shem (Gen 10:22) and not, as might be expected, with Japheth.

⁶ For the modern, often uncertain, identifications of the sons and grandsons of Japheth, of which only a representative sample is given here, see Édouard LIPINSKI, "Les Japhétites selon Gen 10,2–4 et 1 Chr 1,5–7," *ZAH* 3 (1990) 40–52; P.-R. BERGER, "Ellasar, Tarschisch und Jawan, Gn 14 und 10," *Die Welt des Orients* 13 (1982) 50–78; Édouard DHORME, "Les peuples issus de Japhet," in *Études bibliques et orientales* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1951),

Table 1
The Table of Nations According to the Sequence of Genesis 10.
P-source in roman type; J-source in italic.



of Ham in Egypt and North Africa (vv. 6–20); and the nations of Shem in Mesopotamia and Arabia (vv. 21–31). As Yohanan AHARONI observes, “All of the human family is divided into three main groups which surrounded Palestine: the sons of Shem to the east, the sons of Ham to the south and the sons of Japheth to the north and west. [...] The Table of Nations . . . gives a faithful sketch of Palestine’s position among the peoples and kingdoms of the ancient Near East, where the three spheres of Shem, Ham and Japheth intersected.”⁷

The Table of Nations in 1 Chronicles 1:1–2:2

The centrality of Israel among the nations is brought out more clearly in 1 Chr 1:1–2:2. Whereas Genesis recounts a development that led to Israel, 1 Chronicles describes the world and the relationship of nations to Israel as they were at the time of writing in the postexilic period.⁸ According to Magnar KARTVEIT,⁹ the Chronicler weaves the Genesis Table of Nations into a genealogical context that extends from Adam to Israel (1 Chr 1:1–2:2), thereby putting special emphasis on Israel. After briefly listing the sons of Japheth (vv. 5–7) and the sons of Ham (vv. 8–16), the text delves into an extensive listing of the sons of Shem (1:17–2:2), particularly the sons of

167–189; David NEIMAN, “The Two Genealogies of Japhet,” in *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.; AOAT 22; Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Becker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 119–126; Friedrich SCHMIDTKE, *Die Japhetiten der biblischen Völkertafel* (Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 7; Breslau: Verlag Müller & Seiffert, 1926); WESTERMANN, *Genesis*, 1:673–681; John SKINNER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (2nd ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930), pp. 196–200; E. A. SPEISER, *Genesis* (AB 1; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 65–66. On the idea of the “islands of the nations” in Gen 10:5, see Wayne HOROWITZ, “The Isles of the Nations: Genesis X and Babylonian Geography,” in *Studies in the Pentateuch* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 35–43. Arguing that some OT toponyms can be explained in terms of “symbolic-metaphorical or even theological geography,” Manfred GÖRG speculates, for example, that Tarshish is to be understood not as a concrete place but as a “distant land full of valuable things” (“Ophir, Tarschisch und Atlantis. Einige Gedanken zur symbolischen Topographie,” *Biblische Notizen* 15 [1981] 76–86).

⁷ Yohanan AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (London: Burns & Oates, 1979), pp. 6, 8. See also Yohanan AHARONI and Michael AVI-YONAH, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas* (2nd ed.; trans. A. F. Rainey; New York: Macmillan; London: Collier, 1968), p. 21 (with a map showing the intersection of the three spheres); REVENTLOW, “Völkertafel,” 3:2115: “um Israel als Mittelpunkt (Nabel) gruppiert, das jedoch selbst nicht genannt ist.” But see D. J. WISEMAN, ed., *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. xviii; Jamie SCOTT and Paul SIMPSON-HOUSLEY, eds., *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Greenwood, 1991).

⁸ Cf. Thomas WILLI, *Chronik* (BKAT 24.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), p. 23. For a convenient comparison between Genesis 10 and 1 Chr 1:5–23, see Jürgen KEGLER, *Synopse zum Chronistischen Geschichtswerk* (Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 1; Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1984), pp. 74–75.

⁹ Magnar KARTVEIT, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in 1 Chronik 1–9* (ConBOT 28; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989), pp. 110–117.

Abraham (vv. 28ff.). In v. 34, the text lists Esau and *Israel*, instead of Esau and Jacob. In 2:1–2, the “sons of Israel” are enumerated. The text wants to show that in the middle of the nations of the world, there is Israel.¹⁰ In fact, KARTVEIT argues that 1 Chronicles lists the nations of the world “in a circle” that moves counterclockwise – from the North, to the West, to the South, and to the East – with Israel in the center.¹¹ Thus, according to KARTVEIT,

I [Chronik] 1 ist nicht nur eine Genealogie, sondern auch eine *mappa mundi*, vielleicht sogar ein Ausdruck einer *imago mundi*, wo Israel in der Mitte liegt. Es ist die einzige Stelle des ATs, wo die Genealogien der Urgeschichte mit der Völkertafel und den Angaben zu den südlichen Nachbarvölkern verbunden werden, und dadurch eine einzigartige Konzeption. Hier ist zwar kein Wort von einer *tabbur ha'araes* [“navel of the earth”]. Ist aber das Kapitel nicht von der Vorstellung beherrscht, dass Israel das Volk inmitten der Völker ist und in einem Land inmitten der Länder wohnt? Aus einer späteren Zeit ist eine solche “Weltkarte” bekannt, die deutlich die Vorstellung ausspricht, dass Sem das Los der Mitte der Welt zufiel, Jub 8,12–9,15, vgl. besonders 8,12.¹²

Manfred OEMING agrees with KARTVEIT’s interpretation of 1 Chronicles 1 as “Israel-centric,”¹³ adducing an astrological inscription from the synagogue of En-Gedi (5th-6th cent. A.D.) as an example that the passage was indeed interpreted this way in early Judaism.¹⁴ Already in the OT, however, there is the concept that Yahweh set Jerusalem “in the middle of the nations” (Ezek 5:5) and that Jerusalem is the “navel of the earth” (Ezek 38:12).¹⁵ We may

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 112.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 114.

¹² Ibid., pp. 116–117. On the exposition of the Table of Nations in *Jubilees* 8–9, see further below.

¹³ Cf. Manfred OEMING, *Das wahre Israel. Die “genealogische Vorhalle” 1 Chronik 1–9* (BWANT 7.8; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), pp. 90–91.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 90–95. In the inscription, the first thirteen names of 1 Chronicles 1 are directly connected with the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac; these are, in turn, connected with the names of the twelve months of the year. The series is completed with the three Patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) and the three friends of Daniel. Thus, the beginning and the end of Israel’s salvation history in the canonical OT are coupled with the order of the cosmos. On the En-Gedi inscription, see further WILLI, *Chronik*, pp. 49–51. On the Zodaic in Judaism (incl. early Palestinian synagogues), see James H. CHARLESWORTH, “Jewish Interest in Astrology during the Hellenistic and Roman Period,” in *ANRW II.20.2* (ed. Wolfgang Haase; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1987), pp. 926–952; also idem, “Die ‘Schrift des Sem’: Einführung, Text und Übersetzung,” in *ibid.*, pp. 953–987; Pierre PRIGENT, *Le Judaïsme et l’image* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 24; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1990), pp. 159–173 (on En Gedi, pp. 164–165). See further Hans Georg GUNDEL, *Zodiakos. Tierkreisbilder im Altertum: Kosmische Bezüge und Jenseitsvorstellungen im antiken Alltagsleben* (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 54; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1992). On the connection between the Zodiac and the twelve tribes of Israel, see Philo *Fug.* 185; *Praem.* 65.

¹⁵ Cf. Walther ZIMMERLI, *Ezechiel* (2 vols.; 2nd ed.; BKAT 13.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 1:132–133; 2:955–957. On the other hand, S. TALMON denies that Ezek 5:5 and 38:12 can be interpreted in terms of the center of the world, charging that this amounts to foisting later Greek and Jewish ideas onto the text (“הָרָה,” *TWAT*, 2:459–483 [here

compare the funerary inscription of Darius I (522–486 B.C.) from Naqsh-e-Rustam, which contains a map of Darius' empire consisting of three concentric circles, with lists of the thirty nations in the empire arrayed about "Parsa (Persepolis)," the capital, in the center (i. e., the center of the earth!).¹⁶ In the second circle, nations are listed in four columns radiating out perpendicularly from the center according to the cardinal points of the compass, beginning with the North and proceeding clockwise to the West. In the outermost circle, nations are listed counterclockwise along the inside perimeter. We are dealing here with a common geographical conception of ancient Near-Eastern empires.¹⁷

The Table of Nations in OT Eschatology

In the OT, the Table of Nations is valid not only as a description of the past (Genesis 10) and of the present (1 Chr 1:1–2:2) but also of the eschatological future. The Table of Nations is seen as timeless in its applicability. Examples from Ezekiel, Daniel, and Isaiah will suffice for the moment to establish this point.

Ezekiel 38–39. The concept of Jerusalem as the navel of the earth as found in Ezek 38:12 reveals contact with the Table of Nations since it comes within the eschatological context of the Gog and Magog oracles (Ezekiel 38–39). After Israel and Judah are reunited and restored to the Land in safety (Ezekiel 36–37; 38:8, 11–12, 14), they can expect an invasion by hostile nations that will culminate in a final, decisive battle between God and the nations. These nations are called by names familiar from the Table of Nations: Magog (Ezek 38:2; 39:6; cf. Gen 10:2), Meshech (38:2, 3; 39:1; cf. Gen 10:2), Tubal (38:2, 3; 39:1; cf. Gen 10:2), Cush (38:5; cf. Gen 10:6, 7, 8), Put (38:5; cf. Gen 10:6), Gomer (38:6; cf. Gen 10:2, 3), Togarmah (38:6; cf. Gen 10:3), and Tarshish (38:13; cf. Gen 10:4).¹⁸ Most of these nations are listed as sons of Japheth in Genesis 10

cols. 471–473]; cf. also idem, "*Tabûr ha'arez and the Comparative Method*," *Tarbiz* 45 [1975–76] 163–177 [English summary, p. XI].

¹⁶ For a drawing of the map and commentary, see Paul GOUKOWSKY, "L'espace impérial de Darios I^{er}," in *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre (336–270 av. J.-C.)*, Vol. 1: *Les origines politiques* (Nancy: Bialec, 1978), pp. 222–224.

¹⁷ See the Babylonian world map, containing two concentric circles with Babylon in the center. Cf. Wayne HOROWITZ, "The Babylonian Map of the World," *Iraq* 50 (1988) 147–163, which includes drawings of the map, together with transcriptions of the accompanying inscriptions, translations, and commentary.

¹⁸ Cf. Walther ZIMMERLI, *Ezechiel*, 2:941: "Gn 10 (P) steht traditionsgeschichtlich in der Nähe von Ez 38f." The influence of the Table-of-Nations tradition is also apparent in the extensive list of Tyre's international trading partners in Ezekiel 27:

Ezekiel 27	Nation	Genesis 10	Noah's Son
v. 6	Kittim	v. 4	Japheth
v. 7	Mizraim	v. 6	Ham
v. 7	Elishah	v. 4	Japheth

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