Luke's Worldview: A Study of the *Oikoumene* in Luke-Acts

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ABSTRACT

The present study argues that one of the ways Luke redefines the idea of the world is by exploring the meaning of *oikoumene*, "the inhabited world." This Greek term was a representative concept to signify the Mediterranean World. Subsequently the term *oikoumene* was embraced by other cultures which needed a concept to portray the world, such as that of the Romans and the Jews. Each culture adopted the term but distinctively adapted it within its own context. As a result, the term included various meanings—political, cultural, and religious—by the first century CE. These contextual interpretations reflect the fact that each culture established its own subjective worldview, namely a self-centred way of thinking. Subsequently, within the context of various worldviews, it was necessary for the biblical authors to clarify how audiences would perceive the *oikoumene* they inhabited. Luke employs the term *oikoumene* eight times in his two-volume book. His usages of the term reflect the various political, cultural, and religious conceptions of the *oikoumene* in his time. For Luke, the *oikoumene* is the world ruled by Roman hegemony in terms of politics and the pagan cult in terms of religion, but the *oikoumene* should be restored by Jesus and then his followers within their eschatological hope. It is remarkable that these views converge within the Acts narrative, thereby drawing an image of the inhabited world. Luke superimposes two contrasting worlds in Acts. Firstly, Luke exploits the prominent discourse of the Greeks about the inhabited world but within this he resorts to the Jewish reliance on an ancestral theme to describe the inhabited world, thereby providing a schematic picture of that inhabited world created by God in terms of geographic features and ethnic origin. Furthermore, Luke attempts to depict the world before his eyes which is, absolutely, the Roman *oikoumene*. Luke implies that the world portrayed in Acts 2 is established according to the Roman *oikoumene*, thereby creating a newly constructed *oikoumene*. Acts is a narrative in which the Roman *oikoumene* is retrieved into the world that Luke envisages in Acts 2. For Luke, the ideal *oikoumene* is the newly-restored world founded upon the Roman world.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SOLI DEO GLORIA

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Biblical and Other Ancient Sources</u>

1 Clem.	1 Clement
1 En.	*1 Enoch*
1 Macc	1 Maccabees
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
Apoc.	Apocalypse
Appian	
Hist. rom.	*Historia romana*
Aristides	
Or.	*Oration*
Aristotle	
Pol.	*Politica*
Cassius Dio	
Hist. rom.	*Historia romana*
Cicero	
Balb.	*Pro Balbo*
Leg.	*De legibus*
Off.	*De officiis*
Rep.	*De republica*
Rhet. Her.	*Rhetorica ad Herennium*
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	
Ant. rom.	*Antiquitates romanae*
Epictetus	
Disc.	*Discourses*
Eumenius	
Pane. Lat.	*Panegyrici Latini*
Eusebius	
Hist. eccl.	*Historia ecclesiastica*
Ezek. Trag.	Ezekiel the Tragedian
Gr. Apoc. Ezra.	Greek Apocalypse of Ezra
Herodotus	
Hist.	*Historiae*
Homer	
Il.	*Illias*
Od.	*Odyssea*
John Chrysostom	
Stat.	*Ad populum Antiochenum de statuis*
Josephus	
A.J.	*Antiquitates judaicae*
B.J.	*Bellum judaicum*
C. Ap.	*Contra Apionem*
Jub.	*Jubilees*
Livy	
Ab Urbe.	*Ab Urbe Condita Libri*

Eph.   *Ephesiaca*

Periodicals and Series

AARSR	American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by D.N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
AJPS	*Asia Journal of Pentecostal Studies*
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.* Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–
BAFCS	The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BHGNT	Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ECNT	Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ExpBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
NAC	Narrative Commentaries
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTL	New Testament Library

NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTT	New Testament Theology
PAST	Pauline Studies (Brill)
PCNT	Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament
PrTMS	Princeton Theological Monograph Series
RTR	*Reformed Theological Review*
SBJT	*Southern Baptist Journal of Theology*
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament

Additional Abbreviations
Used

BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G.W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 8 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Introduction

Every person has a concern for the world in which they dwell. For over two thousand years, people have engaged in drawing maps to give shape to the world they inhabit. That task has been intriguing for all humankind, since the era of the Graeco-Roman period.[1] They have attempted to grasp the features of the specific world where they live. This desire prompted them to travel the unknown areas of the world, so that they could make a world map based on their scientific investigations and write geographic texts based on that knowledge. Even though the results were not as accurate as modern scaled maps, the schematic world maps display well their conceptual images of the world before their eyes. Maps are, in essence, graphic representations that promote a spatial understanding of the human world. However it is noteworthy that the images include information beyond simply the features, size, and shape of the world. For ancient peoples, the map functioned not only as a guide to perceive the features of the world, but also as a rhetorical method by which they conceived, articulated, and structured the world. Namely, they conceptualized the world in their minds through the maps. Maps, especially ancient maps, were never value-free images. The portrayal of the world on canvas has always been associated with the desire to make some statements *about* the world.[2]

Mapping the world, of course, manifestly means engaging a search for geographical features depicted on a map, by configuring the shape and size of the world. However, the world map, as a manipulated form of geographic knowledge, more specifically, a socially-constructed form of knowledge, fashioned those geographic features.[3] The worldview covers enormous themes from cultural and social

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[1] The oldest surviving images of the world are from the ancient Near East. For further discussion, see Peter Whitfield, *The Image of the World: Twenty Centuries of World Maps* (London: The British Library, 1994).

[2] Ibid., 2.

[3] J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (eds. Stephen Daniels and Denis E.

relationships including its inhabitants and political ideologies. Each fashion of portraying the world on the map reflects a worldview within which we can discover aspects of culture, socio-political perspectives, and the religious thinking embedded in the products. Thus, to examine the worldview of a society provides a framework by which we can understand its identity. This point is applicable for the biblical texts as well. The worldview of a biblical writer can reflect a framework that provides a fresh hermeneutical stage for its audiences. In this light, this thesis aims to explore Luke's worldview. How does Luke perceive the world in his two-volume book? As written above, given that the worldview is not a value-free image, it is possible to consider that Luke's worldview may suggest a clue for us to examine his specific perspective regarding various themes, such as the Graeco-Roman culture, Jewish traditions, and even his own theology.

Among the writers of the New Testament, Luke, especially, shows considerable concern for the inhabited world. Luke begins his book with Jesus' ministry in Judea. However, unlike the writers of the other Gospels, he supplements his principal gospel text with a sequel book which narrates how the gospel is expanded by the apostles of Jesus into the whole of the world at the time of his writing.[4] While Luke highlights Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God in the Gospel of Luke, Luke sheds light on the apostles' missionary journeys to the ends of the earth in the Acts of the Apostles. Acts is the book that contains Luke's ambitious vision of the future world through portrayal of the apostles' missionary journey into the Roman imperial territory. For Luke, the world functions as a backdrop to delineate the geographic and ethnographic expansion of early Christianity. As a result, it is inevitable for Luke to portray the inhabited world in his narrative.

Cosgrove; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 277.

[4] The theme of continuity in Luke and Acts has been an important issue in Lukan scholarship. For further discussion, see Andrew F. Gregory and C. Kavin Rowe eds, *Rethinking the Unity and Reception of Luke and Acts* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2010).

So, how does Luke display the world? In terms of exploring Luke's comprehensive worldview, Joel Green provides an important clue. He distinguishes three different aspects of Luke's world: 1) the world that Luke's Gospel assumes, as it really is; 2) the world *actualized* by Luke—that is, the world as Luke portrays it, and 3) the world as Luke wants it to be, that is, the world which God purposes.[5] Green's classification of the world indicates a conceptual process in which the world (the first sense) evolves from the real world into "the world of the narrative itself" (the third sense).[6] We have a tendency to identify the notion of the worldview with the meaning in the third sense, as classified by Green. And this tendency leads us to think that Luke's worldview can be explicated through the world as Luke wants it to be. Accordingly, Luke's worldview may be understood as the eschatological world, the Kingdom of God which Luke purports.[7] Of course, Luke's narrative invites his readers to consider an alternative worldview and to live as if God reigns over the world where Luke's readers live. However, we should not neglect the fact that Luke's alternative worldview which we have understood is constructed and developed from his understanding of the real world of first-century Judea and then embodied into the world which Luke purposes through his portrayal in the narrative. As for the first sense, Luke was clearly aware of the real world, the Roman world of the first-century CE, and displays the Roman territory as a primary background for Luke-Acts.[8] From the beginning of the Gospel, Luke is engaged in displaying the Roman political world in Judea (Luke 1:1–4; 2:1; 3:1). There can be no doubt that Luke assumes the world around the Mediterranean Sea is ruled by the Roman Empire. Consequently, Luke

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[5] Joel B. Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (NTT; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 4-5.

[6] Ibid., 6.

[7] Recently, Karl Kuhn illustrates Luke's worldview in terms of the Kingdom of God in *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts: A Social, Literary, and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2015).

[8] Claim that Luke-Acts was written in the first century is disputed by an argument recorded in the second century. For the discussion, see Dennis E. Smith and Joseph B. Tyson eds, *Acts and Christian Beginnings: The Acts Seminar Report* (Salem, Ore.: Polebridge Press, 2013).

carefully depicts the world in his own way. Thus, one can argue that the world Luke purposes evolved from his portrayal of the real world. To put it another way, the worldview Luke proposes can be fully understood through discussions of Luke's portrayal of the world. Subsequently, this study focuses on the theme of the world actualized by Luke's depiction (the second sense classified by Green), more specifically, Luke's own style of portraying the world.

This study presumes that Luke's worldview evolved from his engaging with various geographical perspectives—that of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Jewish cultures—that were prevalent in the first century CE. In other words, Luke's portrayal of the world in the narrative displays associations with the contemporary context of that era.[9] Accordingly, this project endeavours to read Luke-Acts within the perspective of the author's representation of the world in his time and place. In order to discuss comprehensively the worldview of Luke, this project takes an analytical framework from the concept of οἰκουμένη. The Greek term, οἰκουμένη, or, in its fully expanded form, ἡ οἰκουμένη γῆ, literally means "the inhabited world."[10] It was the most dominant term to display ancient peoples' worldview for Greeks, Romans, and even Hellenized Jews. This is technically a geographical term to indicate the inhabitable or inhabited area. But this term also contains comprehensive senses including geography, ethic reasoning, politics, and culture. This term was a representative concept which reflects the influential worldview within the Graeco-Roman world. It was widely adopted by people around the Mediterranean world and served as a framework within which people perceived the inhabited world.

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[9] James Scott notes that "Most attempts to write the history of early Christianity use the benefit of hindsight and global perspective to trace the larger patterns and developments of which individuals are a part…In order to understand the NT on its own terms and in its own context, we need to engage with the geographical perspectives that were current in that day." James M. Scott, "Geographical Perspectives in Late Antiquity," in *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (eds. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter; Downers Grove, Ill.; Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 411.

[10] John Thornton, "*Oikoumene*," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (ed. Roger S. Bagnall; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 4876.

Unlike other authors in the New Testament, Luke repeatedly employs this significant term at key places (Luke 2:1; 4:5; 21:26; Acts 11:28; 17:6, 31; 19:27; 24:5).[11] This fact suggests that Luke had a concern for the contemporary discourse on the *oikoumene* which epitomizes various worldviews.[12] When Luke-Acts was written, the term, *oikoumene*, was prevalently perceived as the Roman Empire.[13] But Luke employs its various conceptual meanings which come from the Graeco-Roman world as well as from Jewish literature. Luke's usages rooted in these various traditions demonstrate his concern for the *oikoumene* and its various senses. Furthermore, Luke displays the framework of the *oikoumene* to portray the world in his writings. In particular, Acts, in which Luke depicts the geographic expansion of the gospel from Jerusalem to the end of the world, displays an elaborate but implicit discourse of the world in the first century CE.

This project regards the notion of the *oikoumene* as a key concept for discussing Luke's worldview. The huge discourse of the *oikoumene* will serves as a framework to explicate Luke's worldview. Subsequently, this project proposes that Luke draws the verbal world map on the canvas, called the Roman imperial territory, by using the frame of the *oikoumene* to make an outline of the world; and then to paint over the world (empire) with his own colour, based on Jewish traditions so as to complete his own world map. In a sense, the world map is a kind of painted world.[14] What kinds of colour

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[11] This term appears 15 times in the NT: 8 times in Luke-Acts (Luke 2:1; 4:5; 21:26; Acts 11:28; 17:6, 31; 19:27; 24:5) and 7 times in the rest of the New Testament (Matt. 24:14; Rom. 10:18; Heb. 1:6; 2:5; Rev. 3:10; 12:9; 16:14).

[12] In this project, the Greek word, οἰκουμένη, will be written as a common noun, *oikoumene* in English, except for the cases that delve into its etymological senses in Greek texts.

[13] It was dominantly conceived as the Roman Empire in Lukan scholarship by far. See I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1978), 172; John Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20* (WBC; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1989), 103; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SP 3; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991), 48; François Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50* (Hermeneia; trans. Christine M. Thomas; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2002), 83. However, Fitzmyer claims that it is not clear. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX)* (AB 28; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981), 516.

[14] The expression, "a painted world," is taken from "*e tabula pictos ediscere mundos*" (Propertius 4.3.33-40). Cited from Loveday C. A. Alexander, "'In Journeying Often': Voyaging in the Acts of the Apostles and in Greek Romance," in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays* (ed. C. M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 116; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 25.

(culture, tradition) were used to paint the world is relevant to Luke's desire to make some statements *about* the world. And, through the frame of the *oikoumene*, establishing Luke's worldview embedded in Luke-Acts is the ultimate purpose of this thesis.

The starting point of the current study, most of all, is the need to carefully define the term *oikoumene*. This term is derived from the passive present participle of the Greek verb, οἰκέω, "to inhabit or dwell." It was a participle originally referring to γῆ but Greeks normally employ this term to refer to the extent of territory for people to live.[15] The concept of the *oikoumene* is rooted in peoples' concern and curiosity in the shape and extent of the world in which they live. This word signifies the part of the known land which humans inhabited in the ancient world, and it resonates with an ancient Greek concern with human beings and inhabitants on the earth.

Since the sixth century BCE, the Greeks had been preoccupied with the idea of the inhabited or inhabitable world. From this period on, they began to seek the inhabited part of the entire world and its shape. Their expeditions became empirical investigations by which they came to know the inhabitants of the world. Subsequently, they needed a term to denote the "known world" or the "familiar world."[16] In the process of investigating the world, Greeks coined and, thereafter, used the new term, *oikoumene*, to distinguish the inhabitable areas from the uninhabitable parts in the world.[17] They appear to have made a distinction between the earth (γῆ) as a whole and the inhabited world (οἰκουμένη) as a dwelling section. Since the time of Herodotus, the term was employed by Greek geographers and historians to indicate the inhabited world (cf. *Hist.*

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[15] Tassalio Schmidt, "Oikoumene," in *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity Vol. 10 (Obl-Phe)* (eds. Hubert Cancik, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 73-5.

[16] James Romm interprets the word as the known and familiar world. James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 37.

[17] Klaus Geus, "Space and Geography," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (ed. Andrew Erskine; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 233. The notion of the *oikoumene* has been discussed through geographic studies on Graeco-Roman antiquities in which scholars refer to this term to indicate the world.

4.110).[18] For ancient peoples, the *oikoumene* was perceived as the entire space in which all the diverse human beings reside. This inhabitable area is based on climatic conditions with temperature extremes. Even though it denotes only the Mediterranean world in several texts, as we shall explore, it is widely used to signal the entire part of the inhabited areas in the world.[19] The *oikoumene* is relevant to their aspiration for investigating and conceptualizing the inhabited world. Even though they did not have enough information about the world, their aspirations for that led them to continuously explore the world.

However, the *oikoumene* contains significant connotations which are greater than its general definition of the inhabited world. We need to pay attention to the fact that the term, οἰκουμένη, is derived from the verb, οἰκέω (inhabit). Namely, in terms of etymology, the origin of this word is relevant to the Greeks' considerable concern about the habitation of human beings in the world. When they imagined the *oikoumene*, they also imagined the features of the peoples who lived in the *oikoumene*. These two facets of the inhabited world became primary fields to formulate and then develop their worldview. Since Greek geographers' attempts to represent the world depended on knowledge of the world, they strived to acquire this knowledge through trade and journeys. In doing so, the geographers not only acquired knowledge of the land itself but also the information about diverse human beings. Travellers' itineraries offered representations of the world as offering descriptions of peoples within a linear perspective of places and peoples along various routes.[20] Likewise, ancient travellers' reports were relevant to the representation of the world as well as peoples along the

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[18] "There the Amazons landed, and set forth on their journey to the inhabited country (ὁδοιπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεομένην)" (4.110). The term *oikoumene* is first found in the work of Herodotus in the fifth century BCE

[19] But there are exceptiontinal references of the *oikoumene* to denotes the Mediterranean world (Polybius, *Hist.* 1.1-4; 2.37; 3.3). See William V. Harris, "The Mediterranean and Ancient History," in *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (ed. William V. Harris; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 16 n. 44.

[20] Kai Brodersen,"Geography and Ethnography," in *The Edinburgh Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome* (eds. Edward Bispham, et al.; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 392.

routes.[21] The Greek geographic understanding of the *oikoumene* involved not only geographic aspects—the shape, extent, range, and topographical features—but also an ethnographic sense which deals with their language, specific attributes, and customs of the inhabitants. Furthermore, it is applicable, not only to Greeks, but to Roman perceptions of the image of the world and its peoples.[22]

In fact, the *oikoumene* was not the only term for the Greeks to indicate "the earth" or "the world" in the classical period. Besides that, Greeks had used another term, γῆ, to signal the earth (world) as well. However, there is a crucial difference between οἰκουμένη and γῆ : the former sheds light on *the people* who inhabited the earth. To put it another way, unlike γῆ, the *oikoumene* is a comprehensive word that encompasses the human beings who inhabited on the earth. By using the term, *oikoumene*, ancient Greeks imagined the feature of the world where human beings dwell in their own lands. A habitable territory was meaningful to Greeks only in its relationship to the people who inhabited it.[23] Accordingly, they tied geographical order to ethnic reasoning. Through travel around the world, they established the features of the world and thus an ethnic frame to constitute the concept of the inhabited world. Subsequently, their geographic writings became comprehensive tasks that included cartographic descriptions and ethnographic analysis.

Mapping the world for ancient people means to put the shape of that and its people on the map. Kai Brodersen describes the importance of these two fields:

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[21] Ibid., 392.

[22] Susan P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate* (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 1999), 25, 66-80. Eric Stewart approaches the notion of the *oikoumene* with regard to space and human geography. Eric C. Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus: An Alternative Spatial Practice in the Gospel of Mark* (Eugene, Ore.: Cascade Books, 2009), 62-80. His view provides an important clue to approaching this word with humanity. In particular, his broad concept of human geography, which is composed of historiography, ethnography, and geography, provides a helpful clue to explore the *oikoumene* with various aspects beyond simply the meaning as territoriality. For further discussions of the human geography of Stewart, see his book 80-93.

[23] Susan G. Cole, "'I Know the Number of the Sand and the Measure of the Sea': Geography and Difference in the Early Greek World," in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies* (eds. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard J. A. Talbert; Chichester, UK; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 207.

"Geography and ethnography, 'writing about the world and its people,' define a genre of literature in the ancient world, and, more widely, a field of ancient knowledge…In general, the ancient term *geographia* refers to writing about world *and* people alike."[24] Hence, in this project, we will discuss the *oikoumene* by focusing on the two aspects of the *oikoumene*: the world and its people.

These two themes provide a fundamental framework within which we can explore the ancient worldview. First, as for "the world," in terms of geography, this research explores the shape and image of the inhabited world. Greek geographers investigated the *oikoumene* with various inquiries; such as, what does the inhabited world look like and of what is the inhabited world composed? Considering its structure, they thought that the *oikoumene* comprised the centre and the periphery. The Greek concern over periphery encouraged them to explore the edges of the *oikoumene*. As a result, they estimated the size of the *oikoumene* and found peculiar features at the end of the *oikoumene*. In this way, geographic approaches to the *oikoumene* require us to examine several themes: size, shape, composition, centre and periphery, and end. These terms establish a framework within which to discuss the *oikoumene*. Second, as for "peoples," in term of ethnography, this project examines a concern for the inhabitants of the *oikoumene*. Investigation of the *oikoumene* allowed them to meet alien peoples. If so, how did the Greeks conceive of non-Greeks, more specifically, barbarians? This ethnocentric stance is the case for Romans as well. Greeks and Romans categorized entire inhabitants by climate, area, and continents. This classification plays an important role in observing their ethnic reasoning for the inhabitants and thus their worldview.

These two essential strands are not separable but intertwined with each other.[25] Even though the subject of geography and ethnography were not clearly defined in

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[24] Brodersen, "Geography and Ethnography," 391; Daniela Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 84-90.
[25] Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London: Duckworth, 1985), 250.

antiquity, we shall find references to these two senses in various texts.[26] Furthermore, this framework works not only for the Graeco-Roman antiquity, but also the Jewish worldview and even early Christianity. The Hebrew Bible and the literature in the Second Temple period display concerns about the world and its inhabitants composed of chosen Jews and the Gentiles. Consequently, ethnic and geographic aspects of the *oikoumene* play an important role in unveiling the meaning of the *oikoumene* in Luke-Acts, as we shall observe. How does Luke illustrate the world from a geographic perspective and consider its people from ethnic perspectives as well? Thus, these two strands become a cardinal framework for this study.

In addition, besides the significance of the *oikoumene* as an ethno-geographic template, we need to pay attention to its various aspects. As we have discussed above, the term, *oikoumene*, originally had the sense of the inhabited parts of the entire world. But it was not that the term was necessarily employed to designate the inhabitable world. Rather, over time, the term consisted of various derived senses of political, cultural, and religious thought.[27] In particular, such a semantic adaptation is clearly attested in the Roman and Hellenistic-Jewish literatures. For instance, Romans perceived the understanding of the *oikoumene* as the world ruled by the Roman emperor. For the Jews, the term denoted the world created and reigned over by God. Such phenomena reflect that each culture viewed the inhabited world within its *own perspective* in their context and location. Greek-speaking societies acknowledged the term but painted over it with respective political and religious significances. Here an important point is that various adaptions reflect distinctive worldviews. The *oikoumene* was not employed for geographic concerns only, but also included prevalent socio-political concepts for the

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Shahar carefully describes how the *oikoumene* was re-dressed in the Graeco-Roman antiquities. Yuval Shaḥar, *Josephus Geographicus: The Classical Context of Geography in Josephus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 270.

countries around the Mediterranean Sea to formulate and express each culture's own worldview.

Each worldview is established by politics and religion within a specific context. Each society—Greeks, Romans and Jews—draws different images of the *oikoumene* in their minds and places themselves at the centre of that understanding. Human beings viewed the world from their own place and imagined the picture of the inhabited world in its own right. In other words, each society conceived its own perception of the *oikoumene*. Unlike today, there was not any standard world map accepted universally by all societies. From this point, we can assume that there might be conceptual conflicts caused by different understanding of the *oikoumene* when Luke wrote his two-volume books. For example, the issue about where the authentic centre of the world is (between Delphi, Rome, and Jerusalem) was significant for all. Namely, Luke was surrounded by various coexisting worldviews. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss influential worldviews rooted in the *oikoumene* in the Mediterranean world which might have affected Luke's worldview in the first century CE. For Luke's comprehensive understanding of the *oikoumene*, it is necessary to explore various facets of the term.

As Laura Nasrallah asserts, "what you see depends upon where you stand, and where you stand depends in part on who you are and how you are formed socially, economically, politically by the culture that surrounds you."[28] This statement supports the argument of my research related to Luke's worldview. If so, what is the standpoint of Luke? From which perspective does Luke imagine and narrate the world? Furthermore, what is the rhetorical force for Luke's geographic descriptions? For a solution to these questions, this current research will probe the worldview in the Graeco-Roman and Jewish traditions.[29] Research will also be focused on Luke's usage

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[28] Laura S. Nasrallah, "Spatial Perspectives: Space and Archaeology in Roman Philippi," in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods* (eds. Joseph A. Marchal and Laura S. Nasrallah; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2012), 57.

[29] As for the claim of confluences of the two perspectives, see James M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical

of the term in Luke-Acts. Mapping Luke's world will begin with mapping the world in Luke's time.[30] Consequently, this thesis comprises four chapters.

Chapter one explores the meaning of the *oikoumene* in Graeco-Roman antiquity. Firstly, it explores how Greek geographers and historians—from Homer to Strabo in the first century BCE—describe the *oikoumene* in terms of its geographic and ethnic properties. It primarily observes their perceptions about shape, size, image, composition, structure and the inhabitants of the *oikoumene* from the classical period to the Hellenistic period. Second, this chapter probes Roman conceptions of the inhabited world. It examines Roman geographers' endeavours to establish the image of the *oikoumene*, or the *orbis terrarum* in Latin. Furthermore, it sheds light on Romans' appropriation of the term by examining its political sense. In doing so, this chapter unveils how Romans exploit the term for political propaganda in the Roman Empire. Those schematic images and interpretations of the *oikoumene* establish the background for their mentality behind the Hellenistic world and Roman *imperium*. Through these discussions, it claims that the worldview of Greek and Romans is formulated by their mental image and their desire to locate themselves as the centre of the entire *oikoumene*.

Chapter two examines the worldview in the Hebrew Bible and the literature in the Second Temple period. It mainly deals with the image of the world and the Israelites' understanding of the inhabitants, namely, the Gentiles, in the world. In particular, it delves into the sources which retain comprehensive geographic perspectives, such as Enoch, *Jubilees*, Philo, and Josephus. Consequently, it demonstrates that Greek and Roman geographic portrayals permeated the world of the Hellenized Jews but Jews reinterpreted those sources within their own theological framework. In addition, this

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Horizon," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (eds. David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf; BAFCS 2; Grand Rapids, Minn.: Eerdmans, 1994); Dean P. Béchard, *Paul Outside the Walls: A Study of Luke's Socio-Geographical Universalism in Acts 14:8-20* (AnBib 143; Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2000), 341.

[30] Brodersen claims that "Mapping the Ancient World was considered inseparable from Mapping *in* the Ancient World." Kai Brodersen, "Mapping (in) the Ancient World," *JRS* 94(2004): 185.

chapter investigates the conceptions of the *oikoumene* in Hellenistic Judaism. The Septuagint translators adopt the Greek term and employed it for signifying the world of God. This sense appears in Philo and Josephus too. This different perspective of the Greco-Roman world toward the *oikoumene* results in a conceptual conflict between the Jewish *oikoumene* and Roman *oikoumene*. Consequently, this chapter ends with a claim that there were coexisting worldviews in the Judean land by the first century CE.

Chapter three provides an exegetical analysis of eight occurrences of *oikoumene* in Luke-Acts (Luke 2:1; 4:5; 21:26; Acts 11:28; 17:6, 31; 19:27; 24:5). The aim of the chapter is to discuss how Luke understood the term within his socio-political and religious context. Luke's usage of the *oikoumene* is not repetitive. On the one hand, Luke perceived the *oikoumene* as the Roman Empire while, but on the other, Luke employs the term as the eschatological world rooted in the Septuagint. Luke's usage can be characterized as the adoption of various traditions which were dominant notions in Luke's time and place. Also, from which the term *oikoumene* was ideologically and theoretically re-interpreted. This fact attests to the fact that Luke had acknowledged a wide range of facets of the *oikoumene* as he was surrounded with those coexisting worldviews.

Chapter four investigates the *oikoumene* represented in the Acts narrative on the basis of discovered points in the previous chapter. It aims to excavate Luke's mental image of the *oikoumene* and then his desire to make some statements about it. Consequently, this chapter claims that Luke superimposes these two world maps—a Jerusalem-centred world and a Rome-centred *oikoumene*—on a single canvas, known as the Acts of the Apostles, by deploying Jerusalem in the beginning and then Rome in the final scene. Luke's audiences have lived in the two-layered world, namely, overlapping *oikoumenai*. Subsequently, Luke intends to address that Roman *oikoumene* is gradually eclipsed/supplanted by the Christian *oikoumene* beginning from Jerusalem through the

apostolic mission. Thus, this chapter argues that the Acts narrative portrays the

inhabited world where early Christians lived to be restored into the authentic world

created and ruled by God through the expansion of Christianity. It concludes with the

claim that the inhabited world represented in Acts is the world where God designed all

nations (God's offspring) to inhabit the world and allotted the boundaries of the places

where the inhabitants would live (cf. Acts 17:26).

Chapter 1. The *Oikoumene* in the Graeco-Roman World

1.1. The *Oikoumene* in the Greek World

1.1.2. The Shape of the *Oikoumene*

1.1.2.1. The Classical Period

The Greek conception of the *oikoumene* begins with Homer, considered the founder of the science of geography by his successors.[31] He provided considerable information on the world with a strong sense of geographic curiosity which runs through the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Even though he did not employ the term, *oikoumene*, in those texts,[32] his works paved the basis for his followers to negotiate the shape and image of the *oikoumene* by providing a forerunning glimpse into the shape of the world.[33] For Homer, the earth seemed to be a circular-flat disk. On Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.483-607), Homer illustrated that Hephaestus, the Greek god of the forge, created the world shield. It presents a round and flat earth in the centre of the cosmos.[34] Accordingly, he depicted two cities of peace and war and then, around the uttermost rim, he carved Ocean which surrounds the world from all sides. Homer perceived the Ocean as a great river that encompassed the entire earth (*Il.* 18.399; *Od*. 20.65). The Ocean, as a perpetual stream of water, indicates an imaginary realm and corresponds to the circle of the world. Also, it is described as "the origin of the gods" (*Il.* 14.201). He delineated

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[31] Strabo notes that "Homer…the founder of the science of geography…the inhabited world (*oikoumene*), encompassing the whole of it in his description" (Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.2). As for Strabo's perception of Homer, see Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 11-25; Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London; New York: Routlege, 2000), 31-40.

[32] The term, *oikoumene*, is first found in the work of Herodotus in the fifth century BCE.

[33] The cosmos was common to Greeks. Adams summarised the concept as follows: "It was the strong sense that the early Greek philosophers had of the world's orderliness that prompted the application of the word, *kosmos* (κόσμος), which had the primary sense of 'order,' to the physical universe. In the early Greek usage, the term was used with reference to specific types of social orderings, such as the seating order of rowers (Homer, *Od*. 13.77), the order of soldiers (Homer, *Il.* 12.225) and the well-ordered political status such as Sparta (Herodotus 1.65)." Edward Adams, "Graeco-Roman and Ancient Jewish Cosmology," in *Cosmology and New Testament Theology* (eds. Jonathan T. Pennington and Sean M. McDonough; LNTS 355; London: T & T Clark, 2008), 6.

[34] Germaine Aujac, "The Foundations of Theoretical Cartography in Archaic and Classical Greece," in *The History of Cartography* (eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward; vol. 1; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 131-132.

that the ocean is around the world: "On it he placed the mighty strength of Ocean, beside the well-made buckler's outer edge" (*Il.* 18.607-8). Homer regards the Ocean as the outermost rim of the world in the shape of a shield so that the world was considered as a disk of land girt by the Ocean.[35] Since Homer's period, the Ocean surrounding the inhabited earth became a standard concept in the Graeco-Roman world. His assertion had a significant effect on Greek geographers, and his later followers.[36]

Homer's *Achilles' Shield*, even though it is quite an imaginary map, provides a useful glimpse of how the archaic period mapped the inhabited world. In particular, Homer's description of the journeys in his poem provides important clues to display the shape of the world. Homer's nautical illustration in the lengthy catalogue of Greek ships (*Il.* 2.494–759) served as geographic markers scattered along shipping lanes.[37] It is surely unlikely that Homer utilized maps for writing poems but the poems seem to have been influenced by a rudimentary world-map.[38] Robert Hahn notes: "Homer and his seafaring comrades knew a series of geographical markers that dotted the seascape along the well-established shipping lanes; by connecting these dots, as it were, an outline of the *oikoumene* appears."[39] His foremost works were developed by other Greek geographers.

Anaximander published the first geographical map.[40] He is considered as the first to venture to draw the inhabited world on a map.[41] Subsequently, Hecataeus of Miletus made the first geographical work in prose about 500 BCE. His image of the world is based on the circular shape of flat land-mass surrounded by the Ocean, just as

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[35] Besides Homer, this similar description appears in the Hesiodic poem, *Shield* 314-15.

[36] Strabo claims that "Homer declares that the inhabited world is washed on all sides by Oceanus and this is true; and then he mentions some of the countries by name" (*Geogr.* 1.1.3).

[37] Georgia L. Irby, "Mapping the World: Greek Initiatives from Homer to Eratosthenes," in *Ancient Perspectives: Maps and Their Place in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, & Rome* (ed. Richard J. A. Talbert; Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 86-88.

[38] O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 55.

[39] Robert Hahn, *Anaximander and the Architects: The Contributions of Egyptian and Greek Architectural Technologies to the Origins of Greek Philosophy* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2001), 205. Also, Hahn provides helpful sources for Homer's world view in his book 169-171.

[40] Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.11

[41] This is also attested to by Agathemerus, a Greek geographer in the third-century CE. Aujac, "Theoretical Cartography," 134.

Homer portrays it.[42] Within the picture, the Mediterranean Sea is located in the middle

of the *oikoumene*. For Hecataeus, the *oikoumene* displays a tripartite formation: 1)

Greece and Italy to the north of the Mediterranean Sea; 2) Asia to the east; and 3) Libya

to the south.[43] In particular, in terms of the extent of the *oikoumene*, the world was

thought to be composed of three continents—Europe (Εὐρώπη), Asia (Ἀσίη), and Africa

or Egypt (Αἴγυπτος)-Libya (Λιβύη)—which by the first century CE was routinely

considered with a consensus as the entirety of the habitable world.[44]

Herodotus also adopts this tripartite scheme for the *oikoumene*.[45] He notes that

Asia and Africa are paired as "down-under" landmasses which stand in opposition to

northerly, and normative, Europe.[46] But Herodotus, unlike his predecessors, rejects the

idea of the *oikoumene* surrounded by the Ocean: "I don't know of the existence of any

River Ocean, and I think that Homer or one of the other poets from past times *invented*

the name and introduced it into his poetry" (*Hist.* 2.23).[47] His ridicule for such a

description—the *oikoumene* surrounded by the Ocean—is that the claim did not show

the matter reasonably.[48] This rejection by Herodotus is based on his empirical

accounts.[49] In other words, he criticizes the lack of empirical evidence and knowledge

about the opinion that the Ocean surrounds the world. Herodotus also raised a question

about the symmetry of three landmasses: "I wonder, then, at those who have mapped

out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them

is great" (*Hist.* 4.42). Furthermore, Herodotus contests the shape of a flat disc for the

oikoumene. He acknowledged the idea of a spherical earth as a new cartographic

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[42] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 56-57; Irby, "Mapping the World," 90-91.
[43] This tripartite was also illustrated by Anaximander. From this fact, we might assume that the map of Hecataeus might have copied the map of Anaximander in terms of its composition.
[44] Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.5.26. This view is continued to the era of Pliny the Elder. (*Nat.* 3.1.3-4)
[45] For further discussion on Herodotus' perception of the *oikoumene*, see Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 49-84.
[46] Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 82.
[47] Italics are mine.
[48] "And I laugh to see how many have now drawn maps of the world, not one of them showing the matter reasonably; for they draw the world as round as if fashioned by compasses, encircled by the river of Ocean, and Asia and Europe of a like bigness" (*Hist.* 4.36)
[49] Irby, "Mapping the World," 93.

concept at that time.[50] Even if he did not provide cartographic maps, his texts were noteworthy for the ancient Greeks to envisage the shape of the *oikoumene*. He perceived that the *oikoumene* is actually oval; and the *oikoumene* is greater in longitude than latitude. Herodotus' view of an oval *oikoumene* appears in Ephorus' description in which he was aware of an oblong *oikoumene* which is rectangular rather than an oval shape. Ephorus describes the *oikoumene* as the shape of a parallelogram in the fourth century BCE. On each side of the four edges, the *oikoumene* are marked with the Ethiopians in the south, the Scythians in the north, the Celts in the west, and the Indians in the east. He considered the *oikoumene* as bound by these particular nations.[51]

1.1.2.2. The Hellenistic Period

The Greek reflection on the *oikoumene* was extensively developed with the territorial expansion toward the East by Alexander the Great. As Polybius notes, "owing to Alexander's empire in Asia and that of the Roman in other parts of the world, nearly all regions have become approachable…we ought to be able to arrive at better knowledge and something more like the truth about lands which were formerly little known" (*Hist.* 3.59.3).[52] There is no doubt that the process of describing the *oikoumene* is indebted to the conquerors' territorial expansion of the known world.[53] Indeed,

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[50] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 24-25. Also, for Dilke's detailed illustration of Herodutus, see his book 49, 57-9.

[51] Geus, "Space and Geography," 234.

[52] Also, Strabo, a Greek geographer, notes, "Alexander opened up for us geographers a great part of Asia and all the northern part of Europe…all of which countries were but imperfectly known to earlier geographers" (*Geogr.* 1.2.1).

[53] Military campaigns definitely contributed to the advance of geographical knowledge. In fact, for ancient peoples, the most effective and reliable way to obtain information about a territory was through military marches. The considerable strides in geographical knowledge made through military conquest provide a motive for writing geography. Conversely, the geographical information was essential for commanders to march with their armies. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 26-29. Strabo warned that ignorance of a land may cause the conquerors to be tricked by barbarians who are acquainted with the land, so that the conquerors will face "disasters" (*Geogr.* 1.1.17). So Strabo argued that geography is significant for "the activities of *statesmen and commanders*" (*Geogr.* 1.1.1). Even though geography was considered a subcategory of astronomy and was included in the treatises of astronomy in the Greek period, so as to expand their own territories, the study of geography was crucial for all conquerors. Put another way, such knowledge played an important role in subjugating the world. Consequently, the relationship between geographical knowledge and military expeditions became inseparable. In this light, on the one hand, military campaigns developed geographical knowledge and cartographic skill regarding the land; on

Alexander's campaigns brought about a wealth of new geographical information on the inhabited world, and his campaigns urged geographers to actively investigate the world, based on actual observation and exploration.[54] Even though classical knowledge of the *oikoumene* continued to be adapted in the Hellenistic geographers, after Alexander's territorial expansion around the Mediterranean Sea, the Hellenistic geographers' cartography of the *oikoumene* accomplished considerable development in terms of methodology and accuracy.

Eratosthenes, the most important geographer of the third century BCE, took on the discussions of the dimension and shape of the *oikoumene* from his predecessors. He gave instructions and measurements for making a map of the inhabited world in his three-volume book, *Geographica*,[55] a text he wrote using the latest geographic information from Alexander's campaigns. This work is considered to qualitatively surpass previous works by far. Eratosthenes used new discoveries inspired by Alexander's journeys to draw a map of the *oikoumene*.[56] His work provides the precise measurement of the circumference of the world and the division of the *oikoumene* into mathematical-geometric units. For Eratosthenes, the length of the inhabitable land considerably exceeds the width, and its ratio is about 2:1. He calculated the width of the *oikoumene* as 38,000 stadia (or 4,367 English miles) and the length as 77,800 stadia (or 8,850 English miles).[57] His description of the *oikoumene* was basically elliptical and twice as long as it was wide.[58] He depicted the shape of the *oikoumene* as the *chalamys*, the short Macedonian cloak, or a sling, a curving trapezoid tapering at its lower edge.[59]

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the other hand, the improved cartographic knowledge became an important resource for effective military campaigns. Thus, there was close interaction between geography and conquest.

[54] Geus, "Space and Geography," 242.

[55] We do not have any record from Eratosthenes but only read of his products from Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.1.1; 2.5.42. Geus provides considerable research about his work. Geus, "Measuring the *Oikoumene*," 11-26.

[56] Aujac, "Empirical Cartography," 150. Also, see Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.2.1.

[57] For his detailed process of calculating the ranges of both the breadth and length of the *oikoumene*, see Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.4.2; and Geus, "Measuring the *Oikoumene*," 16.

[58] cf. Claude Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (trans. Hélène Leclerc; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 61; Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 34.

[59] Irby, "Mapping the World," 101. His measurement of the *oikoumene* was considered as solid and

It seems to be that the *oikoumene* tapers off at each end of its length.[60] And he placed the *oikoumene* at the north of the equator, between the Cinnamon country in the south and Thule in the north, the Pillars of Hercules in the west, and the Taurus Mountains in the east.[61] His map of the *oikoumene* was considered as the first really scientific Greek map.[62] At the same time, Crates of Mallos was the first to place the *oikoumene* on a terrestrial globe (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.5.10).[63]
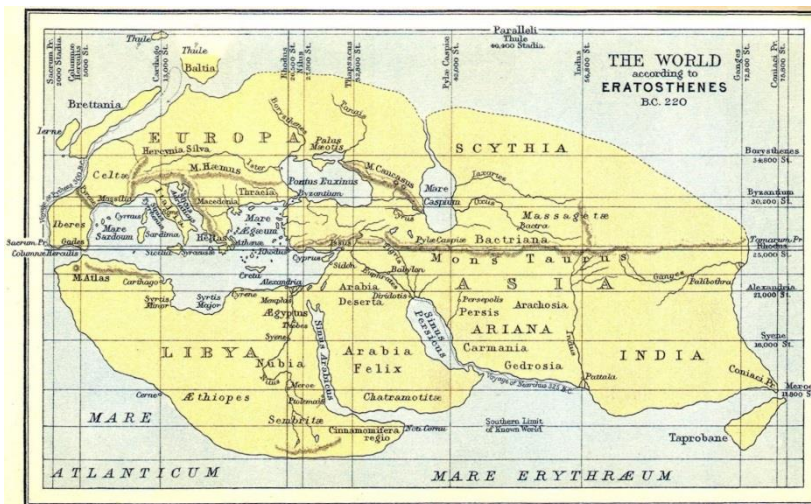
[Fig 1. The *oikoumene* according to Eratosthenes, 3rd century BCE][64]

The discussions on the *oikoumene* in Greek antiquity culminated in the book of Strabo of Amasia. He provides an extensive descriptive geographical survey of the *oikoumene* through his book, *Geography*.[65] He accumulated a great amount of detailed

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progressive. Pliny the Elder asserts: "These are the facts that I consider worth recording in regard to the earth's length and breadth. Its total circumference was given by Eratosthenes (an expert in every refinement of learning, but on this point assuredly an outstanding authority—I notice that he is universally accepted)." (*Nat.* 2.247); as for chalamys, see Aujac, "Empirical Cartography," 156.

[60] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 34.

[61] Irby, "Mapping the World," 101.

[62] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 35.

[63] Janet E. Spittler, "Christianity at the Edges: Representations of the Ends of the Earth in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," in *The Rise and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries of the Common Era* (eds. Clare K. Rothschild and Jens Schröter; WUNT 301; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 355-6.

[64] http://www.heritage-history.com/maps/ancient/class003.jpg

[65] For further discussion on Strabo, see Sarah Pothecary, "Strabo and the 'Inhabited World'" (Ph.D., University of Toronto 1995); Sarah Pothecary, "Strabo the Geographer: His Name and Its Meaning," *Mnemosyne* 52 (1999); Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*; Christina Horst Roseman, "Reflections of Philosophy: Strabo and Geographical Sources," in *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia* (eds. Daniela Dueck, et al.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Daniela Dueck, "The Geographical Narrative of Strabo of Amasia," in *Geography and Ethnography*; idem, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*,

discussion of the *oikoumene* from the classical and Hellenistic period into the Roman

period, and he also attempted to update precise descriptions and documentation of the

oikoumene on the basis of the traditional knowledge from Homer to Eratosthenes.[66] In

particular, since his book is fully preserved for modern scholars, it becomes a

significant source for observing comprehensively the Greeks' stance toward the

oikoumene. Furthermore, because it was written in the period of the early Roman

Empire (63–24 BCE), his book provides a dual view of the *oikoumene* in terms of the

inhabitable world and the Roman imperial *oikoumene*.[67]

Above all, Strabo defines the *oikoumene* according to its standard definition in

Greek: "We call *oikoumene* the world which we inhabit and know" (καλοῦμεν γὰρ

οἰκουμένην ἣν οἰκοῦμεν καὶ γνωρίζομεν) (*Geogr.* 1.4.6).[68] This definition signifies two

points: 1) the *oikoumene* reflects the realm of the habitation of human beings; and 2) it

opens a possibility of change to the concept, according to the extent of our knowledge at

that time.[69] In other words, from the perspective of Strabo, measuring the extent of the

oikoumene is still in progress which is dependent on continuous expeditions.

Strabo emphasized the separation of the habitable areas from the uninhabitable

places. To delineate clearly the *oikoumene*, he excluded harsh-tempered zones from the

oikoumene, because of "excess heat or lack of heat" (*Geogr.* 2.3.1). The primary

criterion by which to define the *oikoumene* depends on its suitable climate for living.

His focus is not on the whole world but on the inhabited world.[70] In terms of the limits

of the *oikoumene*, as successor to Homer, Strabo accepts that the *oikoumene* is

surrounded by water (*Geogr.* 2.5.17; cf. 1.2.3).[71] He notes that "our inhabited world lies,

washed on all sides by the sea and like an island" (*Geogr.* 2.5.5). He acknowledged that

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75-76.

[66] Dueck, "Geographical Narrative of Strabo," 241.

[67] As for Strabo and the world of Augustan Rome, see Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 85-106.

[68] For further discussion on Strabo's concept of the *oikoumene*, see ibid., 40-45.

[69] Dueck, "Geographical Narrative of Strabo," 239.

[70] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 63.

[71] The preface of Strabo's *Geography* refers to Homer's significant role in Greek geography. (1.1.3-10)

the *oikoumene* is a vast land, with the features of an Island, but has limits. It is surrounded by the Ocean which forms its ultimate borders. He concludes that "we must form our conception of the shape of the island….the inhabited world is a *chlamys-shaped island*" (*Geogr.* 2.5.6; cf. 1.1.8). Namely, it looks like a parallelogram: "Accordingly, we must conceive of a parallelogram in which the chlamys-shaped figure is inscribed in such a way that the greatest length of the chlamys coincides with, and is equal to, the greatest length of the parallelogram, and likewise its greatest breadth and the breadth of the parallelogram" (*Geogr.* 2.5.14). His claim that Libya is smaller than the other two continents in tripartite composition of the *oikoumene*—Europe, Asia, and Libya (17.3.11) support its chlamys-shaped figure.

Regarding the length and width of the *oikoumene*, he notes:

Now the length of the inhabited world is seventy thousand stadia, being for the most part limited by a sea which still cannot be navigated because of its vastness and desolation; the breadth is less than thirty thousand stadia, being bounded by the regions that are uninhabitable on account either of heat or cold. For merely the part of the quadrilateral that is uninhabitable on account of the heat—since it has a breadth of eight thousand eight hundred stadia and a maximum length of one hundred and twenty six thousand stadia, that is, half the length of the equator—is more than half the inhabited world, and the remainder of the quadrilateral would be still more than that. (*Geogr.* 2.5.6)

Likewise, the ratio between the length (from west to east) and the breadth (from north to south) is more than 2:1. The length of the inhabited world is at least twice its width.[72] And it implies that the eastern and western ends of the *oikoumene* were thought of as a convex: "The extremities of its length…taper off on both sides and thus diminish its width" (*Geogr.* 2.5.14). And, based on temperature, the northernmost part of the *oikoumene* is Ierne (now Ireland) and the southernmost part is the Cinnamon-producing country.[73]

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[72] But, Geminius rejects that the length of the inhabited world is at least twice its width. He claims that those round drawings have strayed far from the truth (16.1.3-4). Cited from Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 46.

[73] Dilke illustrates that the Cinnamon country is near the mouth of the Red Sea because this was only an area where cinnamon was traded: it actually came from the south or south-east Asia. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 64.
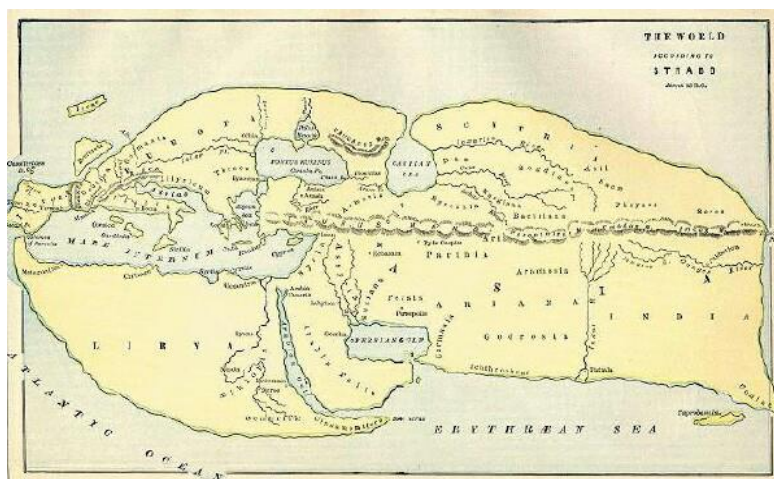
[Fig 2. The *oikoumene* according to Strabo][74]

As for the composition of the *oikoumene*, Strabo divides the world into five

zones (παντάζωνον) which are determined by climate (*Geogr.* 2.2.1).[75] Among these

five zones, except for two temperate zones—the inhabitable regions, the other three

zones are uninhabitable because of either excess heat or cold (*Geogr.* 2.2.2).[76]

Consequently, in the *oikoumene*, the northernmost and southernmost areas which are

contiguous to the harsh zones were considered as difficult places to live. As for these

areas, Strabo points out:

> In general, the extremities of the inhabited world, which lie alongside the part
> of the earth that is not temperate and habitable, because of heat or cold, must
> needs be defective and inferior to the temperate part; and this is clear from the
> modes of life of the inhabitants and from their lack of human necessities. They
> indeed live a hard life, go almost naked….(*Geogr.* 17.2.1)

Thus, as James Romm points out, "the Greek geographic and cartographic

traditions suggest a complex interplay between a climate-based North-South

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[74] http://www-personal.umich.edu/~bbain/display/courseshs/historyproblems/introhistory/strabomap.htm
[75] As for the zone theory in the Graeco-Roman world, see Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 95-102.
[76] "Poseidonius, then, says that Parmenides was the originator of the division into five zones, but that
Parmenides represents the torrid zone as almost double its real breadth, inasmuch as it falls beyond both
the tropics and extends into the two temperate zones, while Aristotle calls 'torrid' the region between the
tropics, and 'temperate' the regions between the tropics and the 'arctic circles.' But Poseidonius censures
both systems, and with justice, for by 'torrid,' he says, is meant only the region that is uninhabitable on
account of heat; and, of the zone between the tropics, more than half is uninhabitable if we may base a
conjecture upon the Ethiopians who live south of Egypt—if it be true, first, that each division of the torrid
zone made by the equator is half the whole breadth." (Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.2.2)

construction of the earth and a division into continents employing physical boundaries."[77]

To summarize, from the classical period, the Greek concern over the *oikoumene* was developed by geographers and historians. It is true that they eagerly tried to measure and figure out the features of the *oikoumene*, even though there were slight differences among them. And through their continuous research and the advancement in geographical information, they acknowledge that the inhabitable/inhabited world is just part of the entire globe. The image of the *oikoumene* slightly varied according to the cartographer, the period, and the context. Common knowledge about the range and shape of the *oikoumene* was by no means uniform in the classical and Hellenistic periods. Its size and shape changed with time because knowledge of previously unknown regions increased and boundaries expanded.[78] Nevertheless, all of the descriptions of the *oikoumene* conducted by the geographers show accuracy in their representation of the vast zone appropriated by the Greeks—from the Gades to the Ganges, from Meroë to Thule, because that information was combined with new observations and measurements of sailors and soldiers in the east and west, and the astronomical and mathematical elaboration of this data on the sphere.[79] Moreover, generally, these depictions are based on an east-west axis.[80] Since the ancient geographers lacked any knowledge of north-south poles, for them the inhabited world was more naturally arranged from east to west.[81] This *diaphragma* aspect is due to a result of their circumnavigation around the Mediterranean between east-west axis, based on latitude rather than on longitude.

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[77] James S. Romm, "Continents, Climates, and Cultures: Greek Theories of Global Structure," in *Geography and Ethnography*, 228.
[78] Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 75.
[79] Nicolet, *Space*, 62.
[80] See G.W. Bowersock, "The East-West Orientation of Mediterranean Studies and the Meaning of North and South in Antiquity," in *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (ed. William V. Harris; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[81] Ibid., 169.

1.1.3. Construction of the *Oikoumene*

1.1.3.1. Centre

The schematic outline of the *oikoumene* for the Greeks that is discussed above, exhibits a distinct layout of the inhabited world. It is composed of a centre, edges, and places between them. Each one contains Greek geographic thinking. First, the concept of centre was an important topic in antiquity. For the Greeks, the conception of the *oikoumene* is basically rooted in the belief that they possess the central place of the entire *oikoumene*.[82] All thoughts about the inhabited world were generated from the central locus. And they prescribed all the inhabitable zones from their own position, since the era of Homer. In the tale of Odysseus' homeward journey, his voyage and return home becomes "a paradigm for the recognition" that his homeland was centrally located in the world.[83]

The Greeks considered Delphi as the centre of the entire *oikoumene*. In essence, Delphi, located high on Mt. Parnassus, was the place where people hear the god's words. The sanctuary was the place to which people travelled to experience an oracle.[84] But, Delphi not only had been a sacred place since the pre-classical period, but also it was considered the geographical centre of the *oikoumene*. The ancient Greeks also had a notion of ὀμφαλός, "navel," in the world. And they believed that Delphi signified the *Omphalos* of the world.[85] In the representation of the *oikoumene* in the form of a human body, the centre was identified with a tall mountain which represents the navel of the body. It was quite a prevalent tradition of the Greeks.[86] Likewise, the Greeks believed that Delphi, the oracle for the worship of the god, Apollo, and the space for

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[82] Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 102.
[83] Cole, "'I Know the Number," 200; cf. François Hartog, *Memories of Odysseus* (trans. Janet Lloyd; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), 15-21.
[84] Cole, "I Know the Number," 199.
[85] Plato, *Resp.* 427 b, c; Strabo, *Geogr.* 9.3.6; Livy, 38.48.2; Ovid, *Metam.* 10.168.
[86] Regarding this central place in antiquity, Eliade notes that "The architectonic symbolism of the Centre may be formulated as follows: First, the Sacred Mountain where heaven and earth meet is situated at the centre of the world." Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (trans. Willard R. Trask; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959), 12.

religious meetings, protected the *Omphalos*. Later, Strabo notes that "almost in the centre of Greece taken as a whole…it was also believed to be in the centre of the inhabited world, and people called it the navel (ὀμφαλός) of the earth" (*Geogr.* 9.3.6).[87] In order to delineate Delphi as the *Omphalos* of the *oikoumene*, Plutarch describes that "two men coming from opposite ends of the *oikoumene* met together at Delphi" (*Def. orac.* 2. 410a). From the Delphi, the *oikoumene* is divided into concentric zones with Delphi at the centre.[88] Interestingly, it is noteworthy that the location of Delphi is geographically placed in the centre of the Greek mainland.[89] Namely, the Greeks regarded their own central location as the navel of the entire inhabited world. In other words, Greeks considered their land as a microcosm of the *oikoumene*.[90]

1.1.3.2. *Periploi* and Travels

Besides the centre of the world, the Greeks had concern about the periphery of the *oikoumene* too. From the classical period, thoughts of a centre-periphery axis began. The Greeks expanded their geographic perspective beyond the Greek lands into the entire known world. They aspired to scrutinize the whole of the inhabited world beyond Delphi. Embracing all the rest was considered as an activity of great importance.[91] For this reason, they explored the unknown areas and their attempts were mainly conducted by travel via land and sea. Travel was considered for Greeks as a means to encounter uncivilized territory through wilderness areas which one most likely had not previously

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[87] Plutarch also similarly notes it (*Def. orac.* 409 E-410 A). For its detailed explanation, see Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 102.
[88] Cole, "I Know the Number," 199.
[89] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 24.
[90] Michael Scott, *Space and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 148-150.
[91] Strabo illustrates the importance of expanding their geographic information: "The scene is small when the activities are of small importance, and large when they are of large importance; and the largest is the scene that embraces all the rest [which we call by the special name of "the inhabited world" (οἰκουμένη)], and this, therefore, would be the scene of activities of the largest importance." (*Geogr.* 1.1.16)

experienced or known. It strengthens the information of the *oikoumene* and accommodated them to envisage the image of the *oikoumene*.[92]

In the process, περίπλοι, "circumnavigation," (sing. περίπλους) plays an important role in exploring unknown areas.[93] Even Ephorus has used the sea-coast as his measuring line of the *oikoumene* (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 8.1.3). Given that sea routes and seafaring were central to Greek life, for the sake of safety, it is not surprising that circumnavigation of the globe was essential for them to explore the inhabited area along the coastlines around the Mediterranean.[94] *Periploi* generated abundant information about places located on maritime routes arranged according to the order of a journey along a coastline. To this linear order, information about local topography, history and ethnography were added.[95] In these accounts of circumnavigation, or *periploi*, Greeks depicted distant and strange people too. As a result, the *periploi* serves as a reference for topographic and ethnographic features at the locations of the lines.[96] In particular, Strabo was a geographer who specifically employed this *periploi* to map the *oikoumene*. Moreover, the interest in the description of the entire world can be expressed with the expression, "way around the world" (περίοδος γῆς)[97] and "leading around and explaining" (περιήγησις) represents a travel guide. Likewise, the use of *periploi* was

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[92] Of course, Greeks were aware that there are unknown areas around the globe, besides the ones with which they were familiar. Namely, they assumed other *oikoumenai* as well. For instance, according to Strabo's account, the Crates of Mallos pictured the known world within one quarter of the globe and hypothesized the existence of three other οἰκουμέναι in the remaining three quadrants, each separated from the οἰκουμένη and each other by great, criss-crossing swaths of ocean (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.5.13). He postulated theoretically the existence of four regions of the world separated from one another by Ocean. See Spittler, "Christianity at the Edges," 355-6; Johannes Engels, "Geography and History," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (ed. John Marincola; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Pub., 2007), 547. Such assumptions for different and plural *oikoumenai* in the entire globe motivated them to investigate the entire world beyond their own familiar regions. (Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.16)
[93] Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), 21-111; Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 130-144; Benet Salway, "Sea and River Travel in the Roman Itinerary Literature," in *Space in the Roman World*, 52-67; Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 40-45.
[94] Dueck illustrates that through the *periplus*, "Greek civilization began in the Aegean, and for demographic and economic reasons spread to the western coasts of Asia Minor, to Sicily and southern Italy, further west and south to southern France, south-east Spain and North Africa, and all around the Black Sea." Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 6.
[95] Ibid., 6.
[96] Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 40.
[97] Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 7; Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 26-31.

unquestionably one method by which Greeks organized space and through a coastline or a river channel in their minds. Visual representations of the *oikoumene* arose nearly simultaneously with the early *periploi* and *periegeseis*.[98] Through this process, their concern developed into a concern to map the end (edge) of the world.

1.1.3.3. Edge

The movement toward unfamiliar areas extended the interest in the end of the inhabited world. Ancient Greeks had a considerable curiosity about the edge of the *oikoumene*. As the possessor of a central locus of the world, they tried to define the features of the edge. Exploring the edge of the world was a desirable objective for the ancient peoples. Polybius notes, "nearly all authors or at least the greater number have attempted to describe the peculiarities and the situation of the countries at the extremities of the known world" (τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τόπων τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης) (*Hist.* 3.58.2).[99] As for the reason for their concern regarding the edges, Romm claims that "the most fundamental act by which the archaic Greeks defined their world was to give it boundaries, marking off a finite stretch of earth from the otherwise formless expanse surrounding it."[100]

For the ancient Greeks, the earth surrounded by a circular Ocean became a pervasive feature, representing πείρατα γῆς.[101] However, the Greek term, πείρατα, which denotes "borders," was purely an imaginative construct rather than an accurate designation.[102] The edge of the earth was, in part, reliant on the mythic tradition of

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[98] Engels, "Geography and History," 547.

[99] But this phrase implies another connotation as well. Lewis suggests that "the ἐσχατιαί referred to *any* land that was inaccessible or difficult to cultivate, and so not necessarily always on the perimeter of our mental map of the world." D.M. Lewis, "The Athenian Rationes Centesimarum," in *Problèmes De La Terre En Grèce Ancienne* (ed. M.I. Finley; Paris: Mouton, 1973), 210-2. Cited from Katherine Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 111 n. 75.

[100] Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 10

[101] Ibid., 13.

[102] Ibid., 11-12. Homer adopts this term: "My Ship Poseidon, the earth-shaker, dashed to pieces, casting her upon the rocks at the border (πείρασι) of your land" (*Od.* 9.284).

πείρατα γῆς.[103] The territories beyond the borders were considered as the areas of the

dead and mythic places of the Hyperboreans.[104] Regarding the boundaries, Herodotus

used the Greek term, ἔσχατος, "edge," to describe the most distant lands (*Hist.* 3.106).[105]

In their view, ἔσχατος constituted a continuous belt of lands, and these lands were

attached to the *oikoumene*. As for the edge's function, Herodotus notes that it encloses

and wholly surrounds all other lands (*Hist.* 3.116). Thus, the edge of the *oikoumene*

refers to the belt of the land, for surrounding and enclosing the rest of the world.[106] The

borders of the *oikoumene* coincided with the Ocean[107] and thus the people who live at

the end/edge were depicted as dwellers "on the banks of the Ocean" (ἐπὶ τῷ ὠκεανῷ

ἔσχατοι) (Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.6; cf. 1.2.24). The edge denotes limitations to the

inhabitable regions of the *oikoumene* itself. All of the edges corresponded to places not

suitable for habitation, such as a desert. Consequently, Strabo depicts it as "the

extremities of the inhabited world" (*Geogr.* 17.2.1). It was believed that there were four

edges of the world (*Geogr.* 1.1.13; 1.2.28). Even though the ancient maps in Greek

antiquity display somewhat different features relative to each geographer, the regions

signifying the four edges were remarkably stable: the western edge was considered to be

Spain and the Pillars of Hercules; the eastern edge is India; the southern edge is

Ethiopia; and the northern edge is Scythia.[108]

In particular, attention should be paid to the fact that their perception of the

edge correlates with their own central position in the entire world. As seen above in

Polybius' statement, Greeks regarded the *oikoumene* as "our world" (καθ' ἡμᾶς

οἰκουμένης). The Greeks' worldview was based on ethnocentrism. That is, they were

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[103] Ibid., 38.
[104] Ibid., 9-44.
[105] "It would seem that the fairest blessings have been granted to the most distant nations of the world
(ἐσχατοί κως τῆς οἰκεομένης), whereas in Hellas the seasons have by much the kindliest temperature" (*Hist.*
3.106).
[106] Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 39.
[107] Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.8; cf. 1.2.31; 1.4.6.
[108] Spittler, "Christianity at the Edges," 357.

located at the navel of the world from which they looked around at the rest of the inhabited world and its limits. Consequently, they viewed the "end" as the opposite side from their own central locus. The end of the *oikoumene* denotes the counterpart of the centre. As a result, discussions on the "end" were the basis for the stories of adventure that explored inferior places by superior peoples from the *Omphalos* with the superiority of the centre of the *oikoumene* beyond the edges. As the possessors of the *Omphalos*, their concern on the *oikoumene* can be characterised as an aspiration to explore the *entire* inhabited world through territorial expansion to the end of the inhabited world. To reach the end indicates completion of a survey of the whole world.

1.1.4. The *Oikoumene* and its People

1.1.4.1. Inhabitants

The Greeks aspiration to conceptualize the *oikoumene* can be expanded into their considerable concern about the habitation of human beings in the world. When they imagined the *oikoumene*, they also imagined the features of peoples who live in the entire *oikoumene*. Accordingly, they tied the geographical order to ethnic reasoning.

From their central position, Greeks expanded their strides toward other countries and peoples. Through travel throughout the world, they established the features of the world and thus the ethnic framework to constitute the concept of the inhabited world. When the ancient Greeks travelled in the known world, they met various peoples, namely, non-Greeks. Those encounters lead Greeks to demarcate themselves from non-Greeks. Especially, through continuous travel and trade, they collected much information about peoples in other regions. Consequently, they named other lands with respect to that of the Greeks and gathered data on those which developed into geographical catalogues. In doing so, they categorized diverse races and

constructed ethnic catalogues.[109] By imaging concentric zones, Greeks divided the human beings in the world into Greeks (Ἕλλην) and non-Greek aliens (βάρβαροι) or wild people (ἄγριοι). Furthermore, within Greek states, they developed notions of the foreigner (ξένοι).[110] Basically, this term, ξένοι, denotes non-citizens distinguished from citizens in a *polis* but it also implies the fact that Greek writers had a keen interest in *otherness*. That is, for Greeks, to explore foreign peoples was an intriguing theme.

Greek ethnic discourses can be traced back to Homer, who is considered the herald of Greek anthropology because he notes numerous places and peoples on the earth.[111] In the second book of the *Iliad*, Homer organized the itineraries according to geographic regions. Cole summarizes the catalogue as follows:

> The Achaean list of toponyms begins with Aulis, the place where the Achaean fleet assembled before sailing to Troy. After swinging through Boeotia the catalogue proceeds to Phocis, Locris, Euboea, and Athens before moving on to the Peloponnese. Beginning there with the Argolid, the catalogue picks up the Corinthia, eastern Achaea, and the Lacedaemonian territories together with Pylos, Arcadia, and Elis before crossing the Corinthian gulf to the Aetolians. After a short inserted itinerary from Crete to Rhodes, Syme, and Cos, the roster switches back north to Thessaly, listing there a series of communities organized in a counter-clockwise orbit and ending finally at Dodona.[112]

Such an illustration of geographic regions had an effect on Greek geographers. In particular, Homer's *Odyssey* provides the basis for distinguishing Homeric Greeks from *others*.[113] In the *Odyssey*, chapters 9–12, Odysseus illustrates the social customs of various peoples whom he encounters.[114] For instance, Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclopes displays a Greek viewpoint toward non-Greeks in terms of their customs.

> Then we sailed on, grieved at heart, and we came to the land of the Cyclopes, an overweening and lawless folk, who, trusting in the immortal gods, plant nothing

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[109] For detailed studies on the Greeks ethnicity, see Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 17-66; idem, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 55-168.

[110] Cf. Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz, "*Xenoi*," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (ed. Roger S. Bagnall; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 7145-6.

[111] Hartog, *Memories of Odysseus*, 21-23.

[112] Cole, "I Know the Number," 201-202.

[113] Hartog, *Memories of Odysseus*, 25-26.

[114] Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 81.

with their hands nor plough; but all these things spring up for them without sowing or ploughing, wheat, and barley, and vines, which bear the rich clusters of wine, and the rain of Zeus gives them increase. Neither assemblies for council have they, nor appointed laws, but they dwell on the peaks of lofty mountains in hollow caves, and each one is lawgiver to his children and his wives, and they reck nothing one of another. *(Od.* 9.105-15).

In terms of the social customs of a people, as it is shown with this example from the *Odyssey*, Greeks perceive others with detailed categories of their community law, folk, customs, agriculture, gods, and commercial life. Later, Herodotus ties individual ethnic groups in line with geographical order.[115] It allowed for a geographic order to become the "basis for his construction of a hierarchy of populations."[116] As they categorized regions and its peoples, they found ethnic differences from each society. As a result, the Greek geographers and historians were encouraged to explain why such differences existed. They attributed the difference to climatic and other geographical circumstances.[117] In other words, they related ethnic differences to environmental determinism.[118] This deterministic notion claimed that the environment, based on climate and geography, shaped an ethnic stereotype.[119] Since ancient people thought that the location in which one lived defined one's essence, the geographic location was an inevitable factor for Greeks to understand a tribe's identity and ethnic character. They believed that the geographic locale can be the primary factor to reveal one's ethnic identity. Likewise, Greek geographical knowledge was considerably indebted to the ethnographic literature that illustrated the various regions of the *oikoumene* and peoples' custom and culture because travellers' reports contained a large amount of information about the distinctive elements of various peoples.[120] Thus, the geographic and ethnographic catalogues contain a feature of group identities shaped by Greeks.

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[115] Cole, "I Know the Number," 207.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 126.
[118] Ibid., 93-102.
[119] Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 88.
[120] Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 81.

As for discussing ethnic characters, ancient ethnographers provide four major

areas: the land, the history, the marvels, and the customs of a people.[121] Among them,

their primary concern was the customs of peoples. Dean P. Béchard summarizes diverse

ethnic categories found in *Geography* by Strabo as follows:[122] 1) common language

(διάλεκτος) as the most reliable test for ethnic affinity (2.1.31; 4.1.1; 4.2.1; 8.1.2;

11.2.17; 12.1.1); 2) peculiar customs and practices (ἔθη) (6.1.2; 12.1.2); and 3) physical

characteristics (ὄψις, σῶμασις, χηρακτῆραι τῶν σωμάτων) (4.1.1; 4.2.1).[123] Likewise,

Greek concern on the inhabitants of the *oikoumene* developed into an ethnic concern,[124]

and the concern is primarily relevant to their aspiration for appreciating ethnocentrism.

1.1.4.2. Ethnocentrism

The encounters with non-Greeks brought about a Greek understanding of others;

here, it is noteworthy to examine the term the Greek term, ἔθνος, which contains a wide

variety of meanings. It was widely applied to indicate a class or a group of beings who

share a common identity, and could be used of people and of animals.[125] However, it

also contains different meanings in singular and plural forms. While τὸ ἔθνος indicates a

specific group in a neutral sense, τά ἔθνη was sometimes used with cultural and

ideological connotations, labelling groups as "non-Hellenic people."[126] Since the time

of Aristotle, unlike ἔθνος, ἔθνη was used to indicate people other than Greeks (*Pol.*

1324b10).[127] In doing so, Greeks used this term to designate a category of difference,

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[121] Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 64; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 53.

[122] Béchard, *Paul*, 343-44.

[123] Besides these three points, Béchard provides another aspect of ethnic category, "local populations of mixed ethnicity." See ibid., 344.

[124] For the definition of Hellenistic ethnicity, see Hall, *Hellenicity*, 9-19.

[125] Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 35.

[126] Béchard, *Paul*, 150-1.

[127] Aristotle considered "primitive" those who lived in north-western Greece in comparison with the Hellenes of the *polis*. Nicola Denzey, "The Limits of Ethnic Categories," in *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches* (eds. Anthony J. Blasi, et al.; Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2002), 494.

otherness, and implicit inferiority.[128] In the Hellenistic custom of using ἔθνη, the term

was employed to indicate their cultural exclusiveness toward foreigners, non-

Hellenes.[129]

In particular, with privilege as the central peoples, Greeks called "others," non-

Greeks, or barbarians (βάρβαρος).[130] The term, barbarians, is in essence relevant to an

ability of whether one can speak Greek or not. Herodotus compares the barbarians

speaking with the voice of a bird (*Hist.* 2.57). The barbarians' language was thought to

be non-understandable. Strabo notes it relates to Greek speech: "whenever any person

speaking Greek did not pronounce it correctly, but pronounced the words like

barbarians who…are unable to speak it accurately" (*Geogr.* 14.2.28).[131] With respect to

ethnocentrism, Diogenes comments: "That I was born human not an animal, a man not a

woman, and a Greek not a barbarian…" (*Laertius*, 1.3).[132] The cultural superiority and

ethnic pride of the Greeks over non-Greeks is evident in that period and thus is

expressed through the term, barbarians.[133]

The Greeks' ethnological descriptions draw an imaginary borderline between

barbarians and civilized Greeks.[134] Unlike Eratosthenes who divides human beings

with a criterion of moral qualities—good people and bad people, Strabo emphasizes that

all Greeks are naturally superior to barbarians.[135] Such a viewpoint of Greeks shows

well their ethnocentric notions. This ethnic category is a central concept for Strabo.[136]

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[128] Ibid., 494. The Romans also made similar distinctions between Romans and non-Romans, dividing a *populous* and a *natio*. Dennis C. Duling, "Ethnicity, Ethnocentrism, and the Matthean Ethnos," *BTB* 35 (2005):129.

[129] Béchard, *Paul*, 150-1, esp. n. 16.

[130] For further discussion about barbarians, see Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 44-47; Erich S. Gruen, "Greeks and Non-Greeks," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World* (ed. Glenn R. Bugh; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 295-314.

[131] Strabo acknowledged the power of the Romans but he considered them as the Barbarians because Romans were not fluent in speaking Greek. Dueck, "Geographical Narrative of Strabo," 244.

[132] Quoted from Gruen, "Greeks and Non-Greeks," 295. But, Gruen raises many exceptions about savage barbarians, arguing that barbarians are not necessarily non-honorific.

[133] But Plutarch provides an exceptional story of a barbarian who is educated with linguistic capability. (*Def. orac.* 421 A, B)

[134] Dueck, "Geographical Narrative of Strabo," 243.

[135] Ibid., 242-3.

[136] Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 75-84.

In his view, savage barbarians are holders of inferior culture and customs. In his book, he illustrates numerous nations and regions which inhabit the *oikoumene*, but his analysis of each nation is based on its position in a sort of conceptual spectrum lying between two extremities—barbarians or civilized.[137]

Furthermore, their Greek-centred ethnic reasoning is clearly found in their notion of the edge and its peoples. Greeks had a deep concern for the peoples who live at the edges of the *oikoumene* so that Greeks designated them as "the furthest of men."[138] The edge of the *oikoumene* was considered as the place where "savage people" (ἄγριοι) live. They are peoples who live beyond the regions of barbarians, and beyond the edge of the *oikoumene*.[139] In Homer's writing, Odysseus' journey home reflects a dangerous atmosphere of "violent savages without justice" (*Od.* 4.121–2). According to Greek concepts, the savage people were extraordinary and marvellous peoples. They also viewed them as wilder peoples with outrageous customs (*Hist.* 4.100, 105, 109). Herodotus writes that their appearance is peculiar and they live with wild beasts and that there are even "the dog-headed men and the headless that have their eyes in their breasts" (*Hist.* 4.191). Herodotus portrays them as follows:

> It may be that they are wizards; for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say that once a year every, one of the Neuri is turned into a wolf, and after remaining so for a few days, returns again to his former shape. For myself, I cannot believe this tale; but they tell it nevertheless, yea, and swear to its truth. The Man-eaters are of all men the most savage in their manner of life; they know no justice and obey no law. They are nomads, wearing a dress like the Scythian, but speaking a language of their own; they are the only people of all these that eat men. (*Hist.* 4.105-6)

Likewise, the remotest peoples from the *Omphalos* where Greeks achieved the highest cultural prosperity were considered as the most savage peoples of an inferior cultural identity. Romm describes this group as follow: "Ethnocentrism…denotes a construct of space which sees the centre of the world as the best or most advanced

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[137] Ibid., 79.

[138] In Homer, the furthest of men was always identified with the Ethiopians. Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 49.

[139] Cole, "I Know the Number," 199.

location, and therefore demotes distant peoples the status of unworthy savages. An inversion of this scheme, by contrast, privileges the edges of the earth over the centre."[140] By comparing themselves with archaic Barbarians and primeval savages, Greeks called themselves ἥμεροι, "civilized."[141] Subsequently, their travel used to be an encounter of the civilized peoples with the savage "other" who resides in the wilderness areas and distant territories. In doing so, Greeks consolidated their ethnic privilege in comparison to the rest of the *oikoumene*.

1.1.5. Summary

The term, *oikoumene*, is a significant word that signifies the Greek reflection on the entire world. The discussions on the *oikoumene* are composed of the world and its peoples. The Greek understanding of the *oikoumene* is a result of scientific geography, based on their *periploi* and ideological description of the world. Basically, the *oikoumene* signifies inhabitable zones within the entire globe. In this light, the *oikoumene* is a symbolic representation of the inhabited world from the viewpoint of the Greeks. However, their understanding of the term is more than the conception of the inhabitable zones. The *oikoumene* suggests the Greek understanding of ethnocentrism, as it relates with the inhabitants on the earth. The perception of the *oikoumene* reflects Greek superiority as the central locus of the *oikoumene*. In the process, the geographic term, *oikoumene*, was employed to serve rhetorical purposes as well as an ideological sense. Thus, the primary benefit from their exploration of the *oikoumene* was to ascertain their vision toward the entire known world. Their broad understanding of their worldview is condensed in this single term.

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[140] Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 46.
[141] Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 99; cf. Geus, "Space and Geography," 234. However, Romm provides a contrasting view regarding the savagery of the distant peoples, based on Ephorus' arguments. According to Ephorus, the Noman Scythians are ethical and normative rather than the Greeks in the centre of the world. Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 46-47. For further discussion on Romm's viewpoint toward the Ethiopians and the Hyperboreans, see 45-81.

In particular, Strabo, who lived in the first century BCE, presents the *oikoumene* not only as the inhabited world with scientific illustration, but also the Roman Empire, itself, with a political sense. Such a direction foretells how the conception of the *oikoumene* is discussed with diverse meanings in the Roman period.

1.2. The *Oikoumene* in the Roman World

Like the Greeks, the Romans also had a significant concern for the inhabited world and thus took an interest in the *oikoumene*. The Roman understanding of the *oikoumene* is rooted in that of the Greeks; they deliberately adopted basic components of Greek culture, including geographic and cartographic skills, but conceptually re-interpreted the Greek legacy.[142] They identified the Greek concept of the *oikoumene* with the Latin, *orbis terrae* or *terrarum*.[143] In particular, Roman thought on the *oikoumene* was heightened in the period of the early Empire. It was relevant and important for their execution of military expeditions and territorial conquest around the Mediterranean Sea and, in this way, obtaining geographical information from the Greeks was useful.[144] To be sure, the spread of the Roman imperial rule provided geographers with a considerable supplement to their knowledge of geography, just as the campaign of Alexander did for the Greek geographers in the Hellenistic period (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.2.1).[145] Through continuous conquests, they expanded their knowledge of the *oikoumene*, based upon actual observations and exploration. By doing so, the Romans made more practical and concrete contributions to cartography than the

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[142] Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 17.

[143] Benet Salway, "Putting the World in Order: Mapping in Roman Texts," in *Ancient Perspectives*, 197. Latin has *oecumene* as equivalent to the *oikoumene* but usually the Romans employed the *orbis terrarum* to denote the inhabited world.

[144] The critical role of the army in expanding geographical knowledge meant that the Romans perceived themselves as the conquerors of unknown lands, and they were *proud* of this. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 40. And, as for general descriptions about reciprocal relations between geography and military conquest, see ibid., 26-41; Nicolet, *Space*, 85-94; Richard J. A. Talbert, "*Urbs Roma* to *Orbis Romanus*: Roman Mapping on the Grand Scale," in *Ancient Perspectives*, 168-9.

[145] Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 3.4.19; Polybius, *Hist.* 3.59.

Greeks did with their theoretical and abstract cartographic skills.[146] Romans took over classical and Hellenistic conceptions of the *oikoumene* with specific improvements.

The Roman *oikoumene* can be highlighted by two stances. On the one hand, the *oikoumene* was a matter of interest for Romans and thus they attempted to understand the shape and extent of that; on the other hand, they utilized the term to formulate their imperial ideology by symbolizing their hegemony over the conquered world. Likewise, in the Roman period, the *oikoumene* was employed to develop diverse aspects of cartography such as geographical and political aspects, and the space of cultural identity.[147] Such an expanded sense of the *oikoumene* characterizes the Roman *oikoumene*.

1.2.1. The Shape of the *Oikoumene*

Romans acknowledged that the inhabited/inhabitable world was simply part of the entire world. Cicero notes that "the earth is inhabited in only a few portions…very small" (*Rep.* 6.19.20). Moreover, "Examine this northern zone which you inhabit, and you will see what a small portion of it belongs to you Romans. For that whole territory which you hold…is really only a small island surrounded by that sea which you on the earth call the Atlantic, the Great Sea, or the Ocean" (*Rep.* 6.20.21).[148] But, their geographic concern encouraged them to establish the conceptions of the entire *oikoumene*.

Similar to the Greeks, the Romans claimed that the world seems like a disk surrounded by the outer Ocean (Ovid, *Metam.* 2.5-7; Mela, *De chor.* 1.3-8). Also, as in Greek thought, the Romans divided the inhabited world into three continents—Asia, Africa, and Europe—grouped around the Mediterranean Sea, called *mare nostrum*

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[146] Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," 487.
[147] Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 2, 8-11.
[148] Stewart argues that Cicero accepts other *oikoumenai* but these *oikoumenai* do not belong to the Romans' *oikoumene*. As for a detailed explanation of Cicero, see Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 78.

(Latin, "our sea"). Pomponius Mela, a Roman geographer, provides a project called *De Chorographia* which covers the whole world region by region.[149] He claims that the *oikoumene* is an oblong entity encircled by the Ocean (*De Chor.* 1.5–6). He divides it into the two hemispheres: Asia on the east and Europe and Africa on the west.[150] From north to south, Mela again divides the world into five zones: two cold, two temperate, and one hot. His illustration shows how widely Hellenistic geographical theories permeated Roman thought. Pliny the Elder also adopted the Greek heritage.[151] In his encyclopaedic book, *Natural History*, comprising thirty-seven books, Pliny illustrates the *oikoumene* in books 3-6 with materials of potential cartographic concern. He asserts that the earth is surrounded by Ocean (*Nat.* 2.112, 242). And he concedes the tripartite composition of the inhabited world. He portrays the world which begins in the west and ends in the east (*Nat.* 3.1.3).[152] Like the Greeks, the Romans preferred to assume a horizontal structure in an oval form, emphasizing an east-west axis (cf. Ovid, *Her.* 9.15–16), and latitude rather than longitude. In addition, Pliny, like his ancestors, divided the inhabited world into five zones determined by climate (*Nat.* 2.68.172). It is analogous to the Greek description of the world (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.2.1).[153] At least, by the first century CE, the Roman image of the *oikoumene* displayed a notable Greek legacy.[154]

As the Roman Empire continued to expand its territorial influence over the Mediterranean Sea by the first century CE, Roman geographers updated previous maps.

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[149] As for Mela, see Kai Brodersen, "Space and Geography," in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* (eds. Alessandro Barchiesi and Walter Scheidel; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 830-32.

[150] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 66.

[151] As for Pliny's geography, see Ibid, 66-72; Trevor M. Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 129-164.

[152] "The whole circuit of the earth is divided into three parts: Europe, Asia and Africa (*Terrarum orbis universus in tres dividitur partes, Europam Asiam Africam*). The starting point is in the west, at the Straits of Gibraltar, where the Atlantic Ocean bursts in and spreads out into the inland seas. On the right as you enter from the ocean is Africa and on the left Europe, with Asia between them; the boundaries are the river Don and the river Nile" (*Nat.* 3.1.3)

[153] Particularly, Pliny the Elder claims a Eurocentric view. He notes "To begin then with Europe, nurse of the race that has conquered all the nations, and by far the loveliest portion of the earth, which most authorities" (*Nat.* 3.1.5)

[154] Strabo comments that Roman authors generally are imitators of the Greeks and that what they relate, they merely translate from the Greeks. (*Geogr.* 3.4.19)

In particular, Ptolemy set out to accomplish three prominent tasks for the *oikoumene*: first, the size and location of the *oikoumene*; second, the location of a specific place upon a world map; third, the mathematical construction of a world map.[155] Ptolemy devoted a great deal of space to develop geographical knowledge through his works known as the *Almagest*, a complete astronomical exposition of mathematical astronomy, *Tetrabiblos*, and the *Geography*. In the *Almagest*, he used astronomy to map the terrestrial world. He accepted as a matter of course that the earth was a sphere (*Alm.* 1.4).[156] He estimated the circumference of the earth at 250,000 stadia and discovered that the entire *oikoumene* correspond to one quarter of this sphere, bound on the south by the equator and on the east and west by a single meridian circle (*Alm.* 2.1). Besides *Almagest*, another astrological book, *Tetrabiblos*, provides Ptolemy's erudite research on the *oikoumene*. In this book, Ptolemy situates the *oikoumene* inside half of the northern hemisphere.[157] In particular, his book, *Guide to Drawing a Map of the Oikoumene*, called *Geographia*, in the mid-second century CE, is considered as culmination of the mapmaking of the Greeks to the Romans. This book provides instructions on how to draw a world map both on a globe and on a flat surface.[158] Through these works, Ptolemy contributes to the Romans the ability to envisage the shape of the *oikoumene*.

To sum up, Roman geography and the Roman perception of the inhabited world were developed from the Greek tradition. Their general image of the world was quite schematic and oval-shaped, framed by climatic zones and surrounded by the Ocean.[159] Like the Greeks, the Roman perception of the inhabited world was also influenced by "a

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[155] Whitfield, *The Image of the World*, 8.
[156] J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 20-22.
[157] Ibid., 129-131.
[158] Richard J. A. Talbert, "The Roman Worldview: Beyond Recovery?" in *Geography and Ethnography*, 259. Talbert claims that this book provides instructions on how to draw a world map both on a globe and on a flat surface.
[159] For the general image of the world in the Roman Empire, see Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 24-80.

partly theoretical, partly mythologized image of an elliptical land mass and a primeval ocean."[160]

1.2.2. The *Oikoumene* Conquered in a Political Sense

1.2.2.1. The *Oikoumene* Subjugated to the Roman Empire

To be sure, the Romans had a concern regarding the shape and extent of the inhabitable world. However, their notion is not simply limited to explicate the realm of the inhabitable world in terms of geography, but it has broadened the range of its meaning. In that era, Roman territory advanced toward peoples who were not known and into places that were not known to them. There is no doubt that through territorial expansion by military expeditions, they acquired new geographical knowledge of the world. Also, the geographical information served for their further expansion. In this process, it is noteworthy that while Roman geographers attempted to clarify the image and extent of the *oikoumene*, Roman authorities exploited the term *oikoumene*, or the notion of the *orbis terrarum* in Latin, to propagate their imperial power. Namely, the concept of the *oikoumene* was dominantly used for them to magnify their realm of power. Accordingly, the geographical term, *oikoumene*, gradually became a political concept to signify the realm subjugated and incorporated into Roman hegemony. Likewise, geography and politics interacted with and complemented each other.[161] Romans interpreted it in a political sense. Even if the *oikoumene* was considered as a subject to be investigated by Greek and Roman geographers, for Roman military leaders, it was an object for military encroachment.

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[160] Ibid., 55.

[161] "Ancient affairs of state had a close relationship with geography. Military campaigns were often stimulated by expanding geographical horizons, and ideally required well-established geographical information to succeed. At the same time, political achievements and military conquests enhanced geographical knowledge and expanded the borders of the known world both physically and conceptually. It is therefore no coincidence that the history of geography in antiquity is often associated with conquest. Generally speaking, geography and politics nourished one another." Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 10.

By the end of the third century BCE, Rome had become the dominant power in the western Mediterranean, and they then expanded military authority into the east as well. Rome's universal dominion spread out to the known world. By the first century CE, Roman power conquered the lands around the Mediterranean world and they construed their empire as synonymous with the entire *oikoumene* or the *orbis terrarum*.[162] The Romans believed that their imperial territory corresponded to the scope of the entire *oikoumene*. In other words, they believed that they had begun to subjugate almost the entire inhabitable lands around the Mediterranean. Plutarch notes that Pompey's first triumph over Libya, second over Europe, and his last over Asia, represented a triumph over 'the whole world' (*Pomp*. 45.5). It was a well-accepted notion in Roman imperial ideology, consistent in image and text in the Roman period. As a result, the *oikoumene* became a representative term to denote the conquered world by the Roman Empire, rather than simply that of the inhabited world by human beings.

Of course, this Roman concept of the *oikoumene* conflicts with the Greek geographic understanding of the term. Given that the *oikoumene* was a standard term for indicating the inhabitable zones in the Hellenistic period, as discussed above, one can say that the Roman *oikoumene* excluded those regions which are not subjugated by the empire. In a sense, they seem to restrict the *oikoumene* to their own areas; that is, the Romans shortened the boundaries of the *oikoumene* to include the realm of Roman territory. This is relevant in terms of the distorted image of the world in the minds of the ancient peoples, and was also relevant for the ancient Greeks, because they had employed such a strategy, since the period of Alexander the Great. Even though Greek geographers seemed to make constant efforts to delineate the *oikoumene* with accuracy, at the same time, several geographers and historians provided a distorted portrayal of

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[162] Regarding that matter, Mattern provides an example: "Tiberius' and Drusus' campaigns in central Europe discovered the source of the Danube River, and campaigns in Germany under Augustus advanced Roman knowledge about the Cimbric peninsula, or modern Denmark, and islands of the Baltic Sea." Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 29; cf. Nicolet, *Space*, 15-28.

the world by manufacturing the account of Alexander's expedition and amplifying Alexander's love of glory and fame (Strabo, *Geogr.* 11.7.4).

According to Strabo, the historians are "fabricators…[and] cared for flattery rather than truth" (*Geogr.* 11.5.5) and they "distort[ed] geographical detail for propaganda purposes" and "moved the boundaries of the *oikoumene*" for the fame of Alexander.[163] Similar to the Greeks, Romans also manipulated the boundaries of the *oikoumene* into their own territory for the fame of the empire and to emphasize their magnificent conquests. For the Romans, the *oikoumene* was used to serve rhetorical and ideological purposes, even though the extent of Roman *oikoumene* did not coincide with the exact range of the inhabited areas. In this respect, for the Romans, the term, *oikoumene*, provides another aspect, a geo-political symbol rather than a scientific-geographical image.

Various texts written by Greek historians and geographers displayed Rome as the world power and the ruler of the *oikoumene*.[164] In particular, even within the texts written by Greek geographers, the *oikoumene* is employed to signify the inhabitable world as well as Roman hegemony. Even though Polybius was considered a writer who left worthy geographical sources for studying the *oikoumene*, he is one of the first to use the *oikoumene* as a political term to indicate the world reigned by Rome.[165]

> the Romans in less than fifty-three years have succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world (*oikoumene*) to their sole government (*Hist.* 1.1.5); The Romans have subjected to their rule not portions, but nearly the whole of the world (Ῥωμαῖοί γε μὴν οὐ τινὰ μέρη, σχεδὸν δὲ πᾶσαν πεποιημένοι τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκοον αὑτοῖς) (1.2.7); The subject I have undertaken to treat, the how, when, and wherefore of the subjection of the known parts of the world to the dominion of Rome, should be viewed as a single whole, with a recognized beginning, a fixed duration, and an end which is not a matter of dispute (3.1.4); the Romans dealt with each contingency and thus subjected the whole world to their rule (Ῥωμαῖοι πᾶσαν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκοον αὑτοῖς). (3.3.9)

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[163] Dueck, "Geographical Narrative of Strabo," 245.
[164] Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.3.4-5; Cassius Dio, *Hist. rom.* 9.40.19; Polybius, *Hist.* 1.1.5; Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 14.4-14.; Aristides, *Rome.* 28, 36, 63; Appian, *Hist. Rom.* pref. 7.
[165] Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 168-171.

Polybius employs ὑπήκοος to signal obedience of the *oikoumene* under the Romans. He was aware of the political aspect of the term as well.[166] Strabo also notes "the whole *oikoumene* under one rule [the Roman Empire]" (*Geogr.* 1.1.16).[167]

1.2.2.2. The *Orbis terrarum*

Latin texts employ the term, *orbis terrarum*, to signal the inhabited world (*oikoumene*), meaning the circle of the world. Clifford Ando explains the *orbis terrarum* as follows:

> *Orbis* had frequently signified the entire world even when not accompanied by *terrarum*…They [Roman poets], however, attached the adjective "Roman" to it [*orbis*], in order to designate that portion of the globe occupied by the empire. But the phrase *orbis Romanus* did more than substitute for *imperium Romanum*. The latter indicated the sphere of Roman political power. *Orbis Romanus* did, too, by labelling that sphere the world. From the middle of the first century prose authors began to adopt this usage. They often spoke not of "the Roman world," but of "our world."[168]

The *orbis Romanus* reveals the Roman perspective on the inhabited world. By employing the phrase, Romans identify the *orbis terrarum* (or *oikoumene*) with the *orbis Romanus*. Their understanding of the *oikoumene* corresponds to their own world. Whereas Greeks, such as Polybius and Strabo, distinguished its geographical aspect and political understanding, and acknowledged both meanings, Roman propaganda erased the distinction.[169] Romans newly constructed the concept of the boundaries of the *oikoumene*. They erased the distinction between the *oikoumene* (*orbis terrarum*) and the Roman world (*orbis Romanus*):[170] "the *orbis terrarum* is already contained within our *imperium*" (Cicero, *Rep.* 3.15.24). Also, "[Romans] would attempt to usurp that

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[166] Regarding Polybius' political stance in geography, see Nicolet, *Space,* 30-31. Also, as for overall studies for Polybius' geographical and political conceptions, see F. W. Walbank, *Polybius, Rome, and the Hellenistic World: Essays and Reflections* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13-21, 31-52.

[167] As for Strabo's general perspective of the Roman Empire, see Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 85-144.

[168] Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2000), 327-28.

[169] Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 188.

[170] Ibid., 188. For further discussion, see Ando, *Imperial Ideology*. Chapter 8 "*Orbis Terrarum* and *Orbis Romanus*"

sovereignty over the whole world which all the civilized peoples, kings, and barbarous

nations have accepted, in part compelled either by the arms of Rome or by her

generosity" (*Rhet. Her*. IV 13). By doing so, they identified the *oikoumene* with the

Roman world. Likewise, the *oikoumene*, or its Latin equivalent the *orbis terrarum*,

served ideological and rhetorical purposes for hailing imperial hegemony.

From the perspective of the Romans, Rome was represented as the world itself.

As Ovid states, "The land of other nations has a fixed boundary: the circuit of Rome is

the circuit of the world" (Ovid, *Fast.* 2.684). Namely, it was the identification of the

city of Rome with the entire world.[171] Likewise, Romans had their *own* mental image

of the inhabited world, an image which is represented through various ways, such as

maps, texts, visual images, and architecture.

1.2.2.3. The *Oikoumene* and the Roman Texts in the Era of Augustus

The Roman political imagery of the *oikoumene*[172] is displayed in numerous

Latin texts and map.[173] The Roman geography evolved from the Greeks but it was

more practical and political than that of the Greeks. Their map was *geo-political* in

essence and was useful for propaganda and administration. To use the phrases of Harley,

Roman geographical texts and maps have been pre-eminently "the weapons of

imperialism"[174] and "a language of power."[175] During the Roman territorial expansion,

they desired to propagate their triumphant imperial ideology and control effectively in

the colonized world. What is more, in order to govern the *oikoumene,* Romans needed

to know, measure, and draw the *oikoumene*.[176] Consequently, Romans endeavoured to

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[171] Valerie Hope, "The City of Rome: Capital and Symbol," in *Experiencing Rome : Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire* (ed. Janet Huskinson; London: Routledge, 2000), 63-91.
[172] For consistent illustration, this thesis employs the *oikoumene* even in descriptions of Latin texts instead of the *orbis terrarum*.
[173] Richard J. A. Talbert, "Cartography and Taste in Peutinger's Roman Map," in *Space in the Roman World*; Talbert, "*Urbs Roma* to *Orbis Romanus*."
[174] Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 282.
[175] Ibid., 301.
[176] Nicolet, *Space*, 95.

draw a world map. The Romans felt the necessity of a detailed *oikoumene* map for their effective conquest, measurement, and control. Such necessity promoted them to produce developed geographical products. Among them, one begins with Agrippa's world map.

1.2.2.3.1. Agrippa's World Map

Agrippa initiated the construction of a world map, sponsored by the emperor Augustus, but it was only completed after his death in 12 BCE.[177] It was displayed in a portico in Rome. Unfortunately, we do not have any remains of the map, but scholars have investigated the map by relying on ancient writers' references to Agrippa and his map.[178] According to Pliny the Elder, "Agrippa was a very painstaking man, and also a very careful geographer" (*Nat.* 3.1.17). Agrippa's map was truly geographical and described the whole of the *orbis terrarum*, not only the *orbis Romanus* and its provinces.[179] Agrippa adopted the work taken by Eratosthenes, plotting the tripartite *oikoumene* and dividing it into twenty-four regions with accuracy. But, for Agrippa, the shape of the *oikoumene* is not a circle but an oblong and rectangular in general layout.[180] Just as Greek geographers did, Agrippa divided the *oikoumene* into zones in terms of its temperature: two polar zones at the top and bottom; a torrid equatorial zone; and two habitable zones.[181] The map of Agrippa is nearly the actual shape of the earth.

However, in terms of geo-politics, Agrippa made an effort "to build up a new image of Rome as the benevolent head of a vast empire,"[182] which became a useful tool

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[177] Kai Brodersen refutes the assumption that Romans employ the term, "world map." Brodersen, "Mapping (in) the Ancient World," 184-5. Rather, instead of a word for "map," the Romans have left several terms to denote the world map: *itinerarium pictum* (painted itinerary), *descriptio mundi* (representation of the world), or *tabula* (tablet, public record, picture). Emily Albu, "The Battle of the Maps in a Christian Empire," in *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity* (eds. Claudia Rapp and H. A. Drake; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 204.

[178] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 39-54.

[179] Nicolet appraises the map as "the most complete, the most spectacular, and certainly the most exact for its day. Nicolet, *Space*, 7.

[180] For detailed explanations of the regions, see Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 41-53.

[181] Talbert, "*Urbs Roma* to *Orbis Romanus*," 168.

[182] Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, 41. As for the relationship between geography and imperial ideology, see R. Moynihan, "Geographical Mythology and Roman Imperial Ideology," in *The Age of Augustus* (ed.

for the propaganda of imperial Rome. Agrippa's world map harmonized with Augustus' purpose to rule the world under the reign of the Roman Empire.[183] As a result, Agrippa's world map was used as an instrument of propaganda to further Roman imperial expansion by promoting the establishment of colonies and encouraging trade throughout the Empire and beyond.[184] In the era of Augustus, the imperial impact on geography was influential. Consequently, a map functioned not only as a direction of itinerary for travellers and commanders, but also a symbolic method for the propaganda of imperial ideology. Paul Zanker notes that Agrippa's world map "was intended to give the Roman people an idea of 'their' empire and heighten their awareness of being *princeps terrarum populus*."[185] The imperial authorities tried to manipulate public perception about the territory where they lived. Thus, the empire utilized geography for making people feel the magnificence of their own empire, Rome, and to recognize their region as one glorious empire.

1.2.2.3.2. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*

The Roman Empire was categorically assumed as having unlimited supreme power in the Emperor Augustus's era.[186] Augustus, referred to as "father of the human race" (Horace, *Saec.* 1.12.49–52; 4.15),[187] was recognized as a holder of absolute authority within the entire *oikoumene* (Strabo, *Geogr.* 6.4.2).[188] Augustus' conception of the *oikoumene* clearly appears in the *Res Gestae*, the funerary inscription of Augustus at his mausoleum, giving a first-person record of his accomplishments. Claude Nicolet

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Rolf Winkes; Providence: Brown University Press, 1985).

[183] Nicolet, *Space*, 111.

[184] Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," 488-89.

[185] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 143.

[186] Schmidt, "Oikoumene," 74.

[187] Cited from Gary Gilbert, "The List of Nations in Acts 2: Roman Propaganda and the Lukan Response," *JBL* 121 (2002): 512.

[188] According to Dueck, this text signifies the fact that even dwellers at the edge of the world acknowledged Augustus' greatness. Dueck, "Geographical Narrative of Strabo," 246. Cf. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 96-106.

refs to that as "the cosmocratic tradition of the Roman *triumphatores*."[189] Augustus

had the *Res Gestae* inscribed on temple walls throughout the empire.

Res Gestae begins with the phrase: "A copy is set out below of 'The

achievements of the Divine Augustus, by which he brought the world (*orbis terraum*)

under the empire of the Roman people." Augustus claimed, "I undertook many civil and

foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world (*orbis terrarum*), and as a visitor I

spared the lives of all citizens who asked for mercy. When foreign peoples could safely

be pardoned I preferred to preserve rather than to exterminate them," (*RG.* 3) reflecting

Augustus's attitude toward the world and self-identity as well. He describes himself as a

saviour and military leader. As a victor, Augustus "secured peace by land and sea

throughout the whole empire of the Roman people" (*RG.* 13), and "extended the

territory of all those provinces of the Roman people on whose borders lay peoples not

subject to our government" (*RG.* 26). In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus presents himself

unifying all the nations under the auspices of the empire of the Roman people. He rules

orbis terrarum not only by exploring and conquering the nations, but also through

showing mercy, thus causing them to recognize the universal sovereignty of the Roman

Empire.[190]

Res Gestae justifies Rome's conquest of the entire inhabited world, and the

oikoumene is Rome's realm. For Augustus, the *oikoumene* is the newly perceived world

which is discovered, explored, subjugated, and secured for the Roman Empire.[191] *Res*

Gestae made the Roman people feel that the territorial expansion and invasion of the

Roman Empire was justifiable. Also, it helped Romans to recognize that they were

living in the *oikoumene*, and protected by a divine saviour, the emperor Augustus. In

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[189] Nicolet, *Space*, 11.
[190] Davina C. Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered: Reimagining Paul's Mission* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2010), 94.
[191] Nicolet, *Space*, 15-24.

this sense, *Res Gestae* represented "a visual narrative expressing the conquest of the world."[192] It was a masterpiece of political geography in the era of Augustus.

1.2.2.4. The Visual Representation of the *Oikoumene*

The Roman authorities attempted to obtain acknowledgment of the empire's mastery across the entire *oikoumene*. Consequently, the authorities emphasized a worldview with vast imperial vision so that they provided visual representations of the *oikoumene* for pedagogical value and purposes. As a result, they established various methods to accommodate peoples to perceive their empire's magnificence through their own eyes. For instance, Agrippa's map of the world was located to the east of the Campus Martius because it needed to be viewed by the people of Rome in public. As for the display, Eumenius describes it as follows:

> In [the school's] porticoes let the young men see and examine daily every land and all the seas and whatever cities, peoples, nations our most invincible rulers either restore by affection or conquer by valor or restrain by fear. Since for the purpose of instructing the youth, to have them learn more clearly with their eyes what they comprehend less readily by their ears, there are pictured in that spot – as I believe you distance between them (*omnium cum nominibus suis locorum situs spatia intervalla descripta sunt*), the sources and mouths of all the rivers, the curves of all the coastline's indentations, and the Ocean, both where its circuit girds the earth and where its pressure breaks into it...For now, now at last it is a delight to examine a picture of the world, since we see nothing in it which is not ours (*iuvat orbem spectare depictum, cum in illo nihil videmus alienum*) (*Pane. Lat.* 9(4).20.2-21.3)[193]

The purpose of instructing the youth is to allow them to have an imperial worldview. In this manner, Roman geographers set "before the eyes" of Romans a mental image of the *orbis terrarum* (Pliny, *Nat.* 3.17).

While the *Res Gestae* affirms the completion of the conquest of the *oikoumene* in geographical terms within a literary text, Romans utilized a symbolic representation of conquering the *oikoumene* to shed light on their achievements.[194] They fabricated an

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[192] Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 95.
[193] Cited from Talbert, "The Roman Worldview," 256-7.
[194] For further discussion on symbols in the Augustan era, see Zanker, *Power of Images in Augustus*.

image of the *oikoumene*. Caesar wished to display the universal domination of the *oikoumene* by using symbolic images.[195] It appears in Dio's *Roman History* which narrates the fact that Caesar trod on the image of the *oikoumene*: "On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees…or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it" (Cassius Dio, *Hist. rom.* 43.14.6).[196] Even though it is a hypothetical reconstruction about the image without visible evidence at that period, it clarifies the fact that Romans desired to represent the symbolic image of the *oikoumene*.

The *oikoumene* was usually represented as a globe. The sphere as a symbol of power stands for their absolute control of the *oikoumene*.[197] For instance, the silver sups from Boscoreale [Fig. 3] display two related scenes featuring Augustus. On the one side of this cup, Augustus is enthroned in the centre of the scene and holds a globe. Holding a small figure of Victoria in her right hand, Venus places a victory on the globe that he already holds.[198] By doing so, this scene displays the feature of the *oikoumene* held by the Roman emperor. On the other side of the cup, defeated barbarians of the *oikoumene* recognize Augustus as their master and then celebrate his *clementia*.

[Fig. 3] A Silver cup from Boscoreale (12 CE)[199]

[195] Nicolet, *Space*, 36-41.
[196] Dio notes again the existence of the image of the o*ikoumene* in *Hist. Rom.* 43.21.2.
[197] Philip R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon 1986), 367.
[198] Zanker, *Power of Images in Augustus*, 230.
[199] https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft309nb1mw&chunk.id=d0e182&toc.id=d0e182&brand=ucpress

As for another symbolic presentation on the globe of the *oikoumene*, a coin of Hadrian provides a clear image which reflects the Roman concept of the *oikoumene* [Fig. 4]: at the feet of the standing Hadrian, there is the figure of a woman, with her knee on the ground and the globe in her left hand.[200] Personifying the *oikoumene* [or *orbis terrarum*], she knelt down before the Roman Emperor.

[Fig. 4] Coin of Hadrian: *orbis terrarum*[201]

Likewise, the *oikoumene* as a symbol serves as a resource for hailing the Romans' triumphant achievements. For the purpose, Romans fabricated various visual devices for her peoples to vividly perceive the Roman *oikoumene* across the known world.

1.2.3. The Construction of the Roman *Oikoumene*

1.2.3.1. Centre

Romans also reflected on the *oikoumene* in a political sense. This stance gave the effect of the layout of the *oikoumene* as well. Romans also emphasized the centrality of Rome and identified themselves as a central people, just as the Greeks did.[202]

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[200] Nicolet, *Space*, 40.
[201] https://www.vcoins.com/en/stores/incitatus_coins/79/product/hadrian_ae_sestertius_restitutori_orbis_ terrarum_hadrian_raising_female_figure_who_holds_large_globe/163456/Default.aspx
[202] As for the site of Rome, see Cicero, *Rep*. 2.5-11; 6.21; *Leg*. 2.96; Pliny, *Nat*. 2.80.190; 2.65.176; 2.65.161-665; 37.201.

Whereas the Greeks had claimed Delphi as the centre of the *oikoumene*,[203] Romans believed that the city of Rome functioned as the new *Omphalos* of the *oikoumene*. The city of Rome played a decisive role as the head of the immense body that was the empire.[204] Since the city was the place where the Roman emperor resided, Augustus asserted that the centre of power would remain fixed geographically, politically, and spiritually in Rome, itself.[205]

However, strictly speaking, the geographical location of Rome was not at the centre of the inhabited world. Rather, Rome may have been viewed as the end of the world (*terra incognita*) to peoples in the East. From the perspective of the Greeks, the Romans were located in the westernmost area of the Greek understanding of the *oikoumene*. As Benet Salway points out with validity, it is surprising that Romans assert their central position horizontally as well as vertically, despite the fact that they were influenced by the Greek geographical heritage, namely, a Greek-centred worldview.[206] Romans were also aware that most of the inhabitable world was located to the east of their land, Italy. Nevertheless, Romans claimed their central position, based on Rome's central location around the Mediterranean Sea, the so-called *mare nostrum*, "our sea," in Latin. At least, in terms of the geographical perspective around the Mediterranean, there is no doubt that Rome held a central position. Consequently, Roman authorities induced Roman citizens to view Rome as the alternative *Omphalos* of the world and fabricated an image of Rome situated at the centre of the cosmos. A Roman architect, Vitruvius, wrote that "it is in the true mean within the space of all the world and the regions of the earth, that the Roman people holds its territories…Thus the divine mind has allotted to the Roman state an excellent and temperate region in order to rule the world" (Vitruvius,

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[203] Among the Romans, Ovid affirms Delphi as the centre of the world. *Metam.* 10.167-8.
[204] Nicolet, *Space*, 192.
[205] Ibid., 192. However, Stewart claims that "The idea of a moving imperial centre developed during Augustus' travels….The centre of the empire moved with the ruler…Wherever he went, that site became the centre of politics and the only place where major political decisions could be made." Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 173. Also, see Werner Eck, *The Age of Augustus* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 105.
[206] Salway, "Putting the World," 196-7.

De arch. 6.1.10–11). Besides the Romans, even the Greek geographer Strabo agreed with this point, noting that Rome is situated "in the middle (ἐν μέσῳ)...and through its superiority in courage and size...suited to hegemony" (*Geogr.* 6.4.1).[207] Moreover, Strabo magnified the Rome-centred concentric expansion.

> Since the Romans occupy the best and the best known portions of it (*oikoumene*), having surpassed all former rulers...setting out with only one city, Rome, the Romans acquired the whole of Italy through warfare and statesmanlike ruler-ship, and that, after Italy, by exercising the same superior qualities, they also acquired the regions round about Italy. And of the continents...they hold almost the whole of Europe...Of Libya, the whole of the coast on Our Sea is subject to them...of Asia also, the whole of the coast on Our Sea is subject to them...some further portion is constantly being taken from these peoples and added to the possessions of the Romans (*Geogr.* 17.3.24).

It indicates that Rome possessed the core of the *oikoumene*, and from the city, the Romans unfolded their hegemony toward Italy, Europe, Libya, and Asia (in that order). This illustration reinforces the idea that Rome's centrality was a political perception rather than a geographical aspect.[208] In this manner, Strabo conceptualizes the *oikoumene* as spreading in concentric circles around their *own* centre, Rome. Strabo clearly describes Rome as a "fixed physical entity in a crucial position."[209] In doing so, Strabo's *Geography* constructs a circular model which composed of a primary centre [Rome] and a periphery.[210] This conception, rooted in Roman centrality, motivated them to rationalize that Rome is qualified to hold hegemony over her neighbours, thereby consolidating their power. The centrality of the city of Rome also appears in the work of another Greek writer, Dionysius of Halicarnassus: "The city of the Romans rules the entire earth...and she rules all the sea, not only that within the Pillars of Hercules but also the Ocean, as much as is navigable; she is the first and only city in all history that limits her power at the rising and setting of the sun" (*Ant. rom.* 1.3.3).

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[207] For Strabo's perception of Rome, see Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 85-96.
[208] Ann Vasaly, *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 133-134; Nicolet, *Space*, 29-56.
[209] Clarke, *Geography and History*, 217.
[210] Ibid., 210.

What is more, the Rome-centred hegemony was strengthened by her function as a cultural and political focal point in that time.[211] Katherine Clarke claims that Rome was a "hub" for sources to converge and a "low-lying drain that draws all surrounding fluid inward."[212] As Aristides illustrates, "all meet here [Rome], trade, shipping, agriculture, metallurgy, all the arts and crafts" (Aristides, *Or.* 13),[213] implying that in Italy and the Mediterranean world, Rome was the hub where diverse cultures and sources converged. Romans emphasized the limitless flow of power from Rome toward the end of the world: "the impression of a city [Rome] stretching out indefinitely" (Dionysius Hal., *Ant. rom.* 4.13.4-5)."[214] Such concern with Rome can be explained as their strategy to build the global centrality of Rome by usurping the central position from the Hellenistic world. To use C.R. Whittaker's term, it can be characterized as the "*Omphalos* syndrome" around the Mediterranean Sea.[215]

Consequently, the world was perceived through the image that was viewed from the perspective of the importance of the city of Rome: "before the eyes of Rome a survey of the world he made…" (Pliny, *Nat.* 3.17). Pliny examines the world from the higher centre, Rome. His description of the world is essentially an imagined view from a high place.[216] Pliny describes the world to allow "the reader's eye to sweep over the

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[211] Ibid., 210-28.

[212] Osman Umurhan and Todd Penner, "Luke and Juvenal at the Crossroads: Space, Movement, and Morality in the Roman Empire," in *Texts and Editions for New Testament Study: Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture : Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament* (eds. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew Pitts; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 173; Clarke, *Geography and History*, 10.

[213] The Romans managed the world as if it were one *polis*. (Aritstides, *Or.* 30) "But of this city, great in every respect, no one could say that she has not created power in keeping with her magnitude. No, if one looks at the whole empire and reflects how small a fraction rules the whole world, he may be amazed at the city, but when he has beheld the city herself and the boundaries of the city, he can no longer be amazed that the entire civilized world is ruled by one so great." (Aristides, *To Rome*, 9)

[214] Hope, "City of Rome," 83.

[215] Whittaker notes that "The illusion of the global centrality of Rome was created by the geographic theory of the continents and by chorographic itineraries, regardless of whether they were illustrated in map form or not—a typical example of the 'Omphalos syndrome' employed by every imperial power." In C. R. Whittaker, "Mental Maps: Seeing Like a Roman," in *Thinking Like a Lawyer: Essays on Legal History and General History for John Crook on His Eightieth Birthday* (eds. J. A. Crook and Paul McKechnie; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 104.

[216] Murphy notes that the conceptual geography of the Romans was dominated by five imaginative modes: (a) imagining a region as the itinerary of a journey from sea to sea; (b) an imagined view from a high place; (c) zones defined by their typical soil and climate; (d) the nearest places to which Romans went: as, for example, the zone of the enemy, the Gauls; or (e) a geometric schema described by

orbis terrarum as a thing to be possessed."[217] As for the reason of a higher Rome, Pliny

describes that Rome is "chosen by the will of the gods to make heaven itself more

splendid, to unite scattered empires, …in brief, to become the single fatherland of all

nations throughout the world" (*Nat*. 3.5). Likewise, this "Triumphal geography"

heightens the position of central Rome.[218] The city represents the world in terms of

synecdoche constituting its head and in terms of metonymy standing for its totality.[219]

Consequently, the power that flowed from Rome pervaded the whole *oikoumene* and it

caused entire places to be opened for the imperial presence.[220] By doing so, the

oikoumene was shaped by the imperial sacredness.[221] An ancient ecumenism, therefore,

became a form of hegemony or empire.[222]

1.2.3.2. Roman Provinces and Network

Rome found herself at the centre of the *orbis terrarum*. In this manner, Romans

conceptualized that the *oikoumene* comprised concentric circles around the city of

Rome. In order to emphasize their own privileges as the central locus, Romans divided

the world into the centre and non-centre, as the Greeks did. In the Roman imperial space,

the distinction between centre and periphery was extremely clear.[223] As the central

dwellers on the *oikoumene*, Romans needed to survey all regions of the empire and her

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symmetries of land forms and rivers. Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History*, 131.

[217] Ibid., 131.

[218] Murphy named this policy as the Triumphal geography. Ibid., 129-164.

[219] Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf, "Cosmopolis: Rome as World City," in *Rome the Cosmopolis* (eds. Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5.

[220] Umurhan and Penner, "Luke and Juvenal," 168.

[221] Edwards argues that there were diverse representations of divine and political figures, saying: "they were not specific, yet they had a sacred geography, generally associated with the particular locale in which they were located and, by implication, with Rome, the seat of Roman power….The association of the deity of a space with the Romans increased the power and prestige of the local elites….Geography worked in another way to highlight the prestige and power of a deity and those associated with it. The deity's presence across the *oikoumene* (whether in reality or simply professed locally) confirmed for those who professed allegiance its potent and universal power." Douglas R. Edwards, *Religion & Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996),74-75.

[222] Guido Schepens, "Between Utopianism and Hegemony: Some Reflections on the Limits of Political Ecumenism in the Graeco-Roman World," in *L'ecumenismo Politico Nella Coscienza Dell'occidente* (ed. Luciana Aigner Foresti; Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1998), 130-145.

[223] Nicolet, *Space*, 192.

provinces. It was inevitable for them to formulate a concrete picture displaying the boundaries of their empire, its full dimensions, and detailed descriptions of regions occupied by the Romans. Namely, they needed maps that were regarded as a form "to celebrate the extent of Roman sway worldwide, as well as the magnificence of the greatest city in the world known to the Romans."[224] Consequently, there are two methods by which the Romans perceived and then organized the entire *oikoumene* in their minds: 1) provinces and 2) itinerary.

First, the Roman territory was made up of numerous provinces, the territories under Roman administration. The Empire's provinces as spatial entities, and of the geographical relationship between them, were developed from the early first century CE.[225] Richard Talbert claims that Rome's provinces functioned as a solid framework for their worldview.[226] According to him, each province, as an individual component and a spatial entity, constituted the entire Roman *oikoumene*. At the time of Augustus, the provinces have divided into two parts—one portion for the emperor (provinces of Caesar) and the other for the Roman people (provinces of the people) (Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.25). The latter part comprised three continents—Europe, Asia, and Africa. Ptolemy, in his work, *Geography*, claimed the conveniences of the provincial catalogue for making a map:

> We have written down for all the provinces the details of their boundaries—that is, their positions in longitude and latitude…In this way we will be able to establish the position of each place, and through accuracy in particulars we will be able to establish the positions of the provinces themselves with respect to each other and to the whole *oikoumene*. (1.19)[227]

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[224] Talbert, "Roman Worldview," 261.
[225] Richard J. A. Talbert, "Rome's Provinces as Framework for World-View," in *Roman Rule and Civic Life, Local and Regional Perspectives: Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 BC - AD 476), Leiden, June 25-28, 2003* (eds. L. de Ligt, et al.; Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 2004), 35.
[226] Ibid.
[227] Cited from Berggren and Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 81.

But every province was not considered equal. In terms of a Rome-centred perspective, provinces which are geographically closer to Rome were regarded as superior to other provinces.[228]

Second, Romans perceived the world through a linear itinerary. For effective control over the scattered provinces, a network of those provinces was inevitable for Roman governors. Within the network, an itinerary played an important role in surveying those regions. Whittaker claims that the Romans viewed their localities as "hodological space."[229] This is because the Roman perception of the world was formulated by the horizontal, linear movement of itineraries.[230] Just as the Greeks utilized linear *periploi* to explore the inhabited world, so did the Romans use the linear order provided by voyages along coastlines and land roads. For the Romans who were familiar with sea and river travel, the concept of 'itinerary' pervaded their ordinary life. The Latin *itinerarium*, derived from *iter,* 'journey or march,' supplied them with catalogued information about stations and distances along Roman routes.[231] It also brought about a large amount of the itinerary literature.[232] The itineraries facilitated not only the Roman military conquests and thus territorial expansion, but also easy access of the Roman governors to remote area of the Empire. When they found a land for which no itinerary existed, then they constructed the roads which were to shape the actual landscape of the conquered space.[233] The Romans defined the imperial space by itineraries and thus the use of itineraries became an essential method by which the Romans organized space in their minds.[234] This itinerary formulates the map itself. In the Roman period, there was no technical mapping terminology to denote the map. In

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[228] Salway, "Putting the World," 218.
[229] Whittaker, "Mental Maps," 102. Whittaker has taken this term "hodological" from Pietro Janni, *La Mappa E Il Periplo: Cartografia Antica E Spazio Odologico* (Roma: Bretschneider, 1984).
[230] Whittaker, "Mental Maps," 87.
[231] Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 7.
[232] Salway, "Sea and River Travel," 43-96; Laura S. Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church Amid the Spaces of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 56-76.
[233] Brodersen, "Space and Geography," 829.
[234] Talbert, "Rome's Provinces," 21.

other words, the Romans did not have 'map consciousness.'[235] Instead, the image was

described as a "picture of the world" (*orbis depictus*).[236] As a result, *itinerarium pictum*

(painted itineraries) have come to be prevalent to denote the world map. In this light,

both itineraries and provinces were unquestionably means by which they perceived the

Roman *oikoumene*.

Here one needs to pay attention to the fact that the importance of the linear

itinerary and thus networks between provinces stimulated the Romans to established an

elaborate road system, first in Italy and then in various regions of Europe, Asia, and the

Near East.[237] Later, this road system became the linear basis for Roman control over

the *oikoumene*.[238] The primary object of the roads was to facilitate the travel of the

Roman legions.[239] The road system united the urban communities of the empire and it

provided a complex network of connections among them. All roads were built as an

interlocking network among the empire's urban areas. Consequently, the highly

structured roads connected all of the urban centres to the city of Rome.[240] Additionally,

the inhabitants of the Roman Empire mostly used the roads for moving into other places.

This road system was constructed for convenient movement but contained an

ideological function as well, because it was an optimized method by which to propagate

the ideology of the Rome-centred world. Also, this system symbolized the chains that

connected the boundaries of the empire to the centre. The advantages of the improved

roads can be characterized as follows: intercommunication, imperial control, and the

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[235] Brodersen writes: "We simply lack the evidence for a 'map consciousness' in the ancient world. While some theoretical speculation may well have implied texts and images, it would be wrong to assume that such images could easily be put to practical use, and even the copious ancient writings on strategy and warfare lack all references to maps." Brodersen, "Mapping (in) the Ancient World," 185.
[236] Talbert, "Roman Worldview," 258-9.
[237] Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 7.
[238] Cf. Ray Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy: Mobility and Cultural Change* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999); Michael Mass and Derek Ruth, "Road Connectivity and the Strucuture of Ancient Empires," in *Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-Modern World* (eds. Susan E. Alcock, et al.; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).
[239] Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 322.
[240] Mass and Ruth, "Road Connectivity," 255.

propaganda motivation.[241] The network of the roads and the names of the conquered

places functioned as "dispossession through naming" by which the relations between

centre and periphery were illustrated and thus, in turn, the Romans enhanced their

rhetoric of control.[242] As a result, the imperial presence permeated all local provinces.

Furthermore, this intricate road network displayed more than a one-way thoroughfare.

That is, the network enabled both outward movements from Rome to provinces and

inward movements from local spaces toward the capital in Rome. Consequently, it

brought about the sense of equilibrium between centre and periphery.[243] This road

network functions as an image of the Roman *oikoumene*. And the image appears clearly

in the Peutinger Map. The map, the so-called *Tabula Peutingeriana*, stems from the

map of Agrippa, clearly provides an image of the Rome-centred *oikoumene* from the

Atlantic to Sri Lanka, but eliminated a north-south dimension.[244] It was a typical

representation of Rome's universal power over her subjects. Interestingly, this map

shows not so much the actual shape of the Roman world as the shape of an elongated

and distorted world.[245] On that map, Italy occupied about one-third of the entire globe

in its very centre, thereby providing privilege to the Romans. It displays a dense

network of routes connecting the Roman provinces, fanning out in all directions from

Rome itself.[246] The map spans the entire Roman *orbis terrarum* and places Rome at the

centre on the interlocking power web of the Roman imperial territories.

1.2.3.3. Edge

The Romans, like the Greeks, had concerns about the edge of the *oikoumene* as

well. For the Romans, the image of the world was the rectangular shape of four corners.

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[241] Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 188.

[242] Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994), 171.

[243] Clarke, *Geography and History*, 216-219.

[244] For further discussion on the Peutinger Map, see Talbert, "Cartography and Taste"; idem, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[245] As for the meaning of geographic distortion, see Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 287-8; Whittaker, "Mental Maps," 84.

[246] Talbert, *Rome's World*, 91.

A sentence in *Pharsalia* (*Civil War*) written by Lucan displays well how the Romans perceived the rectangular world: "…with that blood shed by Roman hands how much of earth and sea might have been bought—where the sun rises and where night hides the stars, where the south is parched with burning airs, and where the rigour of winter that no spring can thaw binds the Scythian sea with icy cold!" (Lucan, *Phars.* 1.15–19). As seen in this text, the east-west axis is relevant from sunrise and sunset, and, the south-north axis is relevant to weather. They also assumed the ending places at the four extremities. By the first century CE, the four edges of the world were quite obvious: Spain to the west, Scythia to the north, India to the east, and Ethiopia to the south (Ptolemy, *Tetra.* 2.2.2; 2.3.6–7). These four edges are identical to those in Greek thought.

However, the Roman conceptions of the end are more than geographic designations. Given that the boundaries of the *oikoumene* (*orbis terrarum*) were considered to be those of the *orbis Romanus* by the Romans, the boundaries of the Roman *oikoumene* can be defined as the frontiers of their territory which they conquered. Namely, the end of the *oikoumene* can be discussed in terms of the limits of their ruling areas rather than according to the limits of the inhabitable world.

Aristides compares the borderlines of the *orbis terrarum* as those of a double perimeter. And he emphasizes a spatial division between centre and periphery:

> Beyond the outermost ring of the civilized world, you drew a second line, quite as one does in walling a town, another circle, more widely curved and more easily guarded. Here you built the walls to defend you and then erected towns bordering upon them, some in some parts, others elsewhere, filling them with colonists…An encamped army like a rampart encloses the civilized world in a ring. (*Or.* 81–82)

Yet, Aristides' "second line" was ambiguous because, by the first century, the imperial expansion was still in progress. Whittaker points out the ambiguity of *termini*

imperii, the end of the empire, for the Roman Empire.[247] In this sense, for Romans, the end of the *oikoumene* was equivalent to a borderline to which they accomplished their territorial expansion. Thus, for the Romans, the notion of *termini*, "end," of the world signifies the limits of their power. Subsequently, the designation for the edges was an unfixed theme but the Romans identified it with the places which they subjugated. Pliny identifies the edge of the world with that of the empire: "It is also grown in our part of the world, and I have seen it on the extreme edge of our empire" (*Nat.* 7.98).[248] Likewise, that Romans expanded their realm to "the ends of the world" represented important imperial rhetoric. This claim appears well in *Res Gestae*. It reads that Romans conquered the areas of Spain and Ethiopia, and also exaggerated their hegemony over India and Scythia too.

> [26] I extended the territory of all those provinces of the Roman people on whose borders lay peoples not subject to our government. I brought peace to the Gallic and *Spanish provinces* as well as to Germany, throughout the area bordering on the Ocean from Cadiz to the mouth of the Elbe...At my command and under my auspices two armies were led almost at the same time into *Ethiopia and Arabia* Felix; vast enemy forces of both peoples were cut down in battle and many towns captured. Ethiopia was penetrated as far as the town of Nabata, which adjoins Meroe; in Arabia the army advanced into the territory of the Sabaeans to the town of Mariba... [31]Embassies from kings in *India* were frequently sent to me; never before had they been seen with any Roman commander. The Bastarnae, *Scythians* and the kings of the Sarmatians on either side of the river Don, and the kings of the Albanians and the Iberians and the Medes sent embassies to seek our friendship. (*RG.* 26, 31)[249]

According to *Res Gestae*, Augustus seems to reign over the entire territory of the inhabited world. However, strictly speaking, the Roman territory was less than the entire landmass of the inhabited world by the first century CE. Augustus' power did not reach to the edges of the *oikoumene*. Nevertheless, interestingly, this text displays all of the edges. By describing his hegemony's impact on the four edges, generally accepted by geographers and historians, he could *rhetorically* magnify Roman imperial power on

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[247] C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, Md.; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 10-30.
[248] As for the end of the world in Pliny, see Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History*, 165-193.
[249] Italics are mine.

the *orbis terrarum* from the centre, Rome. For celebrating their splendid conquests, it was inevitable for Augustus to refer to the four edges, because to reach to the ends mean complete conquest. Nicolet points out "Once the empire had (theoretically) been expanded to the limits of the *orbis terrarum*, a general geographical map could best illustrate this accomplishment."[250] As Nicolet notes, for Augustus the Roman Empire expanded *theoretically* her realm into the limits of the *oikoumene*. Put another way, the edges of the Roman Empire represented the mental constructs in their mind rather than physical ones.[251] For the Romans, the edges represented the limits of their empire, as Ovid reports: "the circuit of Rome is the circuit of the world (*Urbis et orbis*)" (Ovid, *Fast.* 2.684).[252] Thus, this hyperbole regarding the "ends" reflects a Roman mental map created in their *minds* to emphasize their expansion to the ends of the earth. Likewise, the meaning of the "ends," for the Romans, can be characterized according to two aspects: 1) a geographical extremity as a limit; and 2) an object for expansionary rhetoric.

1.2.4. The Roman Understanding of the *Oikoumene* and its Peoples

The Romans also had considerable concern for the inhabitants of the *oikoumene*. Roman geographic knowledge was correlated with their theories of ethnicity. In fact, one can argue that their geographic reasoning was embedded in ethnic discourse. Ethnicity became another way to map the world. The Romans characterized each *ethnos* according to its physiological, moral, and cultural characteristics, including the influence of the gods who govern each *ethnos*. But their perception of the inhabitants is closely related with control across the Roman *oikoumene*.

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[250] Nicolet, *Space*, 111.
[251] Jocelyn P. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 84.
[252] Strabo identifies the limits of the empire with the limits of the *oikoumene* (Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.24-5).

1.2.4.1. List of Nations

For the Romans, their understanding of the *oikoumene* comprised various nations that were subjugated to their imperial power. They divided the peoples in the world into two categories: (1) conquerors and (2) all others, already or yet to be conquered by the Empire.[253] As they expanded their realm, they felt the necessity to survey the provinces and the nations for three reasons: control, supervision, and propaganda. This necessity resulted in making ethnic catalogues in which geographic names such as provinces served Roman ethnic considerations. Roman geographers had a tendency to accompany depictions of the regions with a list of people. As a result, the list functioned not only as a strategy to propagate their universal hegemony over the *oikoumene*, but also as a template for indicating the inhabitants in the Roman *oikoumene*.

Firstly, those lists appear in Greek texts in the first century BCE. Portraying the Roman presence in widespread areas of the inhabited world, Strabo illustrates the names of the nations comprising the Roman *oikoumene*: Iberia (1.1.4); Sardinia and Corsica (5.2.7); the German tribes and particularly the Cimbri (7.2.2); Greece (8.7.3); Crete (10.4.9; 10.4.22); Egypt (17.1.5, 30). These nations made up the Roman Empire stretching to the boundaries of the *oikoumene*.[254] Moreover, on the final page of *Geography*, Strabo enumerates the provinces assigned to "the people" by Augustus (17.3.25):[255]

> But at the outset Caesar organised the Provinces of the People by creating, first, two consular provinces; I mean (1) Libya, in so far as it was subject to the Romans, except the part which was formerly subject to Juba and is now subject to Ptolemy his son, and (2) the part of Asia that lies this side of the Halys River and the Taurus, except the countries of the Galatians and of the tribes which had been subject to Amyntas, and also of Bithynia and the Propontis; and, secondly, ten

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[253] Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 277. The Roman perception of the *oikoumene* became formulated by the provinces under Roman administration and the subjugated nations which were not governed by Rome but under Roman rule.

[254] Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 111.

[255] According to Strabo, Augustus divided the Roman *oikoumene* into two portions: one part assigned to himself and the other to the Roman people.

praetorial provinces, first, in Europe and the islands near it, I mean (1) Iberia Ulterior, as it is called, in the neighbourhood of the Baetis and Anas Rivers, (2) Narbonitis in Celtica, (3) Sardo together with Cyrnus, (4) Sicily, (5 and 6) Macedonia and, in Illyria, the country next to Epeirus, (7) Achaea as far as Thessaly and Aetolia and Acarnania and certain Epeirotic tribes which border on Macedonia, (8) Crete along with Cyrenaea, (9) Cypros, and (10) Bithynia along with the Propontis and certain parts of the Pontus. But the rest of the Provinces are held by Caesar. (*Geogr.* 17.3.25)

The Roman *oikoumene* was, in essence, the world managed by the Roman power and organized by provinces scattered around the Mediterranean Sea. In particular, provinces managed by the Roman power are the geographic entities that comprise the Roman *oikoumene* but also each Roman province provides the inhabitants with an ethnic identity. Subsequently, Romans had a tendency to identify peoples by their provinces. Greek texts of the first and second centuries CE employs an ἔθνος to indicate the province.[256] Strictly speaking, a common Greek equivalent for the Latin *provincia* (province) is ἐπαρχεία. Nevertheless, the reason that ἔθνος/ ἔθνη were employed for indicating the province(s) is that this term has the sense of a provincial community.[257] For instance, Appian's *Roman History* begins with this phrase: "Intending to write the history of the Romans, I have deemed it necessary to begin with the boundaries of the provinces (nations) under their sway (τοὺς ὅρους ὅσων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι)" (*Hist. rom.* 1.1). In this statement, the term ἔθνη signals Roman provinces. Employing the term, ἔθνη, instead of ἐπαρχεία, reflects that Roman provinces were considered ethnic components that comprised the Roman *oikoumene*.[258] Furthermore, provincial territory is relevant to ethnicity because attachments to a specific province (territory) and associations within the province matter for ethnic identification.[259] Subsequently, the empire was generally described by the Greek historians as the *oikoumene* which

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[256] But Strabo employs ἐπαρχεία to indicate "province" in the first century BCE.
[257] Stephen Mitchell, "Ethnicity, Acculturation and Empire in Roman and Late Roman Asia Minor," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (eds. Stephen Mitchell and Geoffrey Greatrex; London: Duckworth, 2000), 125 -126; Talbert, "Rome's Provinces," 24.
[258] As for the ordering of tribes and regions in the empire, see Salway, "Putting the World," 219-225.
[259] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London; New York: Penguin Books, 1991), 22-23.

consisted of ἔθνη instead of ἐπαρχεία.[260] It implies that there was a growing feeling of nationalism in the provinces.[261]

This illustration of the nations and the provinces governed by the Roman Empire are clearly displayed in the *Res Gestae*, the text that contains the regions that Romans had subjected to their authority (*RG.* 25-33). It can be summarized through four main categories:[262] 1) Rome and Italy along with the names of fourteen provinces;[263] 2) The names of twenty-four countries and their peoples, including peoples defeated and annexed, peoples subjected, countries to which expeditions or exploratory missions were sent, ancient enemies or peoples with whom Augustus was the first to have contact, distant peoples who sent deferential embassies, and peoples who requested or received kings from the Romans;[264] 3) the names of eight physical features;[265] and 4) the names of six towns.[266] The *Res Gestae* proves that Roman control over the *oikoumene* was done methodically, by using a series of topographical lists that correspond to precise geographical knowledge which reflected the science of the times.[267] These enumerations of the provinces in the *Res Gestae* read like a virtual tour of the Roman world, organized by provinces.[268] The listing of the subjugated nations was used for Rome to effectively promote her political propaganda of universal rule.[269]

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[260] A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 438.
[261] Ibid., 438.
[262] These four categories come from Nicolet, *Space*, 20.
[263] Fourteen provinces are Achaia, Aegyptus, Africa, Asia, Cyrenae, Gallia, Germania, Hispania, Illyricum, Macedonia, Gallia Narbonensis, Pisidia, Sicilia, and Syria.
[264] The twenty-four countries and peoples are the Adiabeni, Aethiopia, the Albani, Arabia Eudaimon, Armenia, the Bastarnae, the Britanni, the Charydes, the Cimbri, the Daci, the Dalmati, the Germani, the Hiberi, India, the Marcomani, the Medi, the Pannoni, the Parthi, the Sabaei, the Sarmatae, the Scythae, the Semnones, the Suevi, and the Sugambri.
[265] Four rivers(the Albis, the Danuvius, the Rhenus, and the Tanais), one mountain range (the Alps), four seas (Ocenus, the Hadrianum mare, the Tuscum mare, and the Oriens)
[266] Actium, Ariminum, Gades, Mariba, Meroe, and Nabata
[267] Nicolet, *Space*, 23.
[268] Wayne A. Meeks, "From Jerusalem to Illyricum, Rome to Spain: The World of Paul's Missionary Imagination " in *The Rise and Expansion of Christianity*, 167.
[269] Gilbert, "The List of Nations in Acts 2," 509-513.

The Table of Nations is a significant feature which also implies the Romans'

concern for the peoples who dwelled in their territories.[270] Besides the *Res Gestae*, this

ethnic list is found in various other Roman texts (Pliny, *Nat.* 3.136–37; 36.39; Velleius,

2.39.2; Tacitus, *Ann*. 1.8.4). This list of nations is frequently embodied into the display

of the list of the defeated in the triumphal pageant, and the triumph at that point

monumentalizes these occasions.[271] This public display suggests the importance of

connecting peoples with their lands, of displaying representations of topographical

features, of "wonders," and of native cultures to encapsulate their ethnic character.[272]

Likewise, the Romans performed enactments of ethnography through defeated nations

in public.

1.2.4.2. Universal *Oikoumene*

In order to justify their conquests and to emphasize their superiority, the

Romans adopted that there were the divine chosen by heaven. This notion supported

Rome as a predestined selected race. The Romans perceived themselves as a *communis*

patria, "common fatherland." The concept of the *communis patria* unified all the

subordinated nations and provided them an imperial identity.[273] In the fatherland, Rome,

Augustus was considered the "father of the world (*pater orbis*)" (Ovid, *Fast.* 2.130).

Through the emergence of the imperial cult all over the empire, Augustus made people

realize that he is the "father of the fatherland."[274] However, this notion is expanded into

the vision of the universal world. The Roman attitude toward the entire inhabitants

dwelling in the Roman Empire can be characterized as the concept of the universal

oikoumene. It appears in Aristides' *Oration* which denotes the absolute harmony and

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[270] As for the representations of the conquered nations, see Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 296-320.
[271] Emma Dench, "Ethnography and History," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, 502.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ando claims that the existence of the *communis patria* relied on their faith in the existence of such an identity. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 19.
[274] Cf. Davina C. Lopez, "Visual Perspectives: Imag(in)Ing the Big Pauline Picture," in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods* (eds. Joseph A. Marchal and Laura Salah Nasrallah; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2012), 93-114, esp. 98.

homogeneity of the cosmopolitan empire. He claims that the whole *oikoumene* had become "a single city (πόλις)" (*Or.* 28, 36). Subsequently, in order to bestow Roman identity to the subjugated nations and to propagandize their imperial ecumenism over the conquered nations, Rome formulated the ideology of assimilation *into* Rome. Consequently, the Romans presented a policy of Romanization for all of the nations. It was an optimized way of formulating an identity of *communis patria*. This Romanization policy can be divided into: 1) *humanitas* (civilization) and 2) citizenship.[275]

First, the Romans identified *humanitas* with Romanization. *Humanitas*, "civilization," is an important term to describe Roman universalism. For Romans, "*Humanitas* encapsulated what it meant to be Roman, and understanding it is central to an understanding of how a Roman identity was acquired" amongst the conquered and the allies.[276] Romans adopted the concept from the Greeks and spread the term throughout the world. For magnifying Romanization, the Romans insisted that the subjugated obtain education from the Romans, learning Latin, and wearing the toga.[277] Tacitus narrates the process of *humanitas* as follows:

> As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric: further, the wearing of our dress became a distinction, and the toga came into fashion, and little by little the Britons were seduced into alluring vices: to the lounge, the bath, the well-appointed dinner table. The simple natives gave the name of "culture" to this factor of their slavery. (Tacitus, *Agr.* 21)

By doing so, the Romans granted 'civilization' to non-Romans.[278] Greg Woolf notes, as his book title implies, Romanization can be characterized as a process of "Becoming Romans." It was a kind of cultural change. And for the process, civilization,

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[275] Regarding from conquest to civilization, see Rachel Kousser, "From Conquest to Civilization: The Rhetoric of Imperialism in the Early Principate," in *A Tall Order: Writing the Social History of the Ancient World; Essays in Honor of William V. Harris* (eds. Jean-Jacques Aubert and Varhelyl Zsuzsanna; Munchen: B. G. Teubner, 2005).
[276] Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 55.
[277] Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 165.
[278] Ibid.

namely, *humanitas*, was a primary component of Roman culture. Woolf describes it as a "civilizing ethos."[279] The process of Romanization established an imperial civilization by which the Romans intended to create a homogenous world. The ultimate purpose of Romanization was to build universal Roman *oikoumene* and to present Rome as the *orbis patria*. Pliny notes,

> the nurse and parent of all lands, chosen by the authority of the gods, which will make the sky itself brighter, collect scattered empires, and make gentle traditional customs, and bring together into conversion the discordant and wild languages of so many peoples through communication of speech, and give civilization to mankind (*humanitatem homini*), and in brief become the one homeland of all the races in the whole world (*toto orbe patria*). (*Nat.* 3.39)

Pliny depicts Rome as a hub for granting *humanitas* over the *oikoumene*. By doing so, Rome definitely became the centre of the civilized universal *oikoumene*. As Aristides points out, the Romans reigned over "the whole civilized world exactly as if it were one city-state" (*Or.* 36). The Romanized world pursued a single world and the world was put under Rome's *universal dominion* (κοινῆς ἡγεμονίας) (Dionysius of Hal., *Ant. rom.* 1.3.5). Likewise, *humanitas* was the Romans' first strategy for Romanization.

Second, through the civilization/*humanitas*, Romans granted Roman citizenship to the conquered and allies, thereby accelerating Romanization. The granting of Roman citizenship to them, as a political tool, was an effective method of *humanitas*. Granting citizenship was available to aliens, allies, and the conquered. Citizenship was an important feature of his self-identification for the peoples under the hegemony of the Roman Empire.[280] It is a matter of what it is to be Roman.[281] Roman citizenship, unlike Greek citizenship, was a product of their generous policy for universal dominion. Even Augustus employs the term *civis*, "citizen" to describe the Romans' generous

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[279] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 48-76.
[280] Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 65.
[281] In the first century BCE, there was a noticeable increase of Roman citizens. Cicero addresses: "But no one who had any acquaintance with our laws or our customs, who wished to retain his rights as a citizen of Rome, ever dedicated himself to another city" (*Balb.* 30); "And it will perhaps not seem out of place, if, in this connexion, we weave into our history the various extensions of the citizenship and the growth of the Roman name through granting to others a share in its privileges." (Velleius, 1.14.1)

policy toward the subjugated and allies: "as victor I spared the lives of all citizens who asked for mercy" (*RG* 3.1). In this light, allowing Roman citizenship seems to have been a very inclusive policy.[282]

The reason for providing citizenship was to enable the conquered to be part of the strongest. Livy notes that if Romans receive their conquered enemies as citizens, they will be supremely glorious: "That government is certainly by far the strongest to which its subjects yield obedience gladly" (8.13.16). For Romans, citizenship played an important role in the co-opting of her subjects into the Roman Empire. By providing citizenship, they became one state: "for the eternal duration of this empire the whole civilized world prays all together…harmonized by the leader in command….Conditions no longer differ from island to mainland, but all, as one continuous country and one people, heed quietly" (Aristides, *Or.* 29–30); "the myriad peoples of the empire have been united in kinship (γένος)" (*Or.* 63).[283] Thus, through these statements, one can summarize the importance of the Roman citizenship as follows: 1) the generous Roman attitude toward foreigners; 2) the strategy to make the state stronger; 3) a policy to hold common identity for one state; and 4) Roman universal *oikoumene*.

1.2.4.3. Roman *Oikoumene* and Its Implicit Vertical Structure

The Romans pursued a universal *oikoumene*. However, this ideology provides another aspect that it is less a cosmopolitan-inclusive concept than we simply assume. This is because the Romans claim cultural-political universalism within which the ideological frame presents vertical hierarchy, and, the frame is not completely inclusive. In other words, even though Romanization was intended to bring about the allies'

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[282] Aristides notes: "Neither sea nor intervening continent are bars to citizenship, nor are Asia and Europe divided in their treatment here. In your empire all paths are open to all. No one worthy of rule or trust remains an alien, but a civil community of the World has been established as a Free Republic under one, the best, ruler and teacher of order; and all come together as into a common civic centre, in order to receive each man his due." (Aristides, *Or.* 26.60)

[283] See Daniel S. Richter, *Cosmopolis: Imagining Community in Late Classical Athens and the Early Roman Empire* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3-4.

incorporation into the Roman Empire, there was still discrimination within the universal imperium. Moreover, there was a tension between Romans by nature and newly-incorporated Roman citizens as well.

Just as the Greeks draw a borderline between the Greeks and the barbarians in term of a binary structure, so did the Romans implicitly divide the peoples into Romans and non-Romans. Even if the Greeks and Romans argued for universalism, the phrase contains a conjunction, "and." The conjunction functions as an invisible borderline to divide "us" and "them." As written in the *Res Gestae*, "When *foreign* peoples could safely be pardoned I preferred to preserve rather than to exterminate them," (*RG.* 3) Augustus signified all conquered nations as "foreign," *externas gentes* in Latin. The Latin term *externas* connoted their *external* position to the Roman *oikoumene*. Augustus tried to differentiate the *inside* Roman citizens from all *outside* "foreigners."

In particular, by the first century CE, Aristides divided the *oikoumene* not into 'Greeks vs. barbarians,' but 'Romans vs. non-Romans':

> As we were saying, you who are "great greatly" distributed your citizenship. It was not because you stood off and refused to give a share in it to any of the others that you made your citizenship an object of wonder. On the contrary, you sought its expansion as a worthy aim, and you have caused the word Roman to be the label, not of membership in a city, but of some common nationality, and this not just one among all, but one balancing all the rest. For the categories into which you now divide the world are not Hellenes and Barbarians, and it is not absurd, the distinction which you made, because you show them a citizenry more numerous, so to speak, than the entire Hellenic race. The division which you substituted is one into Romans and non-Romans. To such a degree have you expanded the name of your city. (*Or.* 63)[284]

This statement shows the double sides of universalism: on the one hand, it shows a homogeneous Roman society of common nationality, on the other hand, it divides Romans and non-Romans.[285] The Roman policy did not guarantee complete equality for all.

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[284] Schepens, "Between Utopianism and Hegemony," 140 n. 89.
[285] Ibid., 140.

Sometimes, the ideal term, *humanitas*, implied the status of "slavery" (Tacitus, *Agr*. 21) and the process of Romanization was the process of being "effeminized."[286] Moreover, *humanitas* could function simultaneously not only as "a universal ideal" but also as "a marker of difference," even among Romans.[287] There was still an emotional binary structure. Political conversion of the foreigner did not guarantee full assimilation because of a sharp distinction between the Romans and non-Romans. Therefore, we should consider that the Roman universalism seems to have been inclusive for aliens but it did not guarantee complete equality.

Even worse, it is noteworthy that Roman citizenship seemed to be a token for enrolling a nation into the Roman universal *oikoumene.* The Roman citizenship was a graded citizenship.[288] Citizenship was classified on a graded right: full-citizen, citizen without vote, or just ally.[289] Some allies received complete Roman citizenship, but some were granted it, without voting rights.[290] Even if Romans allowed their subjects to obtain citizenship, they did not always offer full citizenship to them. Romans seem to have had egalitarian ideals, but they offered lower levels of membership too.[291] Daniel Richter, discussing Aristides, points out a significant problem as follows:

> …within this unified imperial *oikoumene*, there are those who enjoy citizenship—those who are "kin" (*homophulos*) with the ruling power—and those who do not. In the former enfranchised category, which Aristides called "Roman" are those who possess great nobility and power and who use their abilities to aid in the organization of the empire. Those who are left out of this ethnically homogenous (metaphorically speaking) ruling class are not, however, excluded from the imperial *polis* but live within it as a disenfranchised lower class.[292]

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[286] Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 165.
[287] Denise K. Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 2005), 152.
[288] Engin F. Isin, *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 97.
[289] Ibid., 95.
[290] Ibid., 101.
[291] Ediberto Román, *Citizenship and Its Exclusions: A Classical, Constitutional, and Critical Race Critique* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 25. What is worse, there is a text in which citizenship is described as a difficult thing to acquire. Tacitus argues that it was rare: "Each was a man of birth, with ancestors whose services had been rewarded by Roman citizenship in years when Roman citizenship was rare and bestowed upon merit only." (Tacitus, *Ann*. 3.40)
[292] Richter, *Cosmopolis*, 134.

Even if non-Romans received civilization and citizenship from the Empire, still they were among the marginalized classes. Thus, the Roman *oikoumene* seems to be based on universalism but simultaneously their universal rhetoric displays an exclusive facet. Namely, Roman universalism has a character of particularism as well.

Their implicit perspective toward the foreigners is rooted in a vertical structure. Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in Asia Minor is an example.[293] The Romans attempted to represent the people in public. Accordingly, they used a figure or architecture for visualizing the inhabitants of the *oikoumene*. The Roman victory over the *oikoumene* is overtly displayed in reliefs from Sebasteion. Space between the columns was filled by subjugated peoples' reliefs, representing nations or groups that had been simply defeated, or defeated and added to the empire, or brought back into the empire.[294] τά ἔθνη were each personified as a single figure in high relief standing on an inscribed base.[295] The nations in the base are as follow: Besson, Bosporon, Dakon, Iapodon, Ioudaion, Pirouston, Krete, Kypros, and Ethiopia.[296] The representations of the subjugated peoples have been placed in a "*periplus*-like order."[297] In each relief, the upperpart personified the Roman power and the lower-part represented nations that had been defeated by the Roman Empire. Thus, they visually signified a vertical hierarchy [Fig. 5].

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[293] For further discussion on Sebasteion, see R. R. R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 77(1987); idem, "Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 78(1988); Hal Taussig, "Melancholy, Colonialism, and Complicity: Complicating Counterimperial Readings of Aphrodisias's Sebasteion," in *Text, Image, and Christians in the Graeco-Roman World: A Festschrift in Honor of David Lee Balch* (eds. David L. Balch, et al.; Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications, 2012).
[294] Smith, "Simulacra Gentium," 59.
[295] Ibid., 53.
[296] Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 47.
[297] Brodersen, "Geography and Ethnography," 392.

[Fig. 5] Reliefs in the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias[298]

Because the vanquished countries are arranged at the bottom of the reliefs, anyone strolling through the complex might assume that they were actually living in the imperial territory and that Rome was in the highest position. This structure represents the ambition of the Roman Empire throughout the *oikoumene*, stretching to the furthest boundaries, including the cosmos itself.[299] The reliefs in the Sebasteion display the superiority of imperial power and the superiority of those associated with it.[300]

As a conqueror, the Romans set themselves higher (cf. Vitruvius, *De arch.* 6.1.11). The Sabasteion reliefs clearly display vertical structure between higher/conqueror and lower/conquered. This vertical imagery of the oppressor over the oppressed also appears in other art such as *Gemma Augustea*, which is a low-relief cameo cut from stone [Figure 6]. Augustus is in the upper part. However, captive barbarians are depicted as bound and are surrendering to the Roman conqueror in the lower position. From these pictures, one can see a vertical structure with Rome on the upper level and the subjugated *oikoumene* on the lower level.

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[298] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sebasteion_duvarlar%C4%B1.jpg
[299] Edwards, *Religion and Power*, 74.
[300] Ibid., 79.

[Fig. 6] *Gemma Augustea*[301]

As already mentioned, the Romans possessed the midpoint of the world, so that "foreigners" or barbarians were positioned outside. Such a notion pervaded Roman ideology and is represented in images and sculptures by the Romans. For example, in the sculpture pictured below, Nero defeats a personified Armenia [Figure 7]. Nero is located high at the top, defending the inside, whereas Armenia belongs at the bottom and is needed to be kept *out*.[302] This sculpture depicts the envisaged *oikoueme* which the Romans intended in the first century CE. It also shows how the Romans perceived the inhabitants of the *oikoumene.*

[Fig. 7] Nero defeats a personified Armenia. The Sebasteion in Aphrodisias[303]

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[301] https://www.thinglink.com/scene/881443410857164800
[302] This idea originates from Brigitte Kahl, *Galatians Re-Imagined: Reading with the Eyes of the Vanquished* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2010), 77-127. Kahl analyses the Pergamon Altar using spatial semiotics thereby producing a diagram between inside and outside, and, between a higher position and lower position in the Graeco-Roman culture.
[303] https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/472596554618125319/

To summarize, it is true that the Roman Empire professed a united *oikoumene* rooted in the conception of kinship (γένος), but, simultaneously, their ethnic reasoning toward the 'other' (τά ἔθνη) within the homogenous *oikoumene* displays a vertical structure.

1.2.4.4. Romans and Barbarians

Last but not least, like the Greeks, the Romans also had a concern for defining barbarians. They kept the distinction between the civilized and the barbarians.[304] The Roman perspectives on the 'barbarian' show their ethnic reasoning which reinforces their ethnocentrism. That is, ethnocentrism and barbarisation of the outer areas beyond the borderlines of the Roman Empire are closely related complementary conceptions.[305] They regarded the barbarians as the peoples who lived outside the ends of the Roman Empire and might have represented a threat to the imperial order.[306] As threatening tribes to the empire increased, the barbarians became an indication to all those outside the boundaries of the Roman *oikoumene*.[307]

The areas which are outside the empire were known to be deserted or inhabited by nomads and pirates.[308] In such regions, Romans believed that people lived like savages.[309] Pliny notes the primordial and monstrous savage as follows:[310]

> Then come regions that are purely imaginary: towards the west are the Nigroi, whose king is said to have only one eye, in his forehead; the Wild-beast-eaters, who live

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[304] Cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 9.2.2.
[305] In the Roman Empire and literature, this Rome-centred geographic image is closely related with Roman theories of ethnocentrism. Umurhan and Penner, "Luke and Juvenal," 170.
[306] By the first century, the defeat and humiliation of barbarians was highly valued within Roman society. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 171, 194. Gemma Augustea shows their superiority to the barbarians. However, according to Whittaker, through conquering the barbarians, in the end it was unclear who were the barbarians and who were the Romans. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*, 133. For the distinction that became ambiguous between Romans barbarians, see his book, chapters 5, 6.
[307] Schepens, "Between Utopianism and Hegemony," 125.
[308] Dueck, "Geographical Narrative of Strabo," 245.
[309] Cf. Rhiannon Evans, "Ethnography's Freak Show: The Grotesques at the Edges of the Roman Earth," *Ramus* 28 (1999).
[310] As for Pliny's ethnographic reasoning, see Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History*, 77-128.

chiefly on the flesh of panthers and lions; the Eatalls, who devour everything; the Man-eaters, whose diet is human flesh; the Dog-milkers, who have dogs' heads; the Artabatitae, who have four legs and rove about like wild animals; and then the Hesperioi, the Perorsi and the people we have mentioned as inhabiting the border of Mauretania. One section of the Ethiopians live only on locusts, dried in smoke and salted to keep for a year's supply of food; these people do not live beyond the age of forty. (*Nat.* 6.195)

This imaginary description of the edge of the *oikoumene* reflects the Romans' perspective toward places beyond the empire. The defeat and humiliation of barbarians was highly valued within Roman society.[311] As a result, the Romans kept the distinction between the Roman *oikoumene* and the barbarian world (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 9.2.2). This distinction established a schematic image of the Roman political *oikoumene* composed of the civilized parts and its peoples, and the savage parts beyond the imperial *oikoumene*.

1.2.5. Summary

Rapp and Drake claim that the Romans' worldview evolved from the *polis* via the *imperium* to the *oikoumene*.[312] The Roman conception of the *oikoumene* manifests itself in political aspects for supporting Rome's imperial ideology. However, that is not to say that they disregard its scientific-geographic facet. The Romans also had considerable interest in investigating the shape of the *oikoumene* and its inhabitants. Nevertheless, during Rome's territorial expansion in the first century CE, the term was chiefly used to indicate the Roman Empire. In this way, their view of the *oikoumene* reflects socio-political issues rather than just a geographical facet.[313] As for its inhabitants, whereas the Greeks approached them as objects of ethnographic inquiry, the Romans regarded them as objects to be controlled by themselves.

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[311] Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 194.
[312] Claudia Rapp and H. A. Drake, "*Polis-Imperium-Oikoumene*: A World Reconfigured," in *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity* (eds. Claudia Rapp and H. A. Drake; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-13.
[313] Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 65.

As discussed thus far, the *oikoumene* in the Graeco-Roman world displays its diverse aspects through literature and geographical maps. Furthermore, these discussions suggest that the term, *oikoumene*, is a condensed motif which includes certain questions: how did ancient peoples perceive the world, and how did they utilize the theme of the world in public? This term includes many considerations of the world in the Graeco-Roman thought. The *oikoumene*, to be sure, is a geographic term. However, it is noteworthy that this concept is not only a geographic entity, but also reflects a social realm.[314] The Greeks coined this term to denote the inhabitable world during the classical period but its meaning was expanded to include various aspects beyond the geographic perception. In particular, this concept is loaded with political understandings of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, in Graeco-Roman antiquity, over time, the term was loaded with various expanded senses of political, cultural, and religious understandings, and ideas.[315] The *oikoumene* depicted in texts and maps by Greeks and Romans is a geographical feature as well as social product.

1.3. The *Oikoumene* and Its Implications

Through comprehensive discussions regarding the *oikoumene* thus far, one can find two significant keywords to grasp the theme of the ancient worldview: mental image and desire.

1.3.1. Mental Image

Unlike all modern maps produced with scale and mathematical precision, ancient maps contain a society's subjective point-of-view on the world. The view is

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[314] Schmidt, "Oikoumene," 73.
[315] Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 270.

based on their distinct ethos, ideology, and mentality. Among them, attention should be paid to humankind's mental image toward the *oikoumene*.

A large number of ancient geographers attempted to leave geographic texts about the *oikoumene*. However, two-dimensional maps, as scaled representations for the *oikoumene*, were not familiar to ancient peoples.[316] Unlike the way a map is produced today, the ancient world map can be seen as a kind of description of the world, based on geographic investigation. This thesis, of course, employs the term, "ancient map" as it is normally employed in Graeco-Roman scholarship. However, strictly speaking, there were no Greek or Latin words that were specifically equivalent to the word, "map." For instance, Strabo employs the term, τὰ γεωγραφούμενα, "geographic description" in his book to depict his own task (*Geogr.* 1.1.16). This is the case for Romans as well. They employed various expressions indicating pictorial representations of the world, such as *forma*, *situs depicti*, *itinerarium pictum*.[317] According to Brodersen who strongly refutes the assumption that the Romans employed the term, "world map," for them, the concept was described as a "picture of the world" (*orbis depictus*) and "representation of the world" (*descriptio mundi*).[318] Likewise, they perceived the world as a picture or an image. The worldview in antiquity thus evolved from an image.

In particular, when ancient geography emerged, they had an image of the inhabited world in their *minds*.[319] Ancient geographers constructed the space of the *oikoumene* through geographic descriptions and invited peoples into a spatial imagery in their minds. Indeed, places were considered for the ancient Greeks as purely mental constructs with no physical aspects.[320] So, for most people, one's own mind takes the

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[316] Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 41.
[317] Ibid., 42.
[318] Brodersen, "Mapping (in) the Ancient World," 184-5; cf. Talbert, "Roman Worldview," 258-9.
[319] Cf. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy*, 24-80.
[320] Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, 84.

place of principal maps in giving shape and structure to the *oikoumene*.[321] In other words, ancient peoples projected the inhabited world in their minds.

As for the mental image, Daniela Dueck points out that "[o]ur mental image of the world is always based on a combination of actual geographical knowledge and imagination, that is, on a mix of directly experienced and abstractly conceived space."[322] Greek geographers attempted to draw precisely the entire world but there was a limitation in terms of cartographic skills and accessibility to all the regions of the world at that time. Greeks travelled around the known world to acquire accurate information about it. However, they lacked sufficient scientific skill and empirical data to manufacture an accurate representation of the *oikoumene*. Thus, Greeks and Romans could not fully measure with mathematical precision nor prescribe the image of the inhabited world (or mapping the world). Moreover, there were many inaccessible regions. Such limitations prompted them to depend on other available means—theory, myth, and fantasy—to depict the world in which they dwelled.[323] Their primary sources were a mixture of diverse sources—cosmography and natural philosophy, travelogue and travelers' tales, and above all, epic poetry.[324] As a result, ancient geographical works deal with the real world based on expeditions to support accurate reports, but also the works are filled with purely imaginary, literary, fictional, and mythical places, countries, people, and nations.[325] Even though there was a progression from a purely mental construct into a physical embodiment in the Roman period,[326] the image of the inhabited world was still firmly influenced by individual's mental cognition and

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[321] Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 9.
[322] "In antiquity, when remote regions were still inaccessible, legendary elements played a larger role. But after travel and conquest increased direct acquaintance with distant frontiers, solid facts based on autopsy began to support more accurate reports and theories. Early notions of the world occasionally combined myths with real facts derived from experience." Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, 68.
[323] Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 9.
[324] Ibid., 10.
[325] Namely, "the borders of the *oikoumene* fluidly merged with the realm of mythical geography," thereby embellishing their works with mythical creatures. Engels, "Geography and History," 543.
[326] Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, 85.

perceptions of the world. Even though many geographers produced useful pictorial maps, the schematic mental maps were more pervasive.

Regarding these aspects, the concept of the mental map is noteworthy. It is the result of modern human behaviour geography which focused on people's spatial choices and decisions. Definitely, a mental map is different from a drawn map. A mental map is, in essence, an imagined map from which people decided where to live.[327] Among researchers, commenting on this notion, Gould and White discuss the perception that people have of places, and the mental images that are formed from filtered information.[328] From their perspective, the mental images shape perceptions and the evaluations of places, people, and events. According to Yi-fu Tuan, a human geographer, maps, of course, can be created in the mind without recourse to pen and paper.[329] Through such a mental image, people draw their own mental map, constructed according to people's points of view. Such mental images (map) function as a significant foundation for them to build up their discussions of the *oikoumene* and as a clue for modern readers to establish their worldview.

1.3.2. Desire

The worldview of an individual is often based on the mental map is intertwined with their desire to conceptualize the world. Guido Schepens points out:

> Mental…mapping is the space as we subjectively perceive it, and as we invest it with human values and meaning. What matters here foremost with regard to meaning and extent of the *oikoumene* is not how it could be represented as complete and as objective as possible, but how people, for whatever reason, like to project the world in their mind. The resulting map sometimes bears little

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[327] This concept is synonymous with a cognitive map. David Ley points out that "mental maps were part of a broader movement in environmental perception, which in turn has elided into an interest in the representation and social construction of places." David Ley, "Mental Maps/Congnitive Maps," in *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (eds. Derek Gregory, et al.; Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 455.

[328] Peter R. Gould and Rodney R. White, *Mental Maps* (London; Boston: G. Allen & Unwin, 1986). From which, people make spatial choices and decisions. According to Gould and White, the mental images of places may affect their behaviour, such as their residential desires. Put another way, their mental images affect their spatial desires. Thus a mental map shows peoples' regional preferences and biases. It can be relevant not only to an individual but to a society as well.

[329] Yi-fu Tuan, "Images and Mental Maps," *AAAG* 65 (1975): 209.

relationship to scientifically measured geographical space, but it is all the more revealing for the political, social, cultural, and other ideals of a given society.[330]

They had a tendency to distort objective distances between cities or places rather than produce actual metrical figures, so that they loomed larger than their desired spaces. This tendency obviously appears through a distorted image to zoom in on a political centre, such as Athens or Rome, or more specifically, a Euro-centric shape of the world. While Greeks drew an image of the *oikoumene* centred on the Delphi, Romans projected the picture of the *oikoumene* centred on the city of Rome. Generally, cartography in the Graeco-Roman period exhibits a distorted form rather than an image of actual accuracy because mapping was intertwined with one's ideology, namely a kind of illusion; and, as Whittaker notes, "The illusion created the mental map before the actual map fostered the illusion."[331] Such distorted cartography reflects that they subjectively drew an image of the *oikoumene* based on their own mental perceptions. Superimposed upon that map are also their prejudices and ideologies. Thus, in the shape and deployment of maps are embedded social, cultural, and political prejudices of ancient peoples.[332] It is relevant that ancient mapping of the world was intertwined with political assumption, namely, the superiority of Greeks and Romans over their rivals.[333] Likewise, the ancient worldview firmly reflects one's fabricated ideology beyond cartographic accuracy. Namely, their cartographic map reflects their political and subjective notions. Considering these points, the ancient worldview can be characterized as their desires embedded onto their mental mapping. However, this not only corresponds to Greek and Roman cartography. This also occurred in the case of the Jews, as we shall observe in Chapter Two of this study.

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[330] Schepens, "Between Utopianism and Hegemony," 142.
[331] Whittaker, "Mental Maps," 105.
[332] Irby, "Mapping the World," 105. "The cartographic processes by which power is enforced, reproduced, reinforced, and stereotyped consist of both deliberate and 'practical' acts of surveillance and less conscious cognitive adjustments by map-makers and map-users to dominant values and beliefs." Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 303.
[333] Irby, "Mapping the World," 105.

Chapter 2. The World in the Hebrew Bible and the Second Temple Jewish Literature

This chapter explores the worldview of the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism aiming to ascertain answers for the following questions: did the concept of the inhabited world, or *oikoumene*, have an effect on the Hebrew Bible and the Second Temple Jewish texts; and, from what perspective did they view the inhabited world?

Unlike the Graeco-Roman world, the Hebrew Bible provides neither concrete images nor comprehensive products such as cartographic texts and maps rooted in scientific geography. In fact, through the long history of Israel, they did not have specialized geographers. Their concern with the world was simply to portray the inhabited world as the creation of God rather than an object to be measured and explored. Consequently, they did not attempt to elaborately measure the extent of the earth nor to draw the shape of the world. However, that is not to say that the Israelites did not have any geographic reasoning or objectives. We do find various traces of their geographical knowledge and information in the Hebrew Bible. The notion of the inhabited world was widely discussed throughout Israelite history and appears repeatedly as an important concept in the Scriptures. It was inevitable for the authors of the Hebrew Bible to describe the world because they needed to clarify the origin of the existing world, signify the realm of God's dominion, illustrate the area where God's peoples live, and elucidate that all inhabitants are the offspring of God. In particular, the Septuagint translators and writers in the Hellenistic Jewish texts accept the term, *oikoumene*, to denote the inhabited world. This fact reflects that the concept of the *oikoumene* permeated the Jewish world, too. However, the Jewish *oikoumene* in the Hellenistic Jewish texts was perceived quite differently from the Graeco-Roman texts. Namely, the Israelites accepted the term but painted it with their own ideas and

understandings. Consequently, their worldview seems to be related to conceptions around the Mediterranean world, but they preserved their own characteristic worldview, based on their faith. Accordingly, this chapter explores the worldview from the Hebrew Bible via the Septuagint to the works of Josephus, and adopts the same framework of geographic and ethnographic understandings to explore the Israelite worldview

2.1. The Worldview in the Hebrew Bible

2.1.1. The Cosmos and the Inhabited World

The Hebrew Bible provides a schematic image of the inhabited world which is rooted in ancient cosmology.[334] Given that a culture's cosmic geography concerns how people envision the shape and structure of the world around them,[335] one can argue that Israelite cosmic geography plays a significant role in shaping their fundamental worldview.

The cosmology in the Hebrew Bible is comparable to that of the ancient Near East, especially Babylonian and Egyptian cartography, rather than the Graeco-Roman world.[336] However, the Hebrew Bible makes a distinction between them in that the authors give their own interpretation to those concepts, by emphasizing the role of the creator YHWH from the beginning of Genesis: "In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth" (Gen. 1:1). This passage clearly asserts that God created the entire cosmos. Also, it shows that all of things in the world are originated from one God, a universal ruler. To highlight the aspect of the world as God's creation, the Hebrew

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[334] John H. Walton, *Ancient Israelite Literature in Its Cultural Context: A Survey of Parallels between Biblical and Ancient near Eastern Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989), 19-42.
[335] John H. Walton, *Ancient near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2006), 165.
[336] Izak Cornelius, "The Visual Representation of the World in the Ancient near East and the Hebrew Bible," *JNSL* 20 (1994); Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (trans. Timothy J. Hallett; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 15-60.

Bible emphasizes the totality of the world, by using the term, כל, "all," which highlights the entire universe (1 Chr. 29:11; Prov. 16:4; Isa. 44:24).[337]

The basic structure of the cosmos depicted a bipartite style composed of heaven and earth (Gen. 1:1; 2:1; Isa. 42:5; Ps. 113.6; Jer. 10:11).[338] This substructure of a bipartite cosmology seems to be manifested continually throughout the Hebrew Bible.[339] Furthermore, based on this dualistic or bipolar idea, it expands into the idea of a tripartite or three-levelled world.[340] This tripartite cosmos is very common throughout the Hebrew Bible (Gen 1:26, 28; 9:2; Exod. 20:4, 11; Deut. 5:8; 1 Sam. 2:6-10; Neh. 9:6; Job 26:6-13; Prov. 3:19-20; 8:26-31; Pss. 104:2-6; 115:16-17; 133:6-8; 135:6; 148:1-7; Amos 9:6; Zeph. 1:3; Hag. 2:6).[341] It presumes the image of the cosmos to have a central inhabited earth, with heaven above and an underworld (Hades/Sheol) below.[342] According to Luis Stadelmann, "The picture of three-levelled structure of the world has its root not only in the basic human experience of the external world from whose impressions man conceived such an imaginative depiction, but also in the mythological traditions so cherished among Israel's neighbours."[343] Within this vertical structure, the three layers are connected by the pillars upon which the world is established. The underworld is the place where the pillars rest on the sub-terrestrial ocean.[344] Also, the earth rests upon pillars or foundations: "For the pillars of the earth

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[337] Luis I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World: A Philological and Literary Study* (AnBib 39; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Inst., 1970), 1-3.

[338] As for a dualistic view, see David Toshio Tsumura, *Creation and Destruction: A Reappraisal of the Chaoskampf Theory in the Old Testament.* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 58-76; Jonathan T. Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew* (NovTSup 126; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 163-182.

[339] Pennington, *Heaven and Earth*, 181.

[340] Cornelius, "Visual Representation," 200. This tripartite shape of the universe is affirmed by Ben Sira as well, "The height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, the abyss, and wisdom." (Sir. 1:3)

[341] As for the underworld, see Exod. 20:4; Deut. 4:18, 5:8; Ps. 24:2. Pennington claims that "The occasional descriptions of the world which use terms beyond heaven and earth should be understood as poetic subspecies of the broad dualism of heaven and earth. This includes the place of the dead, Sheol, or the deeps, which is an undeveloped thought in the OT, fundamentally a part of the earth." Pennington, *Heaven and Earth*, 181.

[342] For Hades/Sheol in the Hebrew Bible, see Mark T. Finney, *Resurrection, Hell, and the Afterlife: Body and Soul in Antiquity, Judaism, and Early Christianity* (New York; London: Routledge, 2016), 25-48.

[343] Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 9.

[344] Cornelius, "Visual Representation," 200.

are the LORD's, and on them he has set the world" (1 Sam. 2:8).[345] This notion of

pillars or foundations appears in various texts (Pss. 18:8, 16; 75:4; 82:5; 104:5; Job 9:5;

Isa. 24:18; Jer. 31:37).[346] And while heaven is established on the pillars resting upon

the earth, even the pillars extend down into the cosmic seas and rivers (Ps. 24:2).

Likewise, the cosmos is depicted as a well-structured shape. Within this entire cosmos,

the inhabited world is located between heaven in the upper part and the underworld in

the lower part.[347] The Hebrew Bible distinguishes the earthly space from the heavenly

realm: "The heavens are the LORD's heavens, but the earth he has given to human

beings" (Ps. 115:16).[348] The earth is the dwelling place for the human race, distinct

from heaven and the underworld. The most prevalent term to indicate the earth is ארץ

which signifies the entire area in opposition to the regions of other two layers.[349] It

refers to any land which is a habitable place for human beings, with a meaning/function

of a dwelling place (Gen. 1:28; Ps.115:16; Ezek. 41:16; 43:14); thus, ארץ plays an

important role as the place for inhabitants (Isa. 24:5f, 17; Jer. 25:29; Zeph. 1:18; Ps.

33:14; 75:4).[350] Basically, the "earth" corresponds to the "spatio-physical word" rooted

in the view held by the ancient Hebrews.[351] But they widened their notion of the world

from the concrete sphere of the ground into the concept of the inhabited world as a

whole.[352] In doing so, they firmly believed that God allowed human beings to dwell on

ארץ and perceived it as the inhabited earth. The passage of Job 38:4-6 illustrates the

process of God's constructing the earth: God laid the foundation of the earth (v. 4) and

laid its cornerstone (v. 6); and God determined its measurements and stretched the line

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[345] Pss. 18:15; 82:5; 104:5; Isa. 24:18; 40:21.
[346] Cornelius, "Visual Representation," 200.
[347] Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 126.
[348] As for the conception of heaven, we need to consider both physical cosmology and ontological
cosmology. Whereas in physical cosmology, heaven belongs to the heavenly realm, heaven belongs to the
earthly realm of the created world. Pennington, *Heaven and Earth*, 163-182.
[349] Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*,127.
[350] Magnus Ottosson, "ארץ," *TDOT* 1:394-6.
[351] Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 129.
[352] Ibid., 129.

upon the earth (v. 5). These passages indicate that the Israelites had a specific notion of the inhabited world.

The shape of the earth is quite imaginative in Hebrew thought. The Hebrew Bible displays the earth as an image of a circular disc (Prov. 8:27; Isa. 40:22), which is surrounded by the Ocean. According to the creation account in Genesis 1, when God let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one place, then the dry land, called the earth, appeared (Gen. 1:9). On the land of the world, the "dry land" is distinguished from the water and the earth is encircled by water. Here, beyond the tripartite structure, the cosmos can be characterized rather as a four-fold structure: heaven, earth, Sheol, and sea (Job 11:8-9).[353] And the realm of the outer water is described as the space of darkness: "He has described a circle on the face of the waters, at the boundary between light and darkness" (Job 26:10).[354]

2.1.2. Edge

Philip Alexander illustrates that the ancient Hebrews divided the earth into four regions based on two systems.[355] First, from the observer's perspective, people perceive four spatial directions: the east is front (Gen. 2:8), the north is left (Gen. 14:15), the west is behind (Job 23:8), and the south is right (1 Sam. 23:24; Job 39:26). Second, from the movement of the sun, the east is the place of sunrise (Num. 21:11; Isa. 41:2), and the west is the place of sunset (Isa. 45:6; Deut. 11:30); but the remaining two points on this system are uncertain (cf. the south in Job 37:17; the north in Jer. 26:26). Likewise, for the Israelites, these four directions became the basic points from which to perceive the entire space of the world. This spatial perception is relevant to a claim that

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[353] In a four-fold division, the sea used to be the fourth element to compose the entire universe (Exod. 20:11; Ps. 146:6). Adams, "Cosmology," 20.

[354] In other passages, the world is depicted with a vertical structure. Adams claims that the use of architectural imaginary indicates that the world is being likened to a building (such as the temple) as seen in Job 38:4-7. Ibid., 21.

[355] Philip S. Alexander, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish Geography)," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. David Noel Freedman; New York, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1992): 2:979.

there are four edges to the world. The Hebrew Bible affirms that there are four corners of the world (Isa. 11:12; cf. Isa. 43:4-7; Job 23:8-9). Their spatial perception of the four directions (corners) reflects their schematic image of the world. Each corner functions to shape the edge of the world. Subsequently, it was believed that if one travels in any direction, one will come to one of its edges.[356] Since the surface of the earth seems like "skirts" and a "garment" (Job 38:13-14), the surface holds its edges to enclose and confine the boundary of the earth.[357] Accordingly, the earth created by God has its end, קצו (Pss. 48:11; 65:6). The term, קצו, is based on the underlying idea of "cut off" and thus becomes a kind of spatial expression for signifying the boundaries of the inhabited world (Isa. 40:28; 41:5, 9).[358] However, the Hebrew Bible does not provide clear ending places, in contrast to the Greek and Roman designation of four ending places such as Ethiopia[359] or Scythia.

Unlike the Greeks who explored the edge of the earth and its inhabitants by travel and trade with curiosity, the Israelites merely present their concern about the edges with mythic images through literary texts. The primary reason for illustrating the ends on the earth is not caused by their geographic curiosity regarding the edge but from their desire to highlight God's ruling area across the world. The end of the farthest corners on the landmass is employed to shed light on the extent of God's hegemony in various passages (Job 28:24; Pss. 48:10; 65:5, 8; Isa. 40:28; 41:5, 9) within which the edge of the earth corresponds to the extent of God's divine reign.

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[356] Ibid., 979.
[357] Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 134.
[358] The conception of extremity, employing the term כָּנָף, appears through various passages (Isa. 11:12; Job 38:13). Ibid., 134.
[359] Ethiopia appears in the Hebrew Bible with the place described as a land rich in resource such as chrysolite (Job 28:19) or a nation tall, mighty and conquering (Isa. 18:2).

2.1.3. Centre

Even though the biblical picture of the entire world is quite schematic, the emphasis on the centre is clear. The Hebrew Bible draws a world image generated from the central locus since the Israelites perceived that they possessed the central place of the entire world. Basically, the biblical picture of the world has its centre in Jerusalem: "This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the center of the nations, with countries all around her" (Ezek. 5:5).[360] Just as ancient peoples identified their sacred place, the oracle for the worship of their gods, at the centre of the world, the Israelites did as well. It was commonplace from the period of David's reign over Jerusalem (1 Sam. 17:54). Jerusalem is the city that the LORD has chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there (1 Kgs. 14:21). Consequently, God became the God of Jerusalem (2 Chr. 32:19).

The Hebrew Bible provides several points to solidify the centrality of Jerusalem.[361] Most of all, Jerusalem appears with the Sacred Mountain, Mt. Zion. The mountain provides various motifs in the biblical imagination: security, height, and fertility.[362] Just as the embryo is bound at the navel to the mother's body, a tall mountain was perceived as a sign to represent the navel of the earth in the mythical traditions of many ancient cultures.[363] It was also quite commonplace in the ancient Near East to consider the prominent role of sacred mountains as the home of the gods. The sacred city with a sacred mountain was regarded as the meeting point of three cosmic regions: heaven, earth, and the underworld.[364] For the connection of three cosmic regions, the mountain plays an important role in linking these separated realms.

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[360] For further discussion, see Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Significance of Jerusalem in Biblical Thought" in *Literary Motifs and Patterns in the Hebrew Bible: Collected Studies* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 291ff.

[361] Talmon provides comprehensive illustrations for the navel of the earth with the comparative method in "The 'Navel of the Earth' and the Comparative Method" in *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible: Form and Content* (Jerusalem; Leiden: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; Brill, 1993), 50-75.

[362] Robert L. Cohn, *The Shape of Sacred Space: Four Biblical Studies* (AARSR; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1981), 25-38.

[363] Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible*, 53.

[364] Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, 12, 15.

Stadelmann interprets Job 8:24-29 in the sense that "these [mountains] pillars of the earth connect the underworld with the heaven."[365] Given that the Sacred Mountain where heaven and earth meet was considered to be situated at the centre of the world, namely an *axis mundi*,[366] the emphasis on Jerusalem and Mt. Zion is reasonable. Considering its locations at the top of Mr. Zion as the place of a divine Temple, it is not unusual for the Hebrews to draw their mental world map of a higher and sacred Jerusalem-centred world.[367] Besides the sacred mountain, the city of Jerusalem is the place where a sanctuary is located. The Jerusalem Temple is relevant to its religious significance derived from the sanctuary (Mic. 4:1-2; Isa. 2:2-3). That the Temple is located in Jerusalem intensifies the city's religious and political importance. Locating and perceiving a sacred centre such as the Temple or Oracle in the midpoint of the world was a common consideration for ancient peoples.[368] The Jerusalem Temple has been considered by the Israelites as the distinguished locale where God dwells. Also, the Temple was considered as a witness of the presence of God in ancient Israel. In doing so, the Israelites sustained a world view in which Jerusalem is situated at the midpoint of the world.

However, even though we generally admit the importance of Jerusalem, we should not disregard the central role of Mt. Gerizim for the Samaritans. Regarding this point, it is noteworthy to observe the Hebrew term, טבור, which appears in Judges 9:37 and Ezekiel 38:12. This *Tabbur*, or *Tabbur-erez* (NRSV Jud. 9:37), was understood as a "navel" by the Septuagint which rendered it the ὀμφαλός in both cases.[369] Considering

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[365] Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 152.

[366] Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, 12.

[367] Walton claims that the idea of a mountain at the centre was more prominent in Ugaritic literature since the area of Syria was mountainous. Walton, *Ancient near Eastern*, 175.

[368] Cf. Samuel Terrien, "The Omphalos Myth and Hebrew Religion," *VT* 20 (1970).

[369] The interpretation of *tabbûr* has given rise to many debates among scholars, as to whether it can be translated into "navel" (*omphalos*) or not. See Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 150-153. Talmon proposed that *tabbûr* has a neutral geographical sense like plateau or round hill. Shemaryahu Talmon, "*har*," *TDOT* 3:438. Also, Alexander points out that the translation of *tabbûr* as *omphalos* is very doubtful because the contexts of both references are vague. Philip S. Alexander, "Jerusalem as the *Omphalos* of the World: On the History of a Geographical Concept," in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and*

the meaning of the *omphalos* in Greek antiquity, one can argue that *Tabbur* contains the idea of centrality. Interestingly, whereas Jerusalem is conceived as the navel of the world in Ezekiel, it is claimed that Mt. Gerizim is regarded as the navel of the world in Judges.[370] The case in Judges reflects the fact that Mt. Gerizim was claimed the navel of the earth by the Samaritans and thus supports the claim that the Samaritans rejected the Jerusalem-centred doctrine of salvation.[371] However, since this is just one single case from the Hebrew Bible, it is not easy to claim that the centrality of Mt. Gerizim was a universal conception alongside a Jerusalem-centred view. In any case, there is no doubt that the city of Jerusalem received the dominating central position throughout the history of Israel. At least in the First Temple period, the centrality of Jerusalem is portrayed as the religious cosmic midpoint (*axis mundi*) and the navel (*Omphalos*) of the world for the Israelites, rather than the geographic centre of the inhabited world.[372] Yet, this centrality continued into the Second Temple period.

2.1.4. The World and its People

We have discussed the image of the inhabited world and its centrality. The geographic reasoning is expanded into their concern for other peoples who reside in the world. The Israelites were aware of the fact that besides themselves, various nations inhabited the world, holding their own territories. From the perspective of the Israelites, the peoples of those nations (non-Israel) were called the Gentiles: people who worshipped and were ruled by idols.

As for the identity of the full complement of inhabitants in the world, Genesis provides an important clue from the prologue. Genesis shows the origin of the entire

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Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (ed. Lee I. Levine; New York: Continuum, 1999), 109-110. However, the important thing is that the Septuagint translates it to *omphalos* in order to highlight the centrality of Jerusalem in the world, by comparing Delphi which was the navel of the Ionian world. The translation implies that in the late Second Temple period Ezek. 38:12 was used as a "convenient biblical peg" on which to hang the doctrine of Jerusalem as the navel of the earth. Ibid., 110.

[370] Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, 13; Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible*, 52-3.
[371] Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible*, 53.
[372] For further discussions on the role of centre, see Cohn, *The Shape of Sacred Space*, 25-79.

human race that is rooted in one person, Adam. From the beginning of Genesis, the author repeatedly reports God's commandment to the human beings to fill the earth (Gen. 1:26–8; 9:1, 7, 19; 10:1–32). Subsequently, God disperses humanity throughout the entire world; a strategy which is displayed through Noah's descendants. The list of nations in Genesis 10 has evidently dominated Jewish geography as well as ethnography for centuries.[373] The author of Genesis narrates: "these are the families of Noah's sons, according to their genealogies, in their nations; and from these the nations spread abroad on the earth after the blood" (Gen. 10:32). Noah's three sons—Shem, Ham, and Japheth— respectively inherit separate territories: the nations of Japheth in the northern and western lands, including Asia Minor and Europe (10:2-5); the nations of Ham in Egypt and the northern Africa (vv. 6-20); and the nations of Shem in Mesopotamia and Arabia (vv. 21-31). An account of the territories of Noah and his three sons in Genesis 10 serves as a rudimentary source to unveil the ethnic composition of the world and its division into three continents. This account illustrates how various nations began to inhabit different regions of the world. The Noahite genealogy can be classified as follows: 1) the sons of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras (10:2); 2) the sons of Ham: Cush, Egypt, Put, and Canaan (10:6); and 3) the sons of Shem: Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram (10:22). Each group of descendants was allotted a distinct geographical territory. Whenever the account of each group ends, the descendants are combined with their lands, language, families, and nations with similar repeated phrases (vv. 5, 20, 31): "These are the families of Noah's sons, according to their genealogies, in their nations; and from these the nations spread abroad on the earth after the flood" (v. 32). The Table of Nations in Genesis 10 shows a general description of the first settlement of human beings.

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[373] Cf. Béchard, *Paul*, 173-88.

James Scott argues that the three sons of Noah are equated with the three major continents: Japheth = Europe, Shem = Asia, and Ham = Libya (Africa).[374] Subsequently, the inhabited world in the Hebrew Bible is divided into three continents—Europe, Asia, and Libya. This division reflects a Greek world view and ancient Near Eastern view as well. Accordingly, the families of Noah's sons, according to their genealogies, in their nations, spread abroad on the earth after the flood (Gen. 10:32). While Genesis 1-2 presents the universal creation of the world by God, the Table of Nations in Genesis 10 presents a geographic and ethnographic organization situated within God's comprehensive plan.[375] The Table of the Nations in Genesis shows the basic world map of the Israelites in the ancient era, exerting a significant influence on early Judaism. However, it was constantly reinterpreted to fit the changing state of their geographical knowledge.[376] Besides the genealogical account of the descendants of Noah's sons, the ensuing Babel episode displays the scene that the LORD scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth after confusing their language (Gen. 11:1-9). This event results in the feature of the world filled with nations. Thus, these two accounts in a postdiluvian period explain why each nation is thought to dwell in its own land, with its own language, by the time of the first century CE. This Babel episode denotes the origins of cultural differentiation in a post-flood age rather than punishment by God.[377] This is because this dispersion promoted cultural diversity, sharing the same language, name, and living space. These two accounts explicate why various peoples inhabit the world with their own culture, territory, and language. Furthermore, these events affirm that the inhabited world is divided into various regions by the order of the God of Israel. The Hebrew Bible portrays that even the territories

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[374] James M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (SNTSMS 113; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 24-35.

[375] Béchard, *Paul*, 174. Bechard notes that "The genealogical schema of Gen 10 presupposes the early emergence in ancient Israel of the notion of world ethnography."

[376] Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 980-83.

[377] Theodore Hiebert, "The Tower of Babel and the Origin of the World's Cultures," *JBL* 126 (2007): 57.

and boundaries of other nations are designated by God. Their belief that all nations on the earth are generated and ruled by God is clarified in Deuteronomy: "When the Most High apportioned the nations, when he divided humankind, he fixed the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the gods" (Deut. 32:8).[378]

While the whole of the inhabitants in the world originate from a single root, the Israelites distinguished themselves from other nations. The ethnic reasoning in the Hebrew Bible is based on the notion that God had chosen Israel from among all the nations. When the Israelites perceive the *other* nations, they strongly believe that all nations, regardless of their religions, are essentially subjected to God, because God reigns over all nations (Deut. 26:19; Pss. 67:2; 72:11; 113:4; Isa. 66:18; Jer. 3:17; Hag. 2:7). However, besides this universal aspect, the Israelite self-consciousness reflects a particularistic aspect. To be sure, their worldview is based on a universal horizon but it also reflects a particular story of Israel.[379] While the Hebrew Bible portrays God as ruling over all nations, the Israelites considered themselves as a divinely chosen nation by God, just as the city of Jerusalem is selected as the navel of the entire world. There was an idea for the election of Israel. It is relevant to a belief that they have a sacred mission entrusted to a community by its god.[380]

The Hebrew Bible singles out the role of Israel as the chosen nation from Genesis 1.[381] Frank Crüsemann claims that "Genesis is about the one creator-God and his distinct people in the midst of a divinely intended diversity of cultures and

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[378] The passage in Sirach presents this concept, "When the LORD created his works from the beginning, and, in making them, determined their boundaries, he arranged his works in an eternal order, and the dominion for all generations" (Sir. 16:26-27). This passage manifests their belief that all nations on the earth are generated and ruled by God.

[379] Cf. Jon D. Levenson, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism," in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; Leiden; New York: Brill, 1996), 143-61.

[380] Anthony D. Smith, "Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism," *International Affiars* 72 (1996): 452.

[381] Richard J. Clifford, "Election in Genesis 1," in *The Call of Abraham: Essays on the Election of Israel in Honor of Jon D. Levenson* (eds. Kevin Madigan, et al.; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013). Clifford claims that God's commandment—"fill the earth and subdue it" (Gen 1:28)—uses a verb that foreshadows Israel's later taking of its land, Canaan, by force.

nationalities, to which belong also the diverse relationships with this God."[382]

Following Genesis 11, the ensuing chapters show the story of Abraham and his descendants through and by whom a sacred space (Israel) would be formulated. They believed God set them "high above all nations that [God] has made, in praise and in fame and in honor" (Deut. 26:19). As for the reason of choosing them, Deuteronomy states: "It was because the LORD loved you and kept the oath that he swore to your ancestors" (Deut. 7: 8).[383] Accordingly, for the Israelites, pedigree and legitimacy from their ancestor became evidences for their exclusiveness. YHWH is described as the God of their ancestors (Deut. 6:3). Israel has a special and exclusive status in relation to YHWH.[384]

Their Yahwistic practice "brings together the Israelites into a single, communal Israelite space in which Israelite practices and Israelite identity may be reinforced."[385] However, that is not to say that their ethnic identity reinforced their racial superiority. "They did not think that their chosenness rested upon racial and cultural superiority."[386] Also, the distant peoples are considered neither inferior nor barbaric. Rather, their chosenness was related to a solemn duty to bring blessings to all the nations.[387] As the possessor of a central locus and as the chosen nation, they recognized their responsibility to propagate the universal dominion of YHWH toward the inhabited world. God established his covenant with Abraham and then promised that God would bless all the families of the earth (Gen. 12:3). That is, that all inhabitants in the world,

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[382] Frank Crüsemann, "Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity: Israel's Self-Definition in the Genealogical System of Genesis," in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; Leiden; New York: Brill, 1996), 72.
[383] As for ethnicity and identity in Deuteronomy, see Kenton L. Sparks, *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Israel: Prolegomena to the Study of Ethnic Sentiments and Their Expression in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 225-267.
[384] Ibid., 230-31.
[385] Carly L. Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 137.
[386] Levenson, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism," 160. Levenson notes that it is because they did not have a concept of race or culture at all in the sense in which the term is used by moderns, whether open-minded or bigoted, nationalistic or cosmopolitan. Bauckham also claims that the election of Israel is not related with the issues of cultural superiority. Richard Bauckham, "Geography-Sacred and Symbolic," in *Bible and Mission: Christian Witness in a Postmodern World* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Paternoster Press, 2003), 67.
[387] Bauckham, "Sacred and Symbolic," 67.

regardless of ethnic identity, shall be blessed. In this sense, this conception of a central fatherland corresponds to the responsibility for fulfilling the universal divine reign of YHWH, rather than to boast of their ethnic superiority.

2.2. The Worldview in the Second Temple Period

As we have discussed above, the Israelite worldview in the First Temple period is dominated by God's creation and poetic or abstract portrayals of it. The Hebrew Bible simply provides rudimentary sources so that the reader can perceive the image of the world made by God. However, the texts of the Second Temple period provide more detailed and intriguing passages to display the inhabited world. This period was a time of remarkable richness of Jewish literature, and the geographic awareness flourished at that time too. The literatures in this period accepted the geographic notion in the Scripture but developed it more elaborately by adopting Hellenistic traditions. Moreover, Hellenistic Jewish texts employ the Greek notion, *oikoumene*, to denote the inhabited world. Also, the usages in the texts reflect political and ideological aspects of the term *oikoumene* as seen in the previous Chapter. Their concerns are primarily the shape of the world and its inhabitants. Even if the texts are not professional ethno-geographic texts and the worldview cannot be summarized into concise statements, those texts show how a Jewish worldview was formulated in the Second Temple period. The following section discusses five primary texts: the Septuagint, Enochic literature, *Jubilees*, Philo, and Josephus. These texts contain abundant sources to signify their worldview. Among them, it begins with the Septuagint which is the first source for understanding the Jewish notion of the *oikoumene*.

2.2.1. The *Oikoumene* in the Septuagint and Apocrypha

The Septuagint translators adopt the Greek term, οἰκουμένη. It mainly appears in poetic texts such as Psalms and Isaiah. The occurrences are as follow: Psalms (17 times), Isaiah (16), Daniel (3), Jeremiah (2), Esther (2), Exodus (1), Proverbs (1), Lamentations (1), and 1 Samuel (1). The Septuagint renders two Hebrew words, ארץ and תבל, as the *oikoumene*. However, ארץ is not always translated into οἰκουμένη; rather, in most cases, ארץ is translated into another Greek term, γῆ, which signifies the earth. ארץ is only translated into οἰκουμένη eleven times through the entire Septuagint (LXX Ps. 71:8[72:8]; Isa. 10:23; 13:5; 13:9; 14:26; 23:17; 24:1; 24:4; 37:16; 37:18; 62:4). However, unlike ארץ, another Hebrew term, תבל, indicating the world, is most often translated into οἰκουμένη. The term תבל occurs 33 times in the Hebrew Bible and appears most often in Psalms (15 times) and Isaiah (9 times). Almost all instances of תבל are translated as οἰκουμένη, except for three times— γῆ in Job 37:12; οὐρανός in Prov. 8:26, and σύμπας in Nah. 1:5. Given that they identified a Hebrew word תבל with a Greek term, οἰκουμένη, תבל could be an important clue to unveil their notion of the *oikoumene* in the Septuagint.

Unlike ארץ, the spatio-physical word for the earth, תבל is hardly used for describing the land on which human beings physically reside. Rather, תבל is employed to provide the idea of the inhabited world as a whole. Stadelmann points out: "What distinguishes the term תבל from ארץ is a concrete intuition of its more particular designation as the habitable part of the world."[388] The latter is more relevant to the inhabitation of human beings. A comparison of these two terms manifests that their conception of the world is gradually expanded from the concrete sphere to the inhabited world.[389] The NRSV renders ארץ into the *earth* and תבל into the (inhabited) *world.*

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[388] Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 130.
[389] Ibid., 129.

An interesting point is that there are many passages in which those two words— תבל and ארץ—appear together (LXX Pss. 23:1 [24:1]; 32:8 [33:8]; 76:19 [77:19]; 88:12 [89:11]; 89:2 [90:2]; 96:4 [97:4]; 95:13 [96:13]; 97:9 [98:9]; Isa. 24:4; 34:1; Jer. 10:12; 28:15 [51:15]; Lam. 4:12). These verses clearly make a distinction between תבל and ארץ, by using the conjunction "and." For instance, Psalm 90:2 reads "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever you had formed the earth (ארץ, γῆ) *and* the world (תבל, οἰκουμένη) from everlasting to everlasting you are God." Another case is: "for the pillars of the earth (ארץ, γῆ) are the Lord's, and on them he has set the world (תבל, οἰκουμένη)" (1 Sam. 2:8). In those cases, whereas תבל is always translated into οἰκουμένη as the meaning of "the world," ארץ is translated into γῆ as "the earth." This point connotes not only that οἰκουμένη (the world) and γῆ (the earth) are slightly different geographical notions, but also that תבל corresponds to οἰκουμένη. By comparing them, we may summarize their understanding of οἰκουμένη.

First, the *oikoumene* is the comprehensive world. Usually, οἰκουμένη (תבל) appears after γῆ (ארץ) (LXX Pss. 23:1 [24:1]; 32:8 [33:8]; 88:12 [89:11]; 89:2 [90:2]; 95:13 [96:13]; 97:9 [98:9]; Isa. 24:4; 34:1; Jer. 10:12; 28:15 [51:15]; Lam. 4:12). Namely, in every verse, the first clause begins with "the earth" [γῆ], and then the second clause which contains "the world" [οἰκουμένη], follows it. For example, "The earth (ארץ, γῆ) is the Lord's and all that is in it, the world (תבל, οἰκουμένη), and those who live in it" (Ps. 24:1 NRSV). These cases progress and expand the realm of God from the earth to the (inhabited) world. With respect to symmetrical structures, the earth and the world are compared in a single verse. In terms of a literary peak, γῆ climaxes in οἰκουμένη. Such an order implies that the latter has a wider and more comprehensive meaning than the former. Likewise, תבל has obtained a broader and more expanded meaning than ארץ. And this notion allowed the translators to adopt the Greek term, οἰκουμένη.

Second, the *oikoumene* indicates a world for the inhabitation of peoples. The *oikoumene* signifies the world for habitation (LXX Exod. 16:35; Ps. 32:8; Isa. 34:1; Lam. 4:12): "The earth is the Lord's and all that is in it, the world, and those who live in it (τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων τοῦ κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς ἡ οἰκουμένη καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ)" (LXX Ps. 23:1); "Hear this, all you peoples; give ear, all inhabitants of the world (οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν οἰκουμένην)" (LXX Ps. 48:1). Moreover, οἰκουμένη is compared to the Greek term, ἄνθρωπος: "Rejoicing in his inhabited world and delighting in the human race (ἐν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων)" (Prov. 8:31). By doing so, οἰκουμένη emphasizes the inhabitation for human beings.

Third, the *oikoumene* connotes the world created by God.[390] The term, תבל, signifies God's creation and work: "He has established the world" (Ps. 93:1); "Who made the world?" (Isa. 14:17). In addition, the term, תבל, indicates the world reigned over by God: "For the world and all that is in it is mine" (Ps. 50:12); "The world is firmly established" (Ps. 96:10). Also, when תבל alone appears, it is used for describing divine judgment on the world by God: "He judges the world with righteousness" (Ps. 9:8); "the foundations of the world were laid bare at your rebuke" (Ps. 18:15).

For the Septuagint translators, οἰκουμένη was an optimized word to express the concept of תבל. The writers thought that οἰκουμένη, which was prevalent in Hellenistic culture to indicate the inhabited world, was the most proper term to contain the comprehensive meaning of the world reigned over by God. The translators did not consider any geographic or ethnographic aspect of the term, οἰκουμένη, as the Greeks perceived and utilized it. It is unlikely that they had a concern for its broad meanings of the term. Rather, the translators imbued the term, οἰκουμένη, in the Septuagint with theological meanings of the universal world of divine creation, domination, and

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[390] ארץ also has a meaning of God's own creation (Gen. 1:1-2), domination (Lev. 25:23), and judgment (Ps. 96:13 [95:13]; 97:4 [96:4]; 98:9 [97:9]). But ארץ is limited in the meaning of the earth.

judgment. Their primary concern was to clarify the origin and authentic meaning of the existing inhabited world. Also, the Septuagint translators recognized the delicate intention of the authors of the Hebrew Bible to distinguish between two words—ארץ and תבל; and thus utilized equivalent Greek terms to dramatize the nuanced meanings of those words. By comparing the world (οἰκουμένη) with the earth (γῆ), the Septuagint translators strengthened the feature of the world which was inhabited by the peoples of God.

The term, οἰκουμένη, also appears in the Apocrypha. In the Wisdom of Solomon, the *oikoumene* is described as follows: "Because the spirit of the Lord has filled the world" (1:7). The spirit holds the *oikoumene* in existence. Also, in the *Letter of Jeremiah*, the *oikoumene* is depicted as the world under the dominion of God: "When God commands the clouds to go over the whole world, they carry out his command" (1:61). In 1 Esdras, God appears as the commander of the *oikoumene*: "Thus says Cyrus king of the Persians: The LORD of Israel, the LORD Most High, has made me king of the world" (2:2). Like this, the *oikoumene* is illustrated as the realm ruled by God's dominant power. In Maccabees, the *oikoumene* occurs once:

> …the appearances that came from heaven to those who fought bravely for Judaism, so that though few in number they seized the whole land and pursued the barbarian hordes, and regained possession of the temple famous throughout the world (*oikoumene*), and liberated the city, and re-established the laws that were about to be abolished, while the Lord with great kindness became gracious to them (2 Macc. 2:21–22).

The *oikoumene* is the space throughout which the temple is famous (2:22). In other words, throughout the *oikoumene*, the divine power of God's temple pervaded the world. Likewise, the *oikoumene* in the Septuagint and Apocrypha is essentially the world created and ruled by God. And the *oikoumene* is the world beyond physical landmass (γῆ). That is the world populated by God's descendants and is ruled by God.

2.2.2. Enoch

The Book of Enoch plays an important role in figuring out the shape of the inhabited world in the Second Temple period. The importance of this book in current study is that it provides wide-ranging cartographic sources for illustrating the world from its origin. The sources correspond to a mysterious and mythic character of its geography and comprehensive details. In Genesis, Enoch is described as an individual who walked with God and was taken by God, thereby existing no more in the earthly realm (Gen. 5:21–24). At the same time, Enoch in Second Temple Jewish literature is depicted as the person who is taken on tours to the ends of the earth. From the book of 1 Enoch, a composite work of several sections,[391] two parts are considered as key texts to signify a particular worldview: 1 Enoch 76-77 and 17-36.[392] First, 1 Enoch 76-77 notes the Twelve winds and their gates (76) and the four quarters of the earth (77). This passage constitutes a major treatise on cosmic and astronomical phenomena as a product of the third century BCE (1 Enoch 72–82).[393] 1 Enoch 72–82 is called the Book of the Luminaries or Astronomical Book. In this part, Enoch is guided through the heavens by Uriel and observes the shape of the universe. Second, 1 Enoch 1–36, a section from the Book of Watchers, provides comprehensive information about world geography in the courses of its narrative. It provides sources to envisage the image and the end of the earth. In particular, Enoch's journey to the northwest (Chs. 17–19), which is composed of Enoch's first person description of the various geographical features through his cosmic tour, is full of geographic descriptions through Enoch's tour of the earth and

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[391] Nickelsburg divides it into: 1) the book of the watchers (1-36); 2) the book of parables (37-71); 3) the book of the Luminaries (72-82); 4) the dream visions (83-90); 5) the epistle of Enoch (92-105); 6) the birth of Noah (106-107); and 7) another book of Enoch (108). George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36, 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2001), 7-8.

[392] Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 983-5.

[393] George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: SCM, 1981), 47.

Sheol.[394] These passages shed light on the shape of the ends of the earth. And these

sources show similarities to the Hebrew Bible also.

Enoch says that "I saw the foundations of the earth and the cornerstone of the

earth" (18:2). George Nickelsburg notes that the cosmos in this passage is depicted as a

building and thus the earth rests upon a foundation with a cornerstone.[395] The concept

of the foundations illustrated by Enoch alludes to the pillars of the earth, as seen in the

Hebrew Bible.[396] This cornerstone also recalls the cornerstone of the earth (Job

38:6).[397] Within this cosmological structure, Enoch locates the earth upon certain

foundations. Enoch divides the earth into three parts: (1) the place where people live; (2)

the seas, the deeps, forests, rivers, darkness, and mist; and (3) the garden of

righteousness (77:3). Alluding to J.T. Milik's illustration, Philip Alexander regards

these three parts as concentric circles and interprets each part as follow: (1) the

oikoumene in the centre; (2) the encircling Ocean; and (3) the wasteland over the

Ocean.[398] With this division, the author of Enoch clearly distinguished the dwelling

realms throughout the entire earth.

Regarding the shape of the earth, 1 Enoch presents a schematic image of the

earth encircled by the Ocean, and the author draws attention to a cosmic river which

feeds into the Ocean. Enoch saw "seven rivers on the earth, larger than all the rivers;

one of them comes from the west (and) pours its water into the great sea" (77:5). The

great sea can be seen as a great bay protruding from the Ocean in the circular

oikoumene.[399] The author clarifies again the river and Ocean in 1 Enoch 17: "I saw all

the great rivers. And I arrived at the great river and the great darkness" (17:6–7). In this

text, the author portrays that Enoch has arrived at the earth's outer limits in which the

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[394] For further discussions, see Kelley Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19: "No One Has Seen What I Have Seen"* (JSJSup 81; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003).
[395] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 284.
[396] Pss. 18:16; 82:5; Prov. 8:29; Isa. 24:18; 40:21; Jer. 31:37; Mic. 6:2.
[397] Bautch, *Geography of 1 Enoch*, 100.
[398] J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976),15; Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 984.
[399] Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 984.

enigmatic great river encircled the earth as well as the great rivers.[400] The interpretation

for this great river raises a question for its context. On the one hand, the great river

alludes to "the Bitter River" on the Babylonian map in which the inhabited world was

considered as a disk surrounded by the river;[401] on the other hand, it can be understood

as the great river Ocean in Greek.[402] Either one can be considered in this passage.[403]

While the great rivers (plural) are the four, *the* great river is the Ocean.[404] The great

river encircling the earth entices readers to presuppose the earth to be disk-shaped.[405]

In addition, the author illustrates Enoch's eyewitness account of the earth along

the river in 1 Enoch 17–19. Here, the Ocean functions not only as the outer frame to

designate the circular shape of the earth, but also the outer extremities correspond to the

place of the dead. The writer of Enoch elaborately delineates the edge of the earth in

chapter 18 which shows Enoch's arrival at his destination and it corresponds to the

climax of his journey. When Enoch arrives at the end of the earth in the far northwest

beyond the river Ocean, Enoch sees the mountain throne of God (18:6–8), the places of

punishment for the rebellious angels (18:9–11 & 19:1–2) and the erring stars (18:12–

16).[406] This depiction of the edge is quite mythic and mysterious.[407] To be sure, the

space beyond the river which encircles the earth is a numinous realm. Also, it seems to

be relevant to the setting of the afterlife of human beings.[408] The end of the earth is the

space where God's glorious behaviour and apocalyptic events happen together. Kelley

Bautch interprets this account as an apocalyptic realm but Scott supplements this text

with an account of the well-established *periodos ges* or "around-the-earth journey"

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[400] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 283.
[401] Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 20-42.
[402] See Chapter One of this thesis
[403] To find sources for the great river, Nickelsburg illustrates both Babylonian and early Greek cosmologies. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 282-3.
[404] Ibid., 283.
[405] Also, other apocalyptic texts present a similar view: "I gazed upon the whole earth round about" (Ezek. Trag. 77); "This is the ocean which encircles the whole earth" (*Apoc. Paul*. 31; cf. 21). Likewise, they envisage the disk-shaped world with the ocean all around.
[406] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 285.
[407] The ancient Hebrews had a tendency to relate the ends of the earth with darkness (cf. Job 26:10).
[408] As for an illustration for afterlife in Enoch, see, Finney, *Resurrection, Hell, and the Afterlife*, 56-58.

literature.[409] As the Greek concept of *periodos ges* displays exotic phenomena on the boundaries of the earth,[410] Enoch, too, exhibits its curious details on the circuit of the earth. Nickelsburg also claims that the places in the section indicate that the author of the book was familiar with popular Greek geography.[411] Indeed, the author of Enoch portrays a vivid image of the inhabited world, based on *autopsia*, seeing with own eyes, by which the readers could draw a mental image of the *oikoumene* in their own minds.

As for the centre of the world, Enoch shows the image of a Jerusalem-centred world with lucid geographic illustrations. The centrality of Jerusalem became more emphasized in the ensuing Second Temple literature.[412] In 1 Enoch 21-27, Enoch retraces his journey to Jerusalem. After the great judgment (22:11), when Enoch enters into Jerusalem, the city is described as the central locus: "And from there I [Enoch] went into the centre of the earth and saw a blessed place" (26:1). In the "blessed" city, Enoch saw "a holy mountain," Zion (26:2). In what follows, from the centre of the earth (26:1), the four corners of the earth are described: to the east (Chs. 28-33), to the north (Ch. 34), to the west (Ch. 35), and to the south (Ch. 36). These four directions are also found in 1 Enoch 77 in which the world is depicted as a composition of four quarters enumerated in a clockwise direction—east, south, west, and north.[413] In chapters 28-36, this cartographic image reflects not only the author's centrifugal theoretical frame toward the edge of the world, but also Jerusalem's magnificence over the entire world and even till its end. Enoch's journeys to the ends of the earth are accomplished in four directions, guided by the angel, Uriel (Chs. 33-36). These chapters reflect the Jewish conceptions of the four corners of the earth as well as its four directions—east (33:2),

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[409] Bautch, *Geography of 1 Enoch*, 99-126; James M. Scott, "On Earth as in Heaven: The Apocalyptic Vision of World Geography from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit* According to the *Book of Jubilees*," in *Geography and Ethnography*, 187.

[410] Romm, *Edges of the Earth*, 26-31.

[411] Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 54.

[412] The doctrine of Jerusalem as the navel of the inhabited world became prevalent since the Hasmonean revolution during the second century BCE. Alexander, "Jerusalem as the *Omphalos*," 110.

[413] Such a viewpoint appears in the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, narrating the same expression: "[God] will grasp the inhabited world from its four corners and [God] will gather them all together" (*Gr. Apoc. Ezra.* 3:6).

north (34:1), west (35:1), and south (36:1). Enoch sees the gates and outlets of heaven at the four ends of the earth. And at the end, Enoch saw "great and glorious wonders" (34:1). After displaying the four corners, this text ends with a "doxology":[414] "And when I saw, I blessed—and I shall always bless—the Lord of glory, who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show his great deeds to his angels and to the spirits of human beings, so that they might see the work of his might and glorify the deeds of his hands and bless him forever" (36:4). Through Enoch's illustration of the ends of the world, one can argue that even till the edge, God's glory from the navel of the world is spread out. Also, the end of the earth is not simply the most remote area of the world, but it is an apocalyptic area, as a junction to connect heaven and earth as created by God.

It is not easy to decide which culture influenced the worldview of Enoch because this book displays various traditions of the period.[415] Most of all, the account of Enoch's journey displays a worldview quite similar to that of the Hebrew Bible from which several elements seem to be derived, but it offers more detailed descriptions. Furthermore, in addition to comparision with the Hebrew Bible, 1 Enoch should be placed in the wider context of the ancient Mediterranean world. J.T. Milik claims that the picture of the world is remarkably similar to the Babylonian map, in particular to the Gilgamesh epic, compiled after the ninth century BCE.[416] Plus, Enoch's journey shows the features of Greek geography as well. Thus, as Nickelsburg claims, it can be suggested that 1 Enoch is "a composite of Mesopotamian and Greek ideas."[417] Indeed, the issue of possible traditions parallel to Enochic geography seems quite enigmatic. But 1 Enoch serves as an early work of Hellenistic Jewish imaginary explorations of the entire universe within which is offered a wealth of suggestive illustrations of the

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[414] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 332.
[415] Bautch offers a wealth of suggestive influences on Enochic geography. Bautch, *Geography of 1 Enoch*, 1-10, esp. 6-7.
[416] Milik claims the Babylonian's dominant influence on Enoch. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 15. Alexander also claims that the major influence on Enoch is the Babylonian map. Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 984.
[417] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 280.

inhabited world. And this work clarifies that the inhabited world is subordinated to the God of the Hebrew Bible as the creator of everything in existence.[418] This Enochic worldview invites us to explore the worldview described in the book of *Jubilees*, a work greatly influenced by Hellenistic Greeks.

2.2.3. *Jubilees*

The book of *Jubilees* plays an important role in the geography of the Second Temple period and is also quite relevant to 1 Enoch.[419] The text describes the birth and work of Enoch (4:17-26) and the early Enochic traditions are considered as possible source material to assess *Jubilees'* own sources.[420] To be sure, one can find similarities for the worldview between these two texts but the book of *Jubilees* primarily displays the Ionian mapping style which had been in circulation since the late sixth-century BCE, within which it establishes an updated geographic text.[421] Unlike Enoch, it depends on obscure imaginary explorations of the world, *Jubilees* presents a developed geographic method influenced by the Hellenistic world. In addition, *Jubilees* represents the origin and composition of the inhabitants of the world. While Enoch shows a schematic image of the world, highlighting the extremities in an apocalyptic vision, *Jubilees* provides an example of a worldview with a perspective of ethno-geography. The book of *Jubilees* is the account of the history of the world and the people of Israel from its creation.

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[418] Catherine Hezser, "Ancient 'Science Fiction': Journeys into Space and Visions of the World in Jewish, Christian, and Greco-Roman Literature of Antiquity," in *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament* (eds. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 419.

[419] See John S. Bergsma, "The Relationship between Jubilees and the Early Enochic Books (Astronomical Book and Book of the Watchers)," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (eds. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 36-51.

[420] Scott, "On Earth as in Heaven," 185.

[421] Esther Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (eds. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 119.

2.2.3.1. Geographic Aspect

Jubilees 2:1–16 displays a description of the six days of creation rooted in Genesis. It reads that on the first day God created the heavens, the earth, the waters, and the abyss and darkness (2:2, 16). And it expands the shape of the earth. The represented image of the world in *Jubilees* is the feature of tripartite world. This claim is relevant to the genealogy of Noah's descendants which appears in chapters 8–9 and is a thorough revision of Genesis 10, but this book shows an elaborated account beyond the biblical text.[422] While Genesis 10 focuses on the allocated space of Noah's three sons, *Jubilees* 8–9 first outlines the inhabited world by three continents following Noah's three sons and then subdivides each continent into various nations. *Jubilees* 8–9 not only provides a list of the nations by Noah's division but also describes the geography of the world with a detailed description of the geographical limits and boundaries of each portion. The passage in 8:11 reads: "When [Noah] summoned his children…he divided the earth into the lots that his three sons would occupy. They reached out their hands and took the book from the bosom of their father Noah."[423] Whereas the original Table of Nations in Genesis 10 merely presents a list of Noah's descendants, *Jubilees* displays the explicit geographical boundaries between them and detailed descriptions as well.[424] Scott claims that the geographical description of the inhabited world in *Jubilees* is similar to the geographic work of Dionysius which first outlines the world by three continents and then subdivides the continents by major geographical landmarks.[425]

Jubilees illustrates the scope of the inhabited world from the Garden of Eden in the east (8:16) to Gadir in Spain (8:23). Subsequently, *Jubilees* suggests that the earth is

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[422] As for the relationship between Genesis and *Jubilees*, see James Kugel, "Is the Book of Jubilees a Commentary on Genesis or an Intended Replacement?" in *Congress Volume Munich 2013* (ed. Christl M. Maier; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014).

[423] Kugel interprets this phrase to mean "by drawing lots." It means that Noah did not divide the earth into "lots" (portions) on his own, but by drawing lots, thereby insuring the divine determination of the outcome. James Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 77 n. 141.

[424] Scott, *Geography*, 32.

[425] Ibid., 32

divided into three zones based on climate: "This is the land which came to Japheth and his sons as the portion of his inheritance….But [the land of Japheth] is cold, and the land of Ham is hot, but the land of Shem is not hot or cold because it is mixed with cold and heat" (8:29–30). This division by climate reminds the reader of zone theory in Greek antiquity.[426] The author of *Jubilees* would seem to adapt the (five) zone theory (e.g. παντάζωνον, Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.2.1) from Greek geographical traditions but accepts three zones known as temperate areas. Consequently, from this climatic scheme, each son's portion can be summarized as follow: 1) Japheth is in a cold northern zone (Europe); 2) Shem is in a temperate middle zone (Asia); and 3) Ham is in a hot southern zone (Libya/Africa).[427] Likewise, by illustrating three continents, the author of *Jubilees* adopts the Ionian climatic scheme, based on an opposition between a cold northern zone and a hot southern zone with a zone of "mixture" in between,[428] but fills the frame with the biblical narrative rooted in Genesis.

Furthermore, like Enoch, *Jubilees* provides the centrality and magnificence of the city of Jerusalem. Within the Ionian scheme, the author transferred the midpoint of the world from Delphi to Mt. Zion.[429]

> [27] And he said to the angel of the presence, "Write for Moses from the first creation until my sanctuary is built in their midst forever and ever. And the Lord will appear in the sight of all. [28] And everyone will know that I am the God of Israel and the father of all the children of Jacob and king upon Mount Zion forever and ever. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy [29]…the day of the new creation when the heaven and earth and all of their creatures shall be renewed according to the powers of heaven and according to the whole nature of earth, until the sanctuary of the LORD is created in Jerusalem upon Mount Zion. (1:27–29)

In this passage, the author of *Jubilees* presents Jerusalem as the midpoint of the world.[430] This is the first text to provide a clear image of the world as a whole, with a

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[426] Cf. Romm, "Continents, Climates, and Cultures," 228-231.
[427] Philip S. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the *Book of Jubilees*," *JJS* 33 (1982): 204.
[428] Romm, "Continents, Climates, and Cultures," 228.
[429] Eshel, "*Imago Mundi*," 119; Scott, "On Earth as in Heaven," 191; Alexander, "Notes on the Imago Mundi," 199.
[430] In the *Letter of Aristeas*, Jerusalem is described as being located in the midst of the land of the Jews

Jerusalem-centred idea as the navel of the inhabited world.[431] This schematic portrayal

positions those regions relative to the symmetrical and horizontal east-west axis,

passing through Hercules' Pillars, Mt. Zion, and the Garden of Eden.[432] Accordingly,

Jubilees regards Jerusalem as "the sacrosanct place of divine favour and the position

from which the world will ultimately be brought under subjection."[433] Such emphasis

on Jerusalem matches Enoch's notion of the land of Israel as the earth's navel (1 *En.*

26:1).[434] In chapter 8, *Jubilees* emphasizes once again the centrality of Jerusalem. In

particular, the chapter associates the centrality of Jerusalem with superiority of Shem.[435]

The author describes Shem's lots as follow:

> (12) In the book there emerged as Shem's lot the centre of the earth which he
> would occupy as an inheritance for him and for his children throughout the history
> of eternity…Everything to the north belongs to Japheth, while everything to the
> south belongs to Shem…(17) This share emerged by lot for Shem and his children
> to occupy it forever, throughout his generation until eternity. (18) Noah was very
> happy that this share had emerged for Shem and his children. He recalled
> everything that he had said in prophecy with his mouth, for he had said: 'May the
> Lord, the God of Shem, be blessed, and may the Lord live in the places where
> Shem resides' [Gen. 9:27]. He knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies
> and is the residence of the Lord; (that) Mt. Sinai is in the middle of the desert; and
> (that) Mt. Zion is in the middle of the navel of the earth. The three of them–the
> one facing the other–were created as holy (places). (20) He blessed the God of
> gods, who had placed the word of the Lord in his mouth, and (he blessed) the Lord
> forever. (8:12-21)[436]

In this description, whereas Ham receives the hot southern portion (vv. 22–24)

and Japheth receives the cold northern portion (vv. 25–30), Shem obtains the mild

temperate area in the middle of those portions. Shem's apportioned territory indicates

the centre of the earth (v. 12) with Mt. Zion in the middle of the navel of the earth (v.

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and at its highest place: "When we approached near the site, we saw the city [Jerusalem] built in the midst
of the whole land of the Jews, upon a hill which extended to a great height" (83).
[431] Alexander, "Jerusalem as the *Omphalos*," 104.
[432] Francis Schmidt, "Jewish Representations of the Inhabited Earth During the Hellenistic and Roman
Periods," in *Greece and Rome in Eretz-Israel: Collected Essays* (eds. Aryeh Kasher, et al.; Jerusalem: Yad
Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1990), 127-8.
[433] Scott, *Geography*, 34.
[434] Cf. Jerusalem is seen as a navel located in the centre of the world in terms of geopolitical concept, but
also a sacrosanct place with respect to a cosmological worldview.
[435] Eshel, "*Imago Mundi*," 120.
[436] Cited from Scott, *Geography*, 28-29.

19). As a result, God dwells in Shem's portion situated in the temperate zone (v. 18). The central place of the world belongs to Shem's portion. In doing so, the centrality of Jerusalem intensifies Shem's ethnic and geographic supremacy. Later, with Abraham's blessing on his son Jacob, it reads "May the Lord give you righteous descendants, and may he sanctify some of your sons in the midst of all the earth" (22:11). Not only that, all four holy places—the Garden of Eden, Mt. Sinai, Mt. Zion, and the Mountain of the east (cf. 4:26)—are assigned to Shem.[437] Through these four places, the author of *Jubilees* combines together the sanctuary of the LORD, the city Jerusalem, and Mt. Zion with the theme of centrality. The fact that these are located in Shem's territory underscores Shem's superiority.[438] Thus, the image of the inhabited world portrayed in *Jubilees* is the tripartite world, centred on Jerusalem, and underlined as Shem's territory.

As argued above, the inhabited world represented in *Jubilees* is based on an updated geographic text of the Ionian world map. In 8:18, the writer of *Jubilees* compares Mt. Sinai in the middle of the desert and Mt. Zion in the middle of the navel of the earth (v. 18). As for the comparison, Alexander raises a possibility that the author of *Jubilees* might compare the *uninhabited* desert and the *inhabited* earth, based on the Greek conception of the *oikoumene*.[439] This point reflects that *Jubilees* provides the clearest "cartographic image of the world as a whole" based on the Ionian map.[440] However, that is not to say that *Jubilees* is indebted only to the Ionian tradition. While *Jubilees* adopts Greek geographic theory, it also emphasizes a Jewish conception. The author portrays the tripartite world as following the geographical designation of Noah's three sons, instead of the Ionian continents—Europe, Asia, and Libya [Africa]. Alexander notes that "the author of Jubilees interpreted the Bible in the light of the non-

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[437] Besides Mt. Sinai and Zion, there are four mountains in *Jubilees*. See Andrew Geist and James C. VanderKam, "The Four Places That Belong to the Lord (*Jubilees* 4.26)," *JSP* 22 (2012): 146-62.
[438] Scott, *Geography*, 34.
[439] Alexander, "Jerusalem as the *Omphalos*," 105 n. 2.
[440] Ibid., 104. "This Jewish image of the earth was an adaptation of the ancient Ionian map which continued as the common representation long after Eratosthenes developed his mathematical geography." Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 126-27.

Jewish 'scientific' knowledge of the day. He was, it seems, open and receptive to such alien knowledge and envisaged no fundamental clash between it and the truth of the Bible."[441] Put another way, the author of *Jubilees* took the theoretical framework from the Ionian map which the author fills with biblical sources.

2.2.3.2. Table of Nations

Jubilees 8-9 denote the schematic shape of the inhabited world but also these chapters are relevant to the Table of Nations in the known world. The primary sources of the lists have been considered as follow: Genesis 10, the Enochic traditions, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*.[442] The Table of Nations first appears in Genesis 10 by illustrating the descendants of Noah. And through the long Israelite history, the genealogy has been edited and modified through several corpuses. The Table of Nations reveals their general idea for the world as the universal body which is composed of diverse ethnicities rooted in Noah. James VanderKam claims that this arrangement reflects a sort of "systematic arrangement, a scheme that while it echoes historical and geographical facts serves a large end."[443] The rudimentary source of the world's ethno-geographic organization in Genesis 10 was continually modified by the development of geographic and ethnographic knowledge, based on prevalent Hellenistic understandings.[444] In particular, the *Genesis Apocryphon* was considered as an important source by which to examine the Table of Nations in *Jubilees*. Therefore, before discussing the list of nations in *Jubilees*, it is necessary to briefly examine the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) [cols. 16-17] which is the oldest surviving Second

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[441] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi'," 210-11.

[442] Scott, "On Earth as in Heaven," 184-88; See Kugel, "Which in Older, Jubilees or the Genesis Apocryphon?" in *A Walk through Jubilees*, 305-342.

[443] James C. VanderKam, "Putting Them in Their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool," in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (eds. John C. Reeves and John Kampen; JSOTSup 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 47.

[444] Béchard, *Paul*, 188.

Temple period text, mapping the *oikoumene*.[445] It represents the world within the

Ionian geographic perspective. The *Genesis Apocryphon* 16-17 narrates Noah's three

sons—Japheth, Shem, and Ham. As for Shem's descendants, it reads: Elam (17:7-8),

Asshur (17:8), Aram (17:8-9), Lud (17:9-10), and Aprachshad (17:11-15). And with

regard to Japheth's sons, it states: Gomer (17:16), Magog (17:16), Madai (17:17), Javan

(17:17), Tubal (17:17), Meshech (17:18), and Tiras (17:18-19). This fragment indicates

that the descendants of Japheth inhabited northern Europe. Both descendants of Shem

and Japheth coincide with Genesis 10. Yet, from the *Genesis Apocryphon* the textual

remains of Ham's sons have not been identified. This Table of Nations in *Genesis*

Apocryphon is repeated in *Jubilees.* The *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* share a

similar map of the world in terms of linguistic form and geographic content. The former

is more occupied with the right of Israel to the Promised Land than *Jubilees*.[446] Unlike

the *Genesis Apocryphon* which mainly focuses on the geographic aspect of the division

of the world, *Jubilees* highlights its ethnographic division as well.[447] Furthermore,

Jubilees is distinguished from the *Genesis Apocryphon* by its emphasis on Shem's

superiority and by its ethnographic interest.[448]

Back to *Jubilees*, in chapter 8, Noah's three sons and their respective lots are

displayed: Shem's lots (8:11-21); Ham's lots (8:22-24); and Japheth's lots (8:25-29). In

the following chapter 9, Noah's three sons divide their apportioned territory among their

own sons, namely the grandsons of Noah: the sons of Ham (9:1), the sons of Shem (9:2-

6), and the sons of Japheth (9:7-13). The names of Noah's grandsons coincide with

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[445] Regarding the interrelations between them, Fitzmyer argues that the *Genesis Apocryphon* depended on *Jubilees.* Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Genesis Apocryphon," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:302; But Eshel asserts that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is the oldest surviving Second Temple period text mapping the *oikoumene*. Eshel, "*Imago Mundi*," 111.

[446] Daniel Machiela, "'Each to His Own Inheritance' Geography as an Evaluative Tool in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 15 (2008): 50.

[447] Eshel, "*Imago Mundi*," 130-131.

[448] Ibid., 123.

Genesis 10 and in the same order.[449] Through this illustration, *Jubilees* sheds light on the ethnic origin of all human beings who were spread out on the three continents. In illustrating the origin of all human beings in the world, *Jubilees* draws attention to the election of Israel among all nations. As for the reason for choosing Israel on behalf of all humankind, the author points out the importance of their religious practices:

> He said to us: 'I will now separate a people for myself from among my nations. They, too, will keep Sabbath. I will sanctify the people for myself and will bless them as I sanctified the Sabbath day. I will sanctify them for myself; in this way I will bless them. They will become my people and I will become their God. I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all those whom I have seen. (2:19-20)

Likewise, the separation of Israel from other nations is relevant to the observance of Sabbath religious practices. It can be said that the Jewish nation received the gift of priesthood. In chapters 2 and 15, it is emphasized that God commanded Israel alone to observe these religious practices by which God shows his exclusive relationship with Israel.[450]

To sum up, *Jubilees* is an important text in exhibiting Jewish representation of the *oikoumene* during the Hellenistic period. It contains various discourses—the world and its people—of the *oikoumene* in Greek antiquity. This fact implies that the idea of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* permeated Hellenized Jewish thought and, therefore, the Jews attempted to make a scheme to represent the inhabited world by themselves, resting on the Biblical narrative.

2.2.4. Philo

2.2.4.1. Image of the World

Philo provides an outline of the inhabited world through his description of treaties. Above all, he emphasizes the fact that God created the world (κόσμος). He

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[449] The entire order is the same as Genesis 10 but Aram and Lud are changed.
[450] Ari Mermelstein, *Creation, Covenant, and the Beginnings of Judaism: Reconceiving Historical Time in the Second Temple Period* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 94.

claims, "[God] made the world and had made it one world, unique as Himself is unique" (*Opif.* 172). This assertion becomes an aid to unfold his worldview. For Philo, the inhabitable world ranged from India in the east to Spain in the west, and from Scythia in the north to Ethiopia (Libya) in the south (*Somn.* 2.59; *Spec.* 3:15-23; *Deus.* 173-75). This worldview is similar to Greek and Roman geographic perceptions of the first century CE. Based on this range, Philo regards the inhabited world as a tripartite structure as seen in *Jubilees*.[451] He accepts this division and clearly expresses the existence of the three continents of the world: "So that if my own home-city is granted a share of your goodwill the benefit extends not to one city but to myriads of the others situated in every region of the inhabited world whether in Europe or in Asia or in Libya" (*Legat.* 283; cf. *Somn.* 2.54). Philo asserts that, among these three continents, each one holds its own central place. From Philo's geographical horizon, the three centres are as follow: 1) Jerusalem; 2) Greece, with Athens as the main city; and 3) Alexandria and Egypt, where Philo lived.[452] Among them, there is no doubt that, for Philo, the genuine centre is Jerusalem.

Among Philo's treaties, *Embassy to Gaius* contains important clues to highlight his Jerusalem-centred worldview and the tripartite *oikoumene*. *Embassy to Gaius* contains the letter of King Agrippa I to the Emperor Gaius (*Legat.* 276-329). Even though it was written to the Roman emperor, this letter signifies the Jewish worldview which locates Jerusalem at the centre of the world.[453] Here, Philo emphasizes the centrality of Jerusalem and the significance of the Temple: "The highest and, in the true sense, the holy temple of God is, as we must believe, the whole universe, having for its

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[451] There is an exception for the dualistic view. See Philo, *Mose.* 2.20.

[452] Peder Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997), 19. Additionally, Borgen claims the fourth centre of the world might be Italy and thus Rome.

[453] Sarah Pearce, "Jerusalem as 'Mother-City' in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria," in *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire* (ed. John M. G. Barclay; LSTS 45; New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 19-36; Andrea Lieber, "Between Motherland and Fatherland: Diaspora, Pilgrimage and the Spritualization of Sacrifice in Philo of Alexandria " in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (eds. Lynn R. LiDonnici, et al.; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 193-210.

sanctuary the most sacred part of all existence, even heaven, for its votive ornament the stars, for its priests the angels" (*Spec*. I. 66). Philo presents the Temple in Jerusalem as "a pole of attraction for all parts of the inhabited world."[454] Thus, "the holy city…deserves to hold the premier place in [their] esteem" (*Legat*. 288) and "the capital situated in the centre of the land" (*Legat*. 294). Jerusalem was considered as the centre for a network of both Judean and Diaspora Jews.[455] This is especially so for the Diaspora Jews who lived at a physical distance to their homeland; the city was a focal-point in their minds, and encouraged such Jews to go on pilgrimages to the city (*Spec*. 1.69). And their notion of a Jerusalem-centred world is strengthened with a belief of their being a nation chosen by God.

Philo was the first to state that the Jews thought of Jerusalem as their "mother city." In the letter, Agrippa introduces himself as follows: "I as you know am by birth a Jew, and my native city is Jerusalem in which is situated the sacred shrine of the most High God" (*Legat*. 278). Subsequently, the city of Jerusalem is described as follow:

> As for the holy city, I must say what befits me to say. While she, as I have said, is my native city she is also the mother city not of one country Judaea but of most of the others in virtue of the colonies sent out at divers times to the neighbouring lands Egypt, Phoenicia, the part of Syria called the Hollow and the rest as well and the lands lying far apart, Pamphylia, Cilicia, most of Asia up to Bithynia and the corners of Pontus, similarly also into Europe, Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth and most of the best parts of Peloponnese. And not only are the mainlands full of Jewish colonies but also the most highly esteemed of the islands Euboea, Cyprus, Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates, for except for a small part they all, Babylon and of the other satrapies those where the land within their confines is highly fertile, have Jewish inhabitants. So that if my own home-city is granted a share of your goodwill the benefit extends not to one city but to myriads of the others situated in every region of the inhabited world whether in Europe or in Asia or in Libya, whether in the mainlands or on the islands, whether it be seaboard or inland. (*Legat*. 281-3)

In this passage, Agrippa reveals that the native city (πατρίς) Jerusalem is the mother city (μητρόπολις) of not only scattered Jews but also the entire inhabited world.

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[454] Mireille Hadas-Lebel, *Philo of Alexandria: A Thinker in the Jewish Diaspora* (trans. Robyn Fréchet; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 114.
[455] Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 20.

In particular, the term, *metropolis*, signals her colonies listed in the letter. Sarah Pearce points out its relevance to the language of Greek colonization.[456] Namely, *metropolis* which highlights its central locus is correlated with a theme of the colonies. Philo's use of colonial language appears in his other writing, *Flaccus*, as well:

> For so populous are the Jews that no one country can hold them, and therefore they settle in very many of the most prosperous countries in Europe and Asia both in the islands and on the mainland, and while they hold the holy city where stands the sacred Temple of the most high God to be their mother city, yet those which are theirs by inheritance from their fathers, are in each case accounted by them to be their fatherland in which they were born and reared, while to some of them they have come at the time of their *foundations* as immigrants to the satisfaction of the founders. (*Flacc.* 46)

In Philo's description of the Diaspora, he employs a Greek term ἀποικίαν, "foundations," which is the technical term for colonization (or colony) in ancient Greek literature.[457] In this light, Andrea Lieber interprets the Jewish diaspora as "the language of colonization" and "a mark of strength."[458] In other words, by using colonial language, Philo claims that the Diaspora is not just the forced expulsion by a foreign power. Rather, it signifies not only the universal community of the Jews, but also the colonizer Jews around the Mediterranean Sea. For Philo, the Diaspora is not a result of punishment for sin. Consequently, Jerusalem becomes the sacred locus for God's activity and thus the centre of the entire inhabited world where the Jewish worldwide community spreads out.[459]

2.2.4.2. *Oikoumene*

Philo's works offer a wealth of occurrences of the term, *oikoumene*. He was aware of the significance of the concept in his time, thereby employing the term in various passages to indicate the inhabited world. Philo concedes the *oikoumene* is the

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[456] Pearce, "Jerusalem as 'Mother-City'," 32-36.
[457] Pieter Willem van der Horst, *Philo's Flaccus: The First Pogrom : Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 144.
[458] Lieber, "Between Motherland and Fatherland," 196.
[459] In addition to the central location, Philo refers the end of the world too. He illustrates the savage and brutish peoples in the distant area from the temperate zones (*Legat.* 8-10).

tripartite world inhabited by the Diaspora Jews. The *oikoumene* is composed of four

areas: (1) the neighbouring lands; (2) the distant lands; (3) the most highly esteemed of

the islands; and (4) the countries beyond the Euphrates. These colonies correspond to

"myriads of the others situated in every region of the inhabited world whether in Europe

or in Asia or in Libya (καθ' ἕκαστον κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἰδρυθεῖσαι, τὸ Εὐρωπαῖον, τὸ

Ἀσιανόν, τὸ Λιβυκόν)" (*Legat.* 283). On the one hand, the *oikoumene* is the entire world

made up of the three continents; on the other hand, the *oikoumene* is the inhabited world

where the Diaspora Jews spread out. Philo identifies the *oikoumene* from the

perspective of the Jewish Diaspora. Philo's illustration of the colonies is relevant to the

Jewish Diaspora by the latter part of the Second Temple period in which the Diaspora

had grown greatly in extent. For Philo, the Jewish colonies sent out from Jerusalem are

found throughout the *oikoumene*. The letter ends with "the Jews who dwelt not only in

the Holy Land but everywhere through the habitable world (*oikoumene*)" (330). The

Jews spread out into the *oikoumene* from their mother city. As the Diaspora of the Jews

expanded into their neighbouring lands, the capital, Jerusalem, was redressed as the

central locus of the *oikoumene*. In other words, the sacrosanct city of divine favour

becomes the place from which the entire *oikoumene* will be brought under subjection.

Likewise, Philo's usage of the term, *oikoumene*, can be understood through the context

of Diaspora. Additionally, in another book, *Special Laws*, Philo compares Israel to a

sheaf, as a first-fruit of the land and the earth:[460]

> …both of the land which has been given to the nation to dwell in and of the
> whole earth, so that it serves that purpose both to the nation in particular and for
> the whole human race in general. The reason of this is that the Jewish nation is to
> the whole inhabited world (πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος) what
> the priest is to the State. (*Spec.* 2.163)

In this passage, Israel becomes the priest nation on behalf of the entire human

race throughout the known *oikoumene*. Accordingly, Philo's claim displays not only a

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[460] For further discussions, see Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 211-3.

religious responsibility of the Jews but also the feature of the *oikoumene* subordinated to the Jewish nation. This notion is rooted in the fact that the Jewish nation plays a role of priestly significance on behalf of the entire human race (*Abr.* 98; *Mos.* 1:149; *Spec.* 1:97; 2:167) because the Jewish people of God are situated in the very centre of the *oikoumene*, and thus, the centre of humankind. (*Spec.*1.303)[461]

Ultimately, the *oikoumene* is the realm under the dominion of God: "pleasure is a mighty force felt throughout the whole inhabited world (πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης), no part of which has escaped [God's] domination, neither the denizens of land nor of sea nor of the air" (*Spec.* 3:8). In this passage, the God of the Jewish nation rules the entire universe (cf. *Praem.* 99). What is remarkable is that Philo endows the term with a sense of the realm reigned by God, as seen in the Septuagint. Here Philo portrays the *oikoumene* composed of three continents as subordinated to God.

However, besides the conception of the *oikoumene* based on Jewish thought, Philo employs the *oikoumene* to signify the Roman world too. Philo was aware of Roman hegemony over the Mediterranean world and beyond. Consequently, he employs the term, *oikoumene*, to indicate the Roman world.

> [Roman] dominion not confined to the really vital parts which make up most of the inhabited world, and indeed may properly bear that name, the world, that is, which is bounded by the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Rhine, the one dissevering us from the Germans and all the more brutish nations, the Euphrates from the Parthians and from the Sarmatians and Scythians, races which are no less savage than the Germans, but a dominion extending, as I said above, from the rising to the setting sun both within the ocean and beyond it. All these things were a joy to the Roman people and all Italy and the nations of Europe and Asia (*Legat.* 10).

In this passage, Philo depicts Roman dominion located between the Euphrates and the Rhine, including Europe and Asia. In particular, the phrase of comparing her hegemony with the rising sun reflects that Philo recognized the tremendous Roman power over the world at that time. Philo's portrayal of the Roman *oikoumene* is quite similar to that of Greek and Roman writers, as discussed in the previous chapter.

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[461] Ibid., 256-7.

Philo's worldview embedded in his works can be characterized by two facets. Firstly, for Philo, the *oikoumene* is the Jerusalem-centred tripartite world based on the Jewish Diaspora. Philo's portrayal of the world in the narrative displays associations with the biblical traditions as well as the contemporary contexts that were current in that day. He draws an image of the world through God's dominion and thus God's peoples dwelling across the *oikoumene*. Second, the *oikoumene* can be characterized as the world which is subjugated to Roman power by the first century BCE. This aspect implies that it was inevitable for the worldview embedded in Jewish literature to be associated with current political circumstances. It appears more obviously in Josephus.

2.2.5. Josephus

2.2.5.1. Image of the World

Josephus provides valuable sources to highlight the formal features of the inhabited world. He agrees with the conception of the earth as a circular disc surrounded by the Ocean. Josephus interprets Genesis 2 from which he claims that the water around Eden encircles the earth. To illustrate the Ocean, his book, *Jewish Antiquities*, provides an important passage as follows:

> Moses further states that God planted eastward a park, abounding in all manner of plants, among them being the tree of life and another of the wisdom by which might be distinguished what was good and what evil; and into this garden he brought Adam and his wife and bade them tend the plants. Now this garden is watered by a single river whose stream encircles all the earth and is parted into four branches. Of these Phison (a name meaning "multitude") runs towards India and falls into the sea, being called by the Greeks Ganges; Euphrates and Tigris end in the Erythraean Sea: the Euphrates is called Phoras, signifying either "dispersion" or "flower," and the Tigris Diglath, expressing at once "narrowness" and "rapidity"; lastly Geon, which flows through Egypt, means "that which wells up to us from the opposite world," and by Greeks is called the Nile. (*A.J.* 1.37-39)

Josephus illustrates that one river from Eden is divided into four rivers—Phison, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates. A single river originating in Eden is parted into four rivers and its stream being the Ocean encircles the earth. As regards the place beyond

the Ocean, Josephus notes, "for virtuous souls there is reserved an abode beyond the ocean" (*B.J.* 2.155). His description of the end of the earth suggests a surreal feature of the area; for the places beyond the edge and the river which encircles the earth, is related to the idea of a place of the afterlife for human beings.

This account for the circuit of the earth is followed by the composition of the earth based on the Table of Nations (*A.J.* 1.122-47). It is relevant to Josephus' tripartite world structure. Like *Jubilees*, Josephus provides detailed accounts of the territories of Noah's children: Japhethites (1.122-29); Hamites (1.130-142); and Shemites (1.143-147). It seems to adopt similar structure to Genesis 10 and *Jubilees*. The version of Josephus presents similar accounts for the Table of Nations with *Jubilees* but his depiction is quite different from that of *Jubilees*. Unlike Genesis and *Jubilees*, Josephus situates the Table of Nations after the biblical story of the Tower of Babel (1.117-8). Josephus sheds light on God's divine intervention to distribute Noah's families to various places (1.120). Yet, Alexander points out two significant differences: Josephus' dispassionate description and toponymical approach.[462] First, Josephus does not follow *Jubilees*' schema of correlating Noah's three sons with the three Ionian continents. More specifically, Japheth's sons inhabit the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, and advance in Asia up to the river Tanais and into Europe (1.122); Ham's sons dwell on the countries from Syria and the mountain-ranges of Amanus and Libanus, occupying all the districts in the direction of the sea and appropriating the regions reaching to the ocean (1.130); and Shem's descendants live in Asia as far as the Indian Ocean, beginning at the Euphrates (1.143).[463] Interestingly, in this division, whereas *Jubilees* assigns Asia Minor to Shem's territory, Josephus puts it into that of Japhet. In particular, the difference with *Jubilees* is also seen through Josephus' view on Judea. Whereas *Jubilees* locates Judea in Shem's territory, Josephus positions it in Ham's, beyond the

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[462] Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 982-3.
[463] Thomas W. Franxman, *Genesis and the "Jewish Antiquities" of Flavius Josephus* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979),101-102.

Euphrates (*A.J.* 1.136). Josephus' arrangements reflect his realistic perspective. Scott points out that whereas *Jubilees* is idealistic, attempting to harmonize the biblical sources within a preconceived idea, Josephus is realistic, reflecting the historical geopolitical situation of the Hebrew Bible.[464] Second, in description of the lots of Noah's descendants, Josephus emphasizes a toponymical approach to the Table of the Nations, unlike *Jubilees*.[465] In other words, Josephus shows a tendency to "update" the original biblical names of the Nations into his own day's equivalents.[466] Considering that Josephus acknowledged the reign of the Roman Empire over the *oikoumene*, it is not surprising to discover that he depends on Roman nomenclature which is familiar to him.

Another interesting point is that of Josephus' view on the centrality of Jerusalem. Josephus claims that Jerusalem is nothing but the centre of the Israel, not of the whole of the world, and asserts that the city of Jerusalem lies at its very centre, as the navel of the country (*B.J.* 3.52). This claim also reflects his realistic perspective on the world, a notion which appears in Greek texts also. For instance, Strabo portrays Jerusalem as the metropolis of the Judeans (*Geogr.* 16.2.28).[467] Josephus locates Jerusalem centrally on Jewish territories. This stance is relevant to a Rome-centred worldview over the Mediterranean Sea in that time. Since Josephus recognized Rome's claim to centrality, it might be inevitable for him to restrict the centrality of Jerusalem

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[464] Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," 512 n. 118.
[465] Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 982. Josephus writes, "Of the nations some still preserve the names which were given them by their founders, some have changed them, while yet others have modified them to make them more intelligible to their neighbours. It is the Greeks who are responsible for this change of nomenclature ; for when in after ages they rose to power, they appropriated even the glories of the past, embellishing the nations with names which they could understand and imposing on them forms of government, as though they were descended from themselves." (*AJ* 1.121)
[466] Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," 519.
[467] Ptolemy puts Judea, along with several other nations, as situated in the centre of the inhabited world. "The remaining parts of the quarter, situated about the centre of the inhahited world, Idumaea, Coelê Syria, Judaca, Phoenicia, Chaldaea, Orchinia, and Arabia Felix, which are situated toward the north-west of the whole quarter, have additional familiarity with the north-western triangle, Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius, and, furthermore, have as co-rulers Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury." (Ptolemy, *Tetra.* 2.3.29)

merely to the Judean land. In fact, Josephus' geographical discourse is mostly limited to the descriptions of the land of Israel.[468]

2.2.5.2. Roman *Oikoumene* vs. Jewish *Oikoumene*

The works of Josephus provide significant sources for exploring Jewish notions of the *oikoumene* in the first century CE. But the period in which he lived, within which the *oikoumene* was established as a technical term to signal the inhabitable world, was also used for indicating the Roman Empire beyond its geographic sense. We can assume that Josephus was surrounded by a wealth of references to the term. As noted above, he was well aware of the socio-political context around the Mediterranean world that was current in his day. Subsequently, Josephus provides the most comprehensive sources of the word, based on the various contexts through his works. In this light, Yuval Shahar claims that his usage of the term can be classified in two senses:[469] on the one hand, Josephus acknowledged the meaning of the *oikoumene* which was prevalent in the Roman imperial context, thereby instilling the imperial aspect of the *oikoumene* into his books; on the other hand, Josephus sustained a traditional Jewish conception of the world so that he observes an aspect of the *oikoumene* ruled by God. In this sense, one can say that he provides two contrasting perspectives on the *oikoumene* simultaneously: the Rome-centred *oikoumene* and the Jerusalem-centred *oikoumene*. While Josephus indirectly suggests that the *oikoumene* is the world subjugated to Rome, he also depicts the *oikoumene* as God's world, in essence, and the divine world. Thus, we need to carefully examine these two coexisting perspectives.

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[468] See Zeev Safrai, "The Description of the Land of Israel in Josephus' Works," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (eds. Louis H. Feldman and Gōhei Hata; Leiden: Brill, 1989); Per Bilde, "The Geographical Excursuses in Josephus," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith* (eds. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers; Leiden; New York: Brill, 1994).
[469] Shahar argues that Josephus' concept of the *oikoumene* includes the two different sides of the world picture: "1) the political side, where Josephus emphasizes the Roman imperium, so that *oikoumene* is equivalent to the Roman Empire; 2) the Jewish theological side, where *oikoumene* is the kingdom of God on earth, and the eyes of all turn toward His Temple in Jerusalem." Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 257.

First, there is no doubt that Josephus was influenced by the Graeco-Roman perspective on the *oikoumene* and he strongly reflects such a stance. Josephus acknowledged that the *oikoumene* is the realm of the Roman Empire: "Romans, now lords of the universe [*oikoumene*]" (*C. Ap.* 2.41). In particular, Josephus refers the authentic sense of the *oikoumene* and then its politically reinterpreted aspect.

> What allies then do you expect for this war? Will you recruit them from the *uninhabited wilds* (ἀοικήτου)? For in *the habitable world* all are Romans (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπι τῆς οἰκουμένης πάντες εἰσὶν Ῥωμαῖοι)…The only refuge, then, left to you is divine assistance. But even this is ranged on the side of the Romans, for, without God's aid, so vast an empire could never have been built up. (*B.J.* 2.388-390)[470]

In this passage, Josephus clearly defines the meaning of the *oikoumene* by distinguishing the inhabited world from the uninhabitable areas. Josephus then portrays the *oikoumene* as the world subjected to the empire with endowed authority by God. From the viewpoint of Josephus, the Jewish God would have allowed Roman hegemony over the entire *oikoumene*. In doing so, Josephus strengthens the idea of Roman power across the *oikoumene*.

Josephus' statements of imperial *oikoumene* repeatedly occur throughout his *Jewish War*. These statements are found in the description of the universal subjugation of the Roman Empire which Josephus places into the speeches of King Agrippa II. He narrates that myriads of other nations have yielded to Rome (*B.J.* 2.361). More specifically, he notes that the Romans crossed the sea and enslaved Britain who "inhabit an island no less in extent than the part of the world [*oikoumene*] in which we live" (*B.J.* 2.378). Here Josephus accepts pervasive Roman rhetoric regarding the *oikoumene*. And his usage of Agrippa's speech highlights Rome as the most powerful hegemony over the *oikoumene*. Given that, as Rajak claims, Josephus invented Agrippa's speeches for the most part and used them to set off his own interpretation of what happened,[471] one can

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[470] Italics are mine.

[471] Tessa Rajak, "Friends, Romans, Subjects: Agrippa II's Speech in Josephus's *Jewish War*," in *Images of Empire* (ed. Loveday Alexander; JSOTSup 122; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 123.

argue that Josephus' perspective on the *oikoumene* reflects the dominant imperial *oikoumene* in the first century CE.

Besides Agrippa's speeches, Josephus, himself, refers to the imperial *oikoumene* as well. He predicts to Vespasian that he would be the master of land and sea and the whole human race (*B.J.* 3.402) and then says that "at that time one [Vespasian] from their country would become ruler of the world" (*B.J.* 6.312). Eventually, Vespasian is greeted by embassies from every quarter of the *oikoumene* (*B.J.* 4.656). Josephus' *Jewish War* ends with a phrase: "Neither its antiquity, nor its ample wealth, nor its people spread over the whole inhabitable world, nor yet the great glory of its religious rites, could aught avail to avert ruin" (*B.J.* 6.442). In addition, Josephus was also aware of the geographic side of the *oikoumene*. Consequently, he sheds light on the physical extent of the Roman Empire:

> ...even that world has not sufficed for their ambition. For, not content with having for their frontiers on the east the Euphrates, on the north the Ister, on the south Libya explored into desert regions, on the west Gades, they have sought a new world beyond the ocean and carried their arms as far as the Britons, previously unknown to history. (*B.J.* 2.363-4).

In this description of Rome's territoriality, Josephus sheds light on the ambition of the Roman Empire to encroach from the north to the south, just as Greek and Roman geographers portray it. In this way, Josephus interprets the *oikoumene* as the Roman world. Also, Josephus adopts the table of the conquered nations, as the Romans did. In order to illustrate the universal sovereignty of the Roman Empire, Josephus exhibits the lists of the subjugated nations under Rome (*B.J.* 2.358-387). Likewise, from various occurrences of the *oikoumene* in its political context, it can be said that Josephus surely acknowledged the imperial aspect of the *oikoumene*, as the Roman Empire itself.

Conversely, Josephus also notes the concept of the divine *oikoumene* against the imperial *oikoumene* as well. Firstly, he defines the city of Jerusalem as the supreme capital and thus the city which dominates the space around it, as the head towers above

the body (*B.J.* 3.54). For Josephus, the significance of Jerusalem can be characterized as the city of the Temple and God.[472] With regard to the Temple, Josephus notes that the Temple is "replenished by the tributes offered to God from every quarter of the world [*oikoumene*]" (*B.J.* 5.187).[473] Consequently, Jerusalem's geographical centrality combines with Jewish theological perspectives within Josephus' works. From the Temple, the Jewish diaspora spread all over the *oikoumene*. Similar to Philo, Josephus illustrates that "The Jewish race, [was] densely interspersed among the native populations of every portion of the world" (*B.J.* 7.43).[474] Moreover, Josephus has a notion of God's reign over the *oikoumene*:

> …while the altar of incense, by the thirteen fragrant spices from sea and from land, both desert and inhabited, with which it was replenished, signified that all things are of God and for God (*BJ* 5.218); aye and ye shall suffice for the world, so furnish every land with inhabitants sprung from your race….the habitable world, be sure, lies before you as an eternal habitation, and your multitudes shall find abode on islands and continent, more numerous even than the stars in heaven. (*A.J.* 4.115-6)

These two statements remind the audiences of a verse in Psalms: "the earth is the Lord's and all that is in it, the world, and those who live in it" (Ps. 24:1). Josephus' description of God's dominion over *oikoumene* alludes to the idea that the divine *oikoumene* will surpass the imperial *oikoumene*. Such a description provides a clue to converge Josephus' two contrasting perspectives on the *oikoumene*: a Rome-centred *oikoumene* and a Jerusalem-centred *oikoumene*. Shahar defines these two contrasting conceptions of the *oikoumene* as the "Roman political *oikoumene*" and the "Jewish theocratic" concept. According to Shahar, even though there was a tension between the two conceptions for Josephus, he shows a clear preference for the latter rooted in a

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[472] Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 261.

[473] Interestingly, Jewish priests offered sacrifices in the Temple for, and on behalf of, the Roman emperor. The point at which they stopped doing so was the beginning of the first Jewish War in 66CE.

[474] Of course, Josephus knows the reason for the Diaspora is a punishment of God for the sins of those Jews, so that they were "dispersed throughout the habitable world" (*A.J.* 4.190): "God it is then, God Himself, who with the Romans is bringing the fire to purge His temple and exterminating a city so laden with pollutions" (*B.J.* 6.110). Nevertheless, for Josephus, the widespread Diaspora of Jews signifies the universal *oikoumene* as well as the divine pervasion into the entire *oikoumene*.

belief that "the Jewish theocratic view is destined to be revealed in the political arena and, quite simply, to replace Roman political dominion."[475]

To sum up, the inhabited world Josephus envisaged can be characterized as a picture on which divine power flowed from the top of Mt. Zion toward all nations and pervaded into all the *oikoumene* through the Diaspora. His worldview is based on the biblical narrative. However, through discussions on the occurrences of the *oikoumene*, one can find that there might be a conceptual encounter between the imperial *oikoumene* and the Jewish *oikoumene*. In terms of the centrality of its own capital, those two worldviews closely resemble one another. For Josephus, one can assume that there was the tension between two coexisting worlds. In other words, Josephus was surrounded by these conflicting worldviews. To be sure, Josephus recognizes that the world where he dwells at that moment is completely governed by Roman power, even though it had been created by God. Subsequently, Josephus sheds light on the fact that the *oikoumene* is God's world in essence but through illustration of the widespread movement of the Jews, he attempts to show that God's peoples inhabit the *oikoumene*. And he did not show interest in explicating the geographic sense of the *oikoumene* which was prevalent in Greek thought. Rather, Josephus repaints the geo-political sense of the *oikoumene* within a Jewish theological sense.[476]

2.3. Summary

We have discussed the worldview of the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism. Strictly speaking, the worldview was not a characteristic concept distinguished from nearby cultures. Rather, their worldview can be characterized as a product formulated through continuous interaction with the ancient Near East as well as the Hellenistic cultures. Judaism underwent influential Hellenization by the first century.

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[475] Shaḥar, *Geographicus*, 264.
[476] Ibid., 266.

As a result, their worldview shows abundant traces of Greek and Roman conceptions of geography. The shape of the world seen in the First and Second Temple periods implies that they adopted prevalent concepts from neighbouring cultures around the Mediterranean Sea.

However, it is obvious that Israel has taken those sources from other dominant cultures around the Mediterranean Sea but reinterpreted those sources within their own theoretical and theological framework. In other words, within their monotheistic beliefs rooted in the Hebrew Bible, they reshaped a worldview into their own narratives. The Jewish worldview is essentially rooted in the creation account of Genesis. In Jewish literature, the world is characterized as a Jerusalem-centred world against the *Omphalos*, or the city of Rome, and its peoples can be characterized as the Table of Nations, as descendants of Noah. In particular, the Table serves as a significant clue for disclosing the identity of the inhabitants of the entire inhabited world.

The way they perceive the world is relevant to the mental image.[477] There is a reason for Jews to completely rely on the mental mapping of the world. This is because they did not have any techniques of geographic description of the world, nor were they skilful geographers. They did not leave any geographic texts and maps. Unlike Greeks and Romans who relied on accurate mapping for accomplishing military conquest, the Jewish geographic consideration was relevant for their purposes to display the features of the world created and subjected by God. As a result, they left textual illustrations of the inhabited world and intended people to project a mental image of it. Their geographic imagery corresponds to the Jewish tradition, based on the central position of Jerusalem from which mighty power spread out across the world. Their textual portrayal of the world has always been associated with the desire to make some statements about

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[477] Philip Alexander associates the mental map with geography in the Bible. He claims that "Human beings appear to have a fundamental need to project order onto the space in which they live and move: they process spatial data received through the senses, relating one element to another and abstracting a mental map or model which functions as a constant frame of reference for all their activities." Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 978.

the world, namely, the world created by God is under the reign of God and thus all inhabitants come from one source.

However, as seen in Josephus, the concept of the *oikoumene* permeated the Second Temple literature. Accordingly, the *oikoumene*, loaded with political senses of the Roman Empire, might be a serious challenge to the Jewish worldview. The Septuagint translator employed the term in order to denote the world of God but the enormous Roman imperial impact on the Jewish world was an inescapable phenomenon in Judea by the first century CE. Josephus' ambivalent usage well reflects this point. Subsequently, there was a conceptual tension between the *oikoumene* as the creation of God and the *oikoumene* as a ruled world under Roman hegemony. This would not simply have been a perspective noted by Josephus. Rather, this might also be the case for Diaspora Jews and perhaps even more for peoples in the Judean land.

If so, how did the Christ-followers, especially the authors of the Gospels, perceive the *oikoumene* in that period? How did they negotiate these contrasting *oikoumenai* in early Christian literature? From my perspective, Josephus' stance provides a way to understand those two contrasting *oikoumenai* in that period with ramifications for a reading of Luke-Acts. Consequently, in the following chapter, Luke's understandings of the *oikoumene* in the search for traces of the Graeco-Roman *oikoumene* and a Jewish worldview of the *oikoumene* through eight occurrences of the term will be explored.

Chapter 3. The *Oikoumene* in Luke-Acts

The main aim of this thesis is to elucidate Luke's perspective on the inhabited world—the *oikoumene*. The *oikoumene* was a word coined by the ancient Greeks to indicate the inhabited or known world, but the word had constantly been re-interpreted by Romans and Jews within their own context and theoretical frameworks. The *oikoumene* became a contextualized terminology within each culture in that era; a fact which reflects how each society preserved its own characteristic worldview by which they conceptualized the *oikoumene*. As a result, the term was widely used for political and religious identity when Luke wrote his two-volume work.

In order to grasp Luke's own conception of the inhabited world, it is necessary to examine Luke's conception of the term, *oikoumene*. Namely, Luke's notion of the inhabited world should be followed by discussions on Luke's notion of the term, *oikoumene*. It is significant to see how Luke perceived the word and employed it within his own books. Did Luke understand the *oikoumene* in terms of the inhabited world, or Roman *imperium*, or the world of God as seen in the Septuagint? In order to solve this question, this chapter explores Luke's usage of the *oikoumene* through eight occurrences (Luke 2:1; 4:5; 21:26; Acts 11:28; 17:6, 31; 19:27; 24:5), and will focus on an exegetical analysis of each occurrence.

3.1. The *Oikoumene* in the New Testament

Before entering into a discussion on Luke's perspectives of the *oikoumene*, one needs to examine the occurrences of the *oikoumene* within the entire New Testament. Considering the cases made by Josephus, one can assume that there were two conflicting conceptions of the *oikoumene*: the Roman imperial *oikoumene* and the Jewish *oikoumene*. If so, how did the early Christ-movement adopt the Greek term in

their respective contexts? In fact, the term, *oikoumene*, is not a prevalent term in the New Testament. As seen in the Septuagint, a more commonly employed term to indicate the earth/world is γῆ. The *oikoumene* occurs only fifteen times in the entire New Testament (one occurrence in Matthew; three in Luke; five in Acts; one in Romans; two in Hebrews; and three in Revelation).[478] Outside of Luke and Acts, it appears only seven times. The *oikoumene* thus can be classified into two senses: 1) the apocalyptic world in terms of eschatology (Matt. 24:14; Rom. 10:18; Heb. 1:6; 2:5; Rev. 3:10); and 2) the world ruled by demonic powers (Rev. 12:9; 16:14).

Firstly, the *oikoumene* appears in an eschatological sense. Paul employs it once when he writes, "But I ask, have they not heard? Indeed they have; for their voice has gone out to all the earth, and their words to the ends of the *world*" (Rom. 10:18). Paul appears to quote LXX Psalm 18:5 (MT 19:4). Considering the entire context of chapter 10, Paul employs this term to highlight the goal of the universal mission which is directed to "all" Gentiles beyond the Jews. This passage is relevant to the expansive language of the early Christian mission.[479] For Paul, the *oikoumene* is the whole of the world to be evangelized and restored by proclaiming the gospel. Paul's hyperbolic vision in this passage is relevant to the full eschatological sweep of the Gentile mission.[480] This eschatological vision of the *oikoumene* appears in Matthew as well: "And this good news of the kingdom will be proclaimed throughout the *oikoumene*, as a testimony to all the nations; and then the end will come" (24:14).

Comparing Matthew's text to Mark 13:10, Matthew adds two important words: 1) "[whole] the world" (ὅλη τῇ οἰκουμένῃ) to intensify the universality of the *oikoumene*,[481] and 2) "the end" (τέλος) to emphasize an eschatological *oikoumene*. This

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[478] Except for Luke-Acts, it appears in Matt. 24:14; Rom. 10:18; Heb. 1:6; 2:5; Rev. 3:10; 12:9; 16:14.
[479] Robert Jewett, *Romans* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2007), 643.
[480] James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (WBC; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1988), 624; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996), 667.
[481] Michel points out that the formula, ἐν ὅλη τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, derives from current Hellenistic usage (Josephus, *AJ*. 11.196). Matthew uses the *oikoumene* in a non-political nuance. Otto Michel, "οἰκουμένη,"

supplement denotes the emphasis on the universal proclamation of the gospel to all nations in the end.[482] This is quite similar to the usage of the Septuagint. The *oikoumene* reflects the importance of the universal mission to all nations.

In Hebrews, the *oikoumene* occurs again: "And again, when he brings the firstborn into the *world*, he says, Let all God's angels worship him…Now God did not subject the coming *world*, about which we are speaking, to angels" (1:6; 2:5). The passage in Hebrews 2:5 echoes that of LXX Psalm 92:1 and 95:10. In the passage in 1:6, the phrase, εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, implies the fact that the *oikoumene* is the world into which Jesus was brought. This meaning is clarified in the ensuing passage in 2:5 in which the *oikoumene* is described as the coming world.[483] Ardel Caneday writes that "the referent of οἰκουμένη in Hebrews 1:6 is best understood as 'the inhabitable realm yet to come,' spoken of in 2:5, into which God has already led the Son."[484] This usage refers to the enthronement of Jesus and the eschatological salvation in the Parousia.[485] Namely, the *oikoumene* can be seen as the eschatological world already subjected to the Son. Thus, as James Thompson points out, the *oikoumene* in Hebrews is "the transcendent world of the exaltation" as well as "the promised land to which God brings the firstborn son in anticipation of the time when God will 'lead many sons to glory'" (2:10).[486] In other words, the *oikoumene* is the notion which reflects God's sovereignty through his first-born Son. The *oikoumene* is the spiritual reality under God's rule or administration. This conception of the *oikoumene* exhibits a hope for God's kingdom to come in the end. In this way, the

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TDNT 5:158.

[482] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21-28* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 2005), 194.

[483] In 2:5, "this distinctive designation, which finds equivalent expression in μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, "the age to come" (6:5), or πόλιν ...τὴν μέλλουσαν, "the city to come" (13:14), reflects a class of statements in the Psalter that proclaim the establishment of the eschatological kingdom of God." William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8* (WBC; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1991), 45.

[484] Ardel B. Caneday, "The Eschatological World Already Subjected to the Son: The *Oikoumene* of Hebrews 1.6 and the Son's Enthronement," in *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Theology of Hebrews in Its Ancient Contexts* (eds. Richard Bauckham, et al.; LNTS 387; London; New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 29.

[485] George Johnston, "Οἰκουμένη and Κόσμος in the New Testament," *NTS* 10 (1964): 353-4.

[486] James W. Thompson, *Hebrews* (PCNT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academics, 2014), 54.

oikoumene in Hebrews holds its eschatological aspect like the occurrence in Romans and Matthew.

Finally, the eschatological *oikoumene* also occurs in the Book of Revelation. The author puts the *oikoumene* under the judgment of God: "I will keep you from the hour of trial that is coming on the whole *world* to test the inhabitants of the earth (ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης πειράσαι τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς)" (3:10). In this passage, the tribulation will be seen as a universal effect. The *oikoumene* comes with the hyperbole adjective, ὅλος, and has a universal reference.[487] The phrase τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης has an "all-inclusive reference"[488] which also appears in other occurrences of the *oikoumene* in Revelation (12:9; 16:14).

However, Revelation provides quite different perspectives to the *oikoumene* in other occurrences. The author highlights that the *oikoumene* does not belong to God but belongs to the Devil who is "the deceiver of the whole *world*" (12:9); "These are demonic spirits…who go abroad to the kings of the whole *world*, to assemble them for battle on the great day of God the Almighty" (16:14). From these two passages, the *oikoumene* is described as the world deceived by the Devil. Moreover, the demonic power, a ruler of the *oikoumene*, will cooperate with the gathering of the nations hostile to the people of God for "the great messianic battle of the end time."[489] In these two cases, the *oikoumene* signifies the hostile nations against God. In particular, in 16:14, the *oikoumene* is the realm of the kings who were deceived for the war against God. The kings are political authorities of the impious world system.[490] Similarly, the *oikoumene* in Revelation, specifically, the last two cases, exhibits the world which stands in contrast to God's divine creation. Rather, the word to indicate the creation of God (14:7) under God's dominion (5:10; 11:18; 21:1) in Revelation is not so much the *oikoumene*

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[487] G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans; Paternoster, 1999), 290.
[488] Ibid., 834
[489] David E. Aune, *Revelation 6-16* (WBC; Nashville, Tenn.: T. Nelson, 1998), 896.
[490] Beale, *Revelation*, 834.

as γῆ.[491] At least, among the NT writers, the author of Revelation intentionally isolates the *oikoumene* from the divine realm of God. Thus, in Revelation, the *oikoumene* is characterized as the world deceived by demonic power but which will be judged by God in the last days.

Similarly, a brief analysis of the *oikoumene* in the NT affirms that the *oikoumene* does not represent one coherent sense but displays diverse aspects. Taken together, these occurrences demonstrate that the NT authors understood the *oikoumene* as the world governed under pagan hegemony but also as a world that will be judged and restored by God in the end-time. Even though there are slight differences, most of the occurrences are relevant to eschatology. Furthermore, these occurrences display a perspective of the coexistence of two *oikoumenai*, of Pagan (Roman) and Jewish perspectives, as seen in Josephus. In a sense, the tension between the two contrasting *oikoumenai* can be examined by the question: Who is the authentic master over the *oikoumene*? The fact that these two world conceptions are encountered in the New Testament gives an important clue for our reading of Luke-Acts. Luke, like Josephus, sustains these two perspectives together within a single work. Thus, a significant tension may be found between these two worldviews throughout Luke and Acts.

Luke provides further aspects of the *oikoumene*.[492] Within the Luke-Acts narrative Luke's usage of the term provides quite diverse spectrums of his understanding of it, even if it does not show any specific coherence. This Chapter explores each occurrence with a detailed exegesis within its literary context, focusing on how Luke perceives the term. In doing so, how Luke understands the meaning of

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[491] Barbara R. Rossing, "(Re)Claiming Oikoumenē " in *Walk in the Ways of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza* (eds. Shelly Matthews, et al.; Harrisburg, Pa.; London: Trinity Press International, 2003), 80. For Rossing, "*oikoumenē* is portrayed rather as a realm supported by violence, a realm that has been deceived by Satan (12:9) and aligned with Rome and its king for battle against God (16:14), a realm of future tribulation and judgment (3:10)." See Ibid., 81.
[492] Of course, like other authors of the NT, the prevalent term to denote the world is γῆ. It appears twenty-five times in Luke and thirty-three times in Acts.

oikoumene in within both the Graeco-Roman and Jewish contexts will be probed and considered.

3.2. The *Oikoumene* in Luke 2:1

3.2.1. The *Oikoumene* and Imperial Context

It the first occurrence, Luke 2:1-5 reads as follows:

> In those days a decree went out from Emperor Augustus that all the *world* should be registered. This was the first registration and was taken while Quirinius was governor of Syria. All went to their own towns to be registered. Joseph also went from the town of Nazareth in Galilee to Judea, to the city of David called Bethlehem, because he was descended from the house and family of David. He went to be registered with Mary, to whom he was engaged and who was expecting a child.

Luke relates the *oikoumene* with the world ruled by the Roman emperor, Augustus. Among eight occurrences of the *oikoumene* in Luke-Acts, Luke 2:1 is the passage that best reflects the context of the Roman Empire. In this passage, the *oikoumene* undoubtedly signifies the Roman Empire, *imperium Romanum*.[493]

Luke associates the birth narrative of Jesus with the imperial history. This verse begins with the temporal phrase "in the days" (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις), which reflects not only Luke's inclination of writing "an orderly account" (1:3) but also his aim to illustrate the narrative within its historical context. Luke attempts to have his readers acknowledge the features of the world where Jesus had lived and where they were living at that moment. Luke's audiences are the people who experienced the demise of the Jerusalem Temple around 70 CE, but Luke invites them into the space and time of Jesus, by repeatedly employing this temporal phrase (Luke 1:5; 2:1; 3:1).[494] This repeated expression suggests Luke's highlighting of the temporal transition into the era of

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[493] Marshall, *Luke*, 98; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 400; Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 124-5; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 83.

[494] Green claims that this phrase suggests the narration of events of eschatological import (cf. 4:2; 5:35; 9:36; Acts 2:18).Green, *Luke*, 125. Plus, Green notes that this temporal phrase functions as geo-political markers as well. Green, *Theology of Luke*, 3.

Augustus.[495] Such a temporal phrase sheds light on Luke's Gospel as part of Roman imperial history, thereby associating the birth narrative with the Roman world.[496] In doing so, Luke employs an epitomized term reflecting the political and cultural context of the time, the *oikoumene*.

Luke's portrayal of the *oikoumene* as the Roman Empire is clearly attested through chapters one to three, in particular with two terms– δόγμα and ἡγεμονία. In the prologue, Luke sets the territorial stage within the land of Judea. In chapter one, Luke foretells the birth of Jesus, followed by the birth narrative in chapter two. However, Luke inserts the decree of the Roman emperor between these smooth flowing episodes, thereby delineating the Judean land within imperial encroachment. To highlight the imperial atmosphere, alongside οἰκουμένη, Luke employs a word to denote an imperial symbol or "decree" (δόγμα) (2:1),[497] corresponding to the Latin *placitum* and *decretum* which refers to a formal action of the Roman Senate.[498] Another term to indicate the imperial atmosphere is ἡγεμονία: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Emperor Tiberius" (Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος) (3:1). In this passage, the word, ἡγεμονία, translated as "reign" (NRSV), signals the control of the imperial government and various officials in the Roman Empire, including the emperor himself. Here it is noteworthy that the related verb-form, ἡγεμονεύοντος, is used with reference to

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[495] Kazuhiko Yamazaki-Ransom, *The Roman Empire in Luke's Narrative* (LNTS 404; London: T & T Clark, 2010), 72. In particular, Luke employs the Greek term, Αὔγουστος, which is transliterated word from the emperor's Latin title, *Augustus*. Elsewhere Luke employs, Σεβαστός which is attributed to a Roman official (Acts 25:21, 25). Colin J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (WUNT 49; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989),107. Luke does not use the general Greek term, Σεβαστός, to translate the Latin, *Augustus*, which is a formally accepted term in Greek. Rather, by using Αὔγουστος, which was considered the personal name of the *first* emperor, Octavian, Luke implicitly emphasizes the fact that this is the story of the era of Augustus. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (3d ed.; Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 436. And the transliterated form of *Augustus* does not occur in literature prior to Luke. Royce L. B. Morris, "Why ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ? A Note to Luke 2.1," *NTS* 38 (1992): 143. According to Morris, the reason that Luke employs Αὔγουστος, instead of Σεβαστός, is to avoid the sacred connotation it would have evoked from these Greek audiences.

[496] There are noteworthy texts displaying an imperial context. See Luke 2:1; Acts 11:27-28; 18:2; 24:2; 26:26.

[497] Luke uses the term, δόγμα, as an imperial edict in the fifth occurrence of the *oikoumene* (Acts 17:7).

[498] Marshall, *Luke*, 98; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke* (ECNT; 2 vols; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academics, 1994-1996), 1:202.

Pilate in the following phrase, "when Pontius Pilate was 'governor' of Judea."[499] By using the same word for portraying the political power, both the emperor in Rome and the governor in Jerusalem/Judea, Luke implicitly emphasizes that the power of the emperor in Rome invades Judea by the order of the governor, Pilate, who epitomizes imperial power. In other words, the hegemony of the Emperor who is distant from Judea symbolically resides within the Jewish world through another hegemonic personality, Pilate. Likewise, in the preface and birth narrative of Jesus, Luke skilfully disposes the space of the Roman Empire in the place of the Judean land, by beginning each chapter with the existence of imperial entities.[500] By doing so, Luke illuminates the Roman *oikoumene*.

3.2.2. Roman Political Census

Luke's perspective on the *oikoumene* is elucidated by his mention of the census conducted by the emperor Augustus which sits within the birth narrative. What is Luke's intention for doing so? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to explore the Roman census, in detail, which can be characterized as two types: (1) a census for Roman citizen; and (2) a local census conducted by provincial officers. Each also contains its own ideological aspect in addition to simply the counting of the population.

First, the Romans carried out the census to count their citizens.[501] It was mainly taken for the purpose of taxation and military service by counting available men and goods within a town or city.[502] Augustus conducted a census for Roman citizens three times (28, 8 BCE, 14 CE).[503] In *Res Gestae*, he recalls:

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[499] Luke again uses this term, ἡγεμονός, to describe Pilate in Luke 20:20. Thus, Luke introduces a historical personality who plays a decisive role in the Passion narrative. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 456.

[500] Vernon K. Robbins, "Luke-Acts: A Mixed Population Seeks a Home in the Roman Empire," in *Images of Empire* (ed. Loveday Alexander; JSOTSup 122; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 205-7.

[501] For a comprehensive analysis of the Roman census, see Saskia Hin, *The Demography of Roman Italy: Population Dynamics in an Ancient Conquest Society 201 BCE-14 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 351-3.

[502] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 400.

[503] Later, Tiberius (14-37 CE) established the fourteen-year cycle census. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 354.

In my fifth consulship I increased the number of patricians on the instructions of the people and the senate. I revised the roll of the senate three times. In my sixth consulship with Marcus Agrippa as colleague, I carried out a census [*censum populi*] of the people, and I performed a *lustrum* after a lapse of forty-two years; at that *lustrum* 4,063,000 Roman citizens were registered. Then a second time I performed a *lustrum* with consular *imperium* and without a colleague, in the consulship of Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius; at that *lustrum* 4,233,000 citizens were registered. Thirdly I performed a *lustrum* with consular *imperium*, with Tiberius Caesar, my son, my colleague, in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius; at that *lustrum* 4,937,000 citizens were registered. (*RG.* 8.1-4)[504]

In particular, *Res Gestae* reads that each census was conducted with *lustrum*. This Latin term signifies the ceremony of purification which concluded the enrolment of Roman citizens.[505] According to Livy,

Upon the completion of the census…Servius issued a proclamation calling on all Roman citizens, both horse and foot, to assemble at daybreak, each in his own century, in the Campus Martius. There the whole army was drawn up, and a sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull was offered by the king for its purification. This was termed the "closing of the lustrum," because it was the last act in the enrolment. (*Ab Urbe.* 1.44.2).

Likewise, the census was combined with the imperial cult. Eck explains that "A *lustrum* was a purification ritual, which took place after a census was held. It symbolized the newly-constituted citizenry."[506] Moreover, by the process of purification of the citizen body, the citizens determined that they would voluntarily participate in war. Such a process of the census shows the theme of the imperial cult, and, even the word, *lustrum*, itself suggests "a religious dimension to such acts."[507] In this perspective, a Roman census was more than a policy to simply register citizens; rather, the census corresponds to a strategy for permeating Roman imperial ideology to the citizens. The census was a method to allow the populace to consider their position in the world within the context of such questions as, where do I live and where do I

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[504] Yet, scholars raise a problem about accuracy for these figures. See Nicolet, *Space*, 130-32.
[505] Robert Samuel Rogers and Herbert W. Benario, *Caesaris Augusti Res Gestae, Et, Fragmenta* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ Press 1990), 52.
[506] Eck, *The Age of Augustus*,187 n.11.
[507] Allen Brent, *The Imperial Cult and the Development of Church Order: Concepts and Images of Authority in Paganism and Early Christianity before the Age of Cyprian* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 84.

belong?[508] In doing so, the census allowed Roman citizens to recognize and establish

their social identity. In other words, the census was one of the instruments to identify

the Roman citizenry.[509]

Second, Romans conducted a local census on the conquered nations within the

empire and the census was an important method to control Roman imperial space in that

time, demonstrating Roman hegemony. A Roman census is associated with the desire

"to know the approximate extent and limits within the *oikoumene* of the world that they

have to govern."[510] By the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Roman Empire,

as Rome expanded its territory, they felt the necessity to inspect their imperial dominion

in terms of population and property.[511] Regarding the necessity of the census, especially

in the reign of Augustus, Nicolet notes,

> Augustus sought to make knowledge and representation of the imperial sphere
> more precise, which ultimately implied the creation of a geography, a
> chorography, and even a cartography that were coherent and progressively
> improving. But there is not only the physical sphere to be considered: there is
> also a human sphere in administrative and economic terms, whose control
> depends on the mastery of statistical information concerning it….The complex
> operations to the census were the keystone of the Roman civic system. It made
> possible both the knowledge of the city's resources—in terms of available men
> and goods—and the ranking of citizens according to various criteria (the most
> important of which was patrimony), so as to divide up the responsibilities and the
> advantages of state policy.[512]

Likewise, the census was a significant strategy to govern Roman imperial space,

thereby certifying the emperor's subjects in the first century CE. Behind a census, there

was the power claim by which the Roman emperor dominated the *oikoumene*. Hence,

the census was an expression of their boast to conquer and control the whole inhabited

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[508] Cf. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 353.
[509] Román, *Citizenship and Its Exclusions*, 23; Engin F. Isin, *Citizenship and Identity* (London: Sage, 1999), 105-6. For further discussion in terms of Roman imperial strategy, see Nicolet, *Space*, 133-4.
[510] Nicolet, *Space*, 123.
[511] "At an administrative level Rome had a profound interest in defining geographic space. The fantastic efforts poured into the census fixed the gaze of every inhabitant of the empire upon the extent of his property and, by implication, on the ability of Rome to measure and to map its world. The servants of the emperor also marked the land. They maintained a special interest in the boundaries between the Roman empire and the territory of foreign powers, especially when customs could be collected from the trade along those borders." Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 321.
[512] Nicolet, *Space*, 125-6.

world. While the Romans governed the physical sphere through geographic and cartographic descriptions, they also controlled the human sphere by the mastery of statistical information concerning it.[513]

The local census under the reign of Augustus was called ἀπογράφω (cf. Luke 2:1–2). In each province, the emperor established rulers—such as legates, prefects, and procurators—to conduct the provincial census. Accordingly, Roman provincial censuses were taken by local rulers. This provincial census was conducted mainly to register property for the purpose of taxation, thereby accomplishing further revenue by means of taxation.[514] Romans utilized the census to assess how much habitable land they had. For the accurate estimation of property in each province, the census played an essential role. Consequently, financial officers of each province served to coordinate the fact-finding procedures with central authorities and thereafter Romans were able to financially exploit every province.[515] Luke's reports about tribute reflect that he was aware of the close relationship between the census and taxes (Luke 20:20–26).[516] Thus, this local census played an important role in intensifying Roman imperialism over the conquered world. On the one hand, the census was a policy to establish ethnic identity by the Romans and to control conquered peoples; on the other hand, it was a device to measure the size of military capability and of counting taxation.

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[513] Ibid., 125.

[514] Michael Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 50. For instance, the Egyptian census, a provincial census, provides detailed illustrations of the local census under the reign of the Roman Empire. See Brook W. R. Pearson, "The Lucan Censuses, Revisited," *CBQ* 61 (1999): 273-4; Stanley E. Porter, "The Reasons for the Lukan Census," in *Paul, Luke and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J.M. Wedderburn* (eds. Alf Christophersen and A. J. M. Wedderburn; JSNTSup 217; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 176-87.

[515] D. J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 141.

[516] Pyung Soo Seo, *Luke's Jesus in the Roman Empire and the Emperor in the Gospel of Luke* (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications, 2015), 54-63.

3.2.3. Lukan Census

Luke locates this theme into the birth narrative of Jesus. Luke describes how Augustus ordered a world-wide census and appears to associate Jesus' birth narrative, in the days of King Herod of Judea (1:5), within Augustus' universal census. However, there are two controversial issues. Many researchers have argued that this passage contains several chronological and historical errors.[517] First, there was no ancient evidence of a universal census conducted by Augustus.[518] Also, there was not any world-wide registration at the time of Herod the Great (37-4 BCE). In terms of historicity, no data has yet been found to determine a universal census by Augustus. Second, whereas Jesus was born towards the end of the reign of Herod who died in 4 BCE (1:5), Quirinius was the imperial legate for the Roman province of Syria in 6/7 CE.[519] Quirinius and the census under him do not match other dates in Luke's Gospel.[520] Not only is there a problem of dating, but also, the necessity of the census, itself, is a problem. In light of the above discussion, the census for which Joseph was required to register corresponds to a local census. Luke's ἀπογράφω signifies the census for provincial inhabitants administered by Qurinius, a provincial governor (2:2). However, it is quite problematic, since Jews were exempt from military service. Such a registration, therefore, was unnecessary in the Judean land.

A wealth of studies has attempted to explain and solve these chronological and historical problems. Regarding the chronological problems, several attempts have been

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[517] Nolland, *Luke 1*, 99-102; Marshall, *Luke*, 99-104; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 399-401. Green insists, "First, in contrast to the earlier chronological reference in 1:5, with its focus on Judean history, this one concerns 'the world.' This innovation implies that, whereas John's ministry was to be focused on Israel (cf. 1:16), the reach of Jesus' ministry would be universal." Green, *Luke*, 125. Regarding overall discussion on the census, see Porter, "Lukan Census," 165-188; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 547-56. And regarding non-biblical scholars' views, Nicolet claims that "we have been obsessed by the obvious error made by Luke of identifying the census of A.D. 6/7 in Judea as a universal census." Nicolet, *Space*, 137.
[518] See Nigel Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1965), 23-4.
[519] See Josephus, *AJ* 17.13.5; 18.1.1; 18.2.1; *BJ* 2.8.1; 2.9.1. For further discussion on Josephus on the Quirinian Census, see Pearson, "Lucan Censuses," 264-5. Porter expands this matter arguing that Qurinius served two legateships solving this problem. See, Porter, "Lukan Census," 172-3. Yet, Rhoads argues that Josephus's chronical error demonstrates Luke's authenticity. John H. Rhoads, "Josephus Misdated the Census of Quirinius," *JETS* 54 (2011): 65-87.
[520] Green, *Luke*, 126.

made to verify the authenticity of Luke's narrative, raising issues of historical

reliability.[521] In particular, they paid attention to the translation of πρώτη (2:2). This

Greek term can be interpreted "first" as well as "earlier/ previous/ before."[522] This

Greek superlative adjective carries a comparative sense without a comparative item.[523]

Therefore, by interpreting this term as the latter, some scholars attempt to solve the

chronological issue.[524] Namely, it is argued that the census required of Joseph was

conducted *prior* to Quirinius' reign. This claim seems to make Luke's illustration

reasonable. However, it is still very controversial. Most Lukan scholars hesitate to view

it as the meaning of "previous," because, in grammatical terms, αὕτη can be viewed as

the nominative subject of ἐγένετο and ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη as a predicate nominative.[525]

Furthermore, there is a further problem. If πρώτη is considered in a comparative sense,

it is probable that Luke's census could be seen as one of Herod's censuses which

occurred in 20 BCE and 7/6 BCE.[526] But, associating Luke's census with the later

Herodian census receives little scholarly support, especially as there is no clear evidence

from Josephus.[527] Likewise, it is not easy to demonstrate the reliability and historicity

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[521] Fred Craddock characterized the attempts of apologetic scholars of Lukan chronological errors: "Since Quirinius was a viceroy in that region earlier and since some time elapsed between enrolment and tax assessment, some scholars argue that Luke is generally if not exactly correct in his historical references." Fred B. Craddock, *Luke* (IBC; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), 34. Also, see Marshall, *Luke*, 104.

[522] BDAG, s.v. πρῶτος.

[523] Porter narrates linguistic arguments for πρῶτος as follows: 1) later interpreters considered πρώτη as a superlative; 2) there is no parallel in Luke for the comparative sense of the superlative form, πρώτη; 3) there is no instance where the comparative item is a dependent genitive participle; and 4) the construction should have been written differently if it is to mean 'before Quirinius was governor." Porter, "Lukan Census," 174. For the comparative sense, there are several instances in which the adjective, πρώτη, was frequently used instead of another adjective, πρότερος, which is more appropriate grammatically. See Armand Puig I. Tàrrech, *Jesus: An Uncommon Journey* (WUNT 2.288; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 90 n. 57.

[524] Turner's argument—it should be "prior"—comes from the fact that, in Hellenistic Greek, the superlative ("first") was used in a comparative sense ("former/ earlier"). Turner, *Grammatical Insights*., 23-4. Pearson carefully investigates this term and provides a possibility of "previous." By surveying the Hellenistic use of πρῶτος, he tried to interpret it as the comparative sense. Pearson, "Lucan Censuses," 278-82.

[525] Martin M. Culy, et al., *Luke: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (BHGNT; Waco, Tex: Baylor University Press, 2010), 64. Bovon also supports this view, saying "The pronoun αὕτη without ή is the subject and is thus congruent with the predicative nominative" Bovon, *Luke 1*, 84.

[526] Tàrrech asserts Luke's census probably was a Herodian census, see Tàrrech, *Jesus*, 70-104.

[527] See Pearson, "Lucan Censuses," 265-73.

of the census in Luke. As a result, long debates over chronological accuracy invite us rather to explore Luke's implicit intention to locate the Nativity within the census. In other words, we can ask: Why does Luke place Jesus' birth episode within the Roman imperial census, despite its temporal discordance?

What is remarkable in this episode is that Luke associates this local census (ἀπογράφω) with a universal decree of Augustus.[528] Regarding Luke's intention, Joseph Fitzmyer, considering this account as Luke's literary device, provides a helpful suggestion: "Luke, living in the Roman world of his day…was aware of censuses under Augustus and indulged in some rhetoric in his desire to locate the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem under the two famous reigns, of Herod the Great and Caesar Augustus, using a vague recollection of an Augustan census to do so."[529] This statement raises the possibility that Luke generalizes various provincial censuses and then combines them to form a single imperial census.[530] Consequently, Luke's account rests on uncertain historical information which can be explained by Luke accepting as a social memory of the census of Quirinius and associating it with Jesus' birth under the decree of Augustus.[531] In particular, Luke sheds light on Augustus' universal edict across the Roman world, for Luke locates Jesus' family under the realm of the Roman *oikoumene*, by using an adjective "all" (πάντες) (v. 3),[532] which is Lukan hyperbole,[533] and through which Luke portrays Jesus' birth as subordinate to Roman universal *oikoumene*.[534] This setting signals the unlimited Roman hegemony. Furthermore, in order to highlight their supreme reign and then to exemplify their controlling strategy over the *oikoumene*,

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[528] Luke employs the term, ἀπογράφω, that appears four times in these five verses (2:1-5).
[529] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 400.
[530] Schürer claims that Luke generalizes regarding the various provincial censuses knowing that they had been combined to form a single imperial census. Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D.135)* (trans. T.A. Burkill; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973), 426. Tàrrech also points out, "Luke may have grouped together a number of provincial censuses promoted or driven by Augustus into just one, thus converting them into a general census of the Empire." Tàrrech, *Jesus*, 92.
[531] Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 87. Bovon attributes it to "the historical tendency of the time." *Luke 1*, 83
[532] "All went to their own towns to be registered" (ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι) (Luke 2:3)
[533] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 405; Green, *Luke*, 126 n.23.
[534] Green, *Luke*, 125.

Luke takes advantage of the Roman census. Yet, in doing so, Luke's attempt to relate the *oikoumene* with the census results in intensifying the Roman *imperium*.

3.2.4. Luke's Jewish Style Census

Luke takes advantage of the census to employ the term, *oikoumene*, but interestingly he formulates it within the theme of the identity of Jesus. As discussed above, the Roman census was a procedure to allow citizens to recognize their own identity. Given that the census is closely relevant to the theme of identity, this account can also be discussed in terms of Jesus' identity. Indeed, while Luke uses the census as a background for the birth of the Messiah, he colours it with the Messianic identity of Jesus who is a descendent of the Davidic lineage.[535] Armand Tàrrech draws attention to this issue within the context of the Jewish forms of registration, providing evidence of Israelite censuses.[536] He asserts that Luke alludes to a Jewish concept for the census in this passage, investigating carefully the Herodian census of 20 BCE.[537] In fact, the Lukan census contains various features rooted in Jewish customs which are different from the Roman style. Most of all, their journey to Bethlehem is a case in point.[538] Luke depicts that all went to *their own* towns (εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν).[539] Even if Joseph does not live in the city, Luke portrays Joseph as having gone to the city of David (εἰς πόλιν Δαυίδ), because "he was descended from the house and family of David" (διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυίδ) (v. 4). This emphasis on the return to his ancestor's place is rooted in the phrase, κατ' οἴκους πατριῶν αὐτῶν, in Numbers (1:2, 45;

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[535] That Jesus is the son of David is an important theme in the NT. (Rom. 1:3; 2 Tim. 2:8; Rev. 5:5; 22:16; cf. Heb. 7:14).

[536] Tàrrech, *Jesus*, 84-86.

[537] According to Tàrrech, the Herodian census, which occurred in 20 BCE and was of a Jewish character, displays a model of a Judaized census. Ibid., 83.

[538] Surely, it can be seen as a fulfilment of Micah 5:2. But in terms of census policy, their returning home was not mandatory for them. If they did not have any property in Bethlehem, Joseph did not need to go there. We cannot verify whether they had property or not. Moreover, people did not travel to distant ancestral homes to be enrolled, far from their place of residence. Such movements are not recorded. Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1992), 276.

[539] καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν (v. 3)

26:2)[540] and the census for "all Israel in their towns" (πᾶς Ισραηλ ἐν πόλεσιν αὐτῶν) (Ezra 2:70; Neh. 7:73).[541] Tàrrech points out that the traditional custom of the Israelite censuses as seen in the book of Numbers signals that Joseph is associated with "his own city" (v. 3), namely the "house and family of David" (v. 4).[542] The Jewish traditional census affirmed in the Hebrew Bible can be summarized as follows: 1) registration based on one's house and family; 2) concern for genealogical lineage; and 3) emphasis on ethnic purity to be part of the authentic Israel. Thus, Luke utilizes the Roman census as a frame within which Jesus was born, but Luke also depicts that Jesus was born under a non-Roman style census. By highlighting Jewish traditional customs, Luke reshaped this local census into a form of Israelite registration.

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[540] This expression alludes to the Hebrew Bible which provides several references which help to elucidate the Lukan understanding of census and grasp Luke's intention of illustrating the journey to Bethlehem. According to the Book of Numbers, the census was conducted "by ancestral houses" (1:2, 45; 26:2); and the Septuagint reads "ancestral houses" into κατ᾽ οἴκους πατριῶν αὐτῶν. The census in Numbers is basically focused on the division of the land which belongs to God. Additionally, it purports to show "the identity of the people of the Exodus with the families of the patriarchs enumerated in Gen.46." Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (SNTSMS 8; London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 44.

[541] After the exile, the census appears again in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7. Unlike previous censuses, the post-exile census is concerned with issues of purity. Such an emphasis is the result of concerns over ethnic mixing with the Gentiles (Ezra 9:2). As Joachim Jeremias notes: "After the return from exile…from this time onwards, proof of legitimate ancestry had become the very foundation of the community of returned people. Ezra and Nehemiah…reflect the interest of the post-exilic period in family trees; in the following eras…these passages formed the basis for establishing a genealogy" Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions During the New Testament Period* (3d ed; trans. F.H. Cave and C.H. Cave; London: SCM Press, 1969), 275. In other words, the census is related to the idea of genealogical purity for the returning Israelites. Jeremias regards the census as an instrument to undergird and maintain "racial purity." Ibid, 271-344. This census was conducted when the Jews "returned to Jerusalem and Judah, all to their own towns" (Ezra 2:1). It categorizes peoples as descendants following their own house or lineage, as well as their birth place (towns). And each census in Ezra and Nehemiah ends with the phrase, "and all Israel in their towns" (καὶ πᾶς Ισραηλ ἐν πόλεσιν αὐτῶν) (Ezra 2:70; Neh 7:73). Thus, Luke adopts this Jewish traditional custom from the Scriptures. The traditional customs of Israel, as seen in the Hebrew Bible, signal that Joseph is associated with his own πόλις (v. 3), because he was descended from the οἶκος and πατριά of David (v. 4). Tàrrech, *Jesus*, 95. In addition, the passage for an Israelite census appears in the Psalms (Ps 87:5-6). This passage is somewhat different from post-exodus and post-exilic censuses in Numbers, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Nevertheless, it describes "how people from various nations come to Jerusalem and gain knowledge of the LORD who Himself registers them as citizens of Zion, so that each finds a spiritual home there." Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 417. In this sense, even if the census in Psalms does not provide any vivid clue to investigate the traditions of the Jewish census, Psalm 87 suggests that registration or 'spiritual' census certifies their original family and towns (cf. Ezra 2:70; Neh 7:73) which is Mt. Zion where they were born. This passage strengthens their ethnic purity as well.

[542] Tàrrech, *Jesus*, 95.

Luke also aims to discuss a matter of Jesus' identity and attempts to unveil the identity of Jesus in 3:32–38 in which he narrates Jesus' genealogy.[543] His Davidic lineage is noted explicitly in this passage.[544] Luke attempts to associate Jesus' birth with the Messianic hope rested in this royal family, by linking the Nativity with Davidic origin.[545] In Luke chapter one, Luke narrates: "He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David" (1:32); "He has raised up a mighty saviour for us in the house of his servant David" (1:69). Subsequently, Luke affirms Jesus' identity prophesied by the angel Gabriel (v. 32) and Zechariah (v. 69). Once again, Luke clarifies that through the saying of an angel, "Jesus was born in the city of David" (2:11).

Luke manipulates the census account to embellish God's divine purpose.[546] Ironically, the universal decree of Augustus becomes an opportunity to activate the salvific program of God. This imperial order contributes to the plan of God.[547] Luke only focuses on the registration of the inhabitants, without referring to taxation. The emperor Augustus who was considered the saviour and the lord of the *oikoumene* does not appear in a scene, remaining out of sight. By omitting the issue of taxation and the character of the Roman emperor, Luke allows his readers to focus on the birth of the Messiah against the Roman emperor, Augustus. Therefore, the Lukan census functions as a signal of a new Messianic movement against the Roman *oikoumene*. And, by combining a Jewish style census alongside the decree of the emperor and the *oikoumene*, Luke provides one facet of his counter-imperialistic perspective.

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[543] Johnson, *Biblical Genealogies*, 229-252.
[544] Bovon, *Luke 1*, 85.
[545] Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 276.
[546] But, Luke offers a different view for the census too. In Acts 5:37, Luke portrays that the census incited turmoil against the Romans.
[547] John Chrysostom quotes Luke 2:1-7 and interprets it as God's divine scheme: "From these verses it is clear...Christ was supposed to be born in Bethlehem: therefore the edict came forth, on God's urging, that compelled them, even unwillingly, to that city. For the law, which ordered all to register their names in their native cities, compelled Joseph and Mary to travel from Nazareth to Bethlehem in order to file their census declaration there. On this occasion John did not explicitly." John Chrysostom, *Stat.* 7.2. Cited from Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 350.

3.2.5. Luke's Worldview against Roman *Oikoumene*

The birth narrative can be expanded into the broader theme of Luke's worldview. To be sure, the *oikoumene* reigned over by Augustus stands in a universal way, since, according to the Romans' conceptual world, the *oikoumene* can be characterized as the Rome-centred world and her conquered nations.[548] Luke portrays it as a prevalent phrase, πᾶς ἡ οἰκουμένη (2:1), this being an important part of imperial propaganda in the Roman Empire. However, contrary to the universalistic propaganda, the birth of Jesus becomes "good news of great joy for all the people" (πᾶς ὁ λαός) (v. 10). The "good news" (εὐαγγέλιον) brought by angels (2:10) counteracts the decree (δόγμα, 2:1) and reign (ἡγεμονία, 3:1) made by, and on behalf of, the Roman emperor. The new world brought by the new-born Jesus is, like the Roman Empire, universal, and established for the divine purpose.

In doing so, Luke zooms out of a Roman-centred locus and zooms into the birth place of Jesus. Christian Blumenthal describes it as "Bethlehem/Jerusalem als Zentrum auf der horizontalen Achse auch eine Justierung der vertikalen Achse."[549] In terms of the horizontal axis, Luke refutes the geographical structure of the Rome-centred *oikoumene*, for, by the birth of Jesus, the centrality is displaced from Rome to the Judean lands. With regard to the allocation of centre and periphery, geographic gravity moved from the central locus, the throne of the Roman emperor, to the edge of the empire, the province of Syria. Luke's geographical reasoning is structured in a vertical axis as well. Luke adopts a vertical structure of the universe—heaven and earth (v. 14), as seen from a Jewish worldview, depicting the sudden appearance of a heavenly host to praise and deliver the heavenly message to earth. In doing so, Luke again zooms into

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[548] Bovon notes that the use of this word reflects Luke's universalistic perspective. Bovon, *Luke 1*, 143 n. 40.

[549] Christian Blumenthal, "Augustus' Erlass und Gottes Macht: Uberlegungen zur Charakterisierung der Augustusfigur und Ihrer Erzahlstrategischen Funktion in der Lukanischen Erzahlung," *NTS* 57 (2011): 26.

Bethlehem. Through such vertical and horizontal axes, the birth place of Jesus is affirmed as "dem eigentlichen Gravitationszentrum der gesamten Architektur."[550] In other words, the birth of Jesus enacts both horizontal and vertical reversals.[551] For Luke, the Roman authority over the *oikoumene* might be very well subverted by a new king, Jesus.

To sum up, the first occurrence of the *oikoumene* in Luke-Acts plays an important role in showing Luke's understanding of the concept. Basically, the *oikoumene* is the Roman world in which the whole Jesus-event inaugurates God's act of salvation, which takes place in the *oikoumene* as well. In this context, the census presents an imperial intrusion into the living space of the Jewish people, by reminding them of the allegiance of Israel as a conquered people by the Roman Empire.[552] However, Luke's portrayal of a Jewish-style census exhibits a counter-imperial narrative. This results in a conceptual tension between Roman ideology and Jewish traditions. Luke used the Roman imperial concept (universal census of the *oikoumene*) but sheds light on the emergence of an alternative kingdom by Jesus, based on Jewish traditions. Thus, Luke 2:1-5 functions as a preliminary stage for the Christian *oikoumene* which will substitute for the Roman *oikoumene*.

3.3. The *Oikoumene* in Luke 4:5

3.3.1. The *Oikoumene* as the Realm of the Devil

Luke 4:5-6 reads: "Then the devil led him up and showed him in an instant all the kingdoms of *the world*. And the devil said to him, To you I will give their glory and all this authority; for it has been given over to me, and I give it to anyone I please."

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[550] Ibid., 27.
[551] John T. Carroll, "The Gospel of Luke: A Contemporary Cartography," *Int* 68 (2014): 369.
[552] Green, *Luke*, 126.

Unlike the passage in 2:1 in which Luke depicts the *oikoumene* as the world ruled by the emperor Augustus, this passage describes the *oikoumene*, as the world owned by the devil. Such a difference leads the reader to contemplate another aspect of Luke's conception on the *oikoumene*: that the *oikoumene* has been given over to the devil (v. 6). The devil, as the deceiver of the *oikoumene*, assumes a proprietary air over the *oikoumene*.[553] Such a view in Luke is clarified by comparing it to the Matthean temptation narrative in which Matthew employs κόσμος, by which he depicts the world owned by the devil (Matt. 4:8). But, in his own temptation narrative, Luke substitutes it for the *oikoumene*; for Luke, κόσμος is a different concept from the *oikoumene*.[554] Luke employs κόσμος four times in Luke-Acts (Luke 9:25; 11:50; 12:30; Acts 17:24), but he usually illustrates it as a created world/universe by God.[555] Subsequently, as a countering concept to κόσμος, Luke uses the term, *oikoumene*. In particular, the *oikoumene* in 4:5 is relevant to the world deceived by the devil and ruled by demonic powers, as seen in Revelation 12:9 and 16:14. From this perspective, for Luke, the *oikoumene* is the realm ruled by the opponents of God.

Given that the *oikoumene* in 2:1 was a Roman imperial territory, Luke's informed audiences might assume that the Roman *oikoumene*, ruled by Augustus, is based on the cosmic power of the devil, the deceiver of the *oikoumene*. Indeed, Luke implicitly associates the *oikoumene* possessed by the devil with the Roman Empire.

Luke depicts the *oikoumene* as the world composed of plural kingdoms (v. 5). Considering the phrase "the kingdoms of the world" (τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης) which is a genitive form, the kingdoms seem to belong to the devil. According to the devil's assertion, the governors of the kingdoms which compose the *oikoumene* receive legitimate power from the devil. If so, who endows the authority of the *oikoumene* to

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[553] Johnston, "Οἰκουμένη and Κόσμος," 353.
[554] The substitution of οἰκουμένη for κόσμος is characteristic of Luke's work. Bovon, *Luke 1*,143.
[555] Johnson notes that *kosmos* refers to the natural, created order. Johnson, *Luke*, 74.

the devil? Luke does not clearly outline from whom the devil receives it, but given that the Septuagint reports the fact that the LORD of the *oikoumene* is God,[556] the devil's claim can be understood to be the extent to which God grants the *oikoumene* to the devil. The devil's claims in Luke may sound like God allows the devil to have political authority over the kingdoms of the *oikoumene*. From the devil's utterance, John Carroll draws the readers' attention to two Greek terms, παραδίδωμι and δίδωμι, alluding to Deuteronomy:[557] "when the LORD your God gives them over to you and you defeat them, then you must utterly destroy them" (Deut. 7:2).[558] He argues that παραδίδωμι refers to God's promise to "give" the nations to Israel, as it prepares to enter the land.[559]

Considering Luke's reliance on Deuteronomy, παραδίδωμι relates to the ownership of the land. Namely, Luke intends to portray a scene that the devil alleges an ownership of the *oikoumene* by pretending to hold the sanction of God. Even more, the devil does so with a supernatural character feigned to be a god.[560] The devil asserts that he can grant the authority to anyone he pleases. In this way, Luke describes that the devil usurps God's prerogative to confer authority on whomever God wishes.[561] Johnson points out that it corresponds to a parody of the kingdom of God, namely, the devil's shadow-kingdom parodies God's kingdom.[562] That is, Luke depicts the devil's mimicry of divine authority. What is remarkable is that these allegiances of the devil correspond to the representative rhetoric of the Roman *oikoumene*. As we have discussed in the study of the Roman *oikoumene* Chapter One, the Romans also propagandized their divine authority granted by the gods in order to justify their encroachment on the inhabited world. They believed that Augustus was commissioned

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[556] See Chapter Two.
[557] John T. Carroll, *Luke* (NTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 103.
[558] All the temptations of the devil end with the Scripture—Deuteronomy 8:3; 6:13, 16.
[559] Carroll, *Luke*, 103.
[560] Yamazaki-Ransom, *Empire in Luke*, 90; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 516; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 143.
[561] Carroll, *Luke*, 103 n. 10; Yamazaki-Ransom, *Empire in Luke*, 96; cf. F. Gerald Downing, "Psalms and the Baptist," *JSNT* 29 (2006): 134.
[562] Johnson, *Luke*, 75.

to control the entire *oikoumene* by Heaven, and, their mastery of the *oikoumene* was divinely sanctioned according to the will of the gods.[563] Such Roman belief about divine authority from god and Heaven led them to think that they could control all conquered nations, establishing the *oikoumene*. In addition, the Roman mental image displays that the city of Rome holds the central position of the *oikoumene* and the subjugated kingdoms around Rome belonged to the emperor, thereby identifying their position as having the highest status. In this light, the devil's parody is, strictly speaking, Luke's parody of the devil's arrogance, echoing that of the Roman *oikoumene*.

This claim is intensified through the following verse (v. 6), in which Luke depicts that this devil holds authority, ἐξουσία, as an owner of the *oikoumene*. To the Matthean text,[564] Luke adds the striking phrase "their glory and all this authority" (τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν) in vv. 5-6. The devil identifies the *oikoumene* with ἐξουσία, which has diverse meanings in Luke and Acts: (1) Jesus' authority (Luke 4:32, 36; 5:24; 9:1; 10:19; 12:5; 19:17; 20:8; Acts 1:7; 8:19); (2) Political authority (Luke 7:8; 12:11; 20:2, 20; 22:53; 23:7; Acts 9:14; 26:10, 12); and (3) demonic authority (Acts 26:18). Considering that the ἐξουσία indicates the ownership of the *oikoumene*, the authority would seem to suggest not only demonic power but also, implicitly, the political hegemony of the Roman Empire. Luke's usage of the *oikoumene* reveals that the political implications of the temptation narrative are implicitly developed.[565] Thus, the *oikoumene* in 4:5 signifies again the Roman Empire (from 2:1). Likewise, by connecting these three subjects—the Roman Empire, the devil, and the *oikoumene*, Luke aims to display his own counter-imperial view of the *oikoumene*. In

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[563] Livy, *Hist.* 1.16.7; Pliny, *Nat.* 3.5; Ovid, *Fast.* 2.130.
[564] Matthew describes that the devil will give "all the kingdoms of the world and their splendour" for falling down and worshipping the devil (Matt. 4:8).
[565] Marshall, *Luke*, 172; Johnson, *Luke*, 74; Carroll, *Luke*, 101-5; Yamazaki-Ransom, *Empire in Luke*, 88; Halvor Moxnes, "Kingdom Takes Place: Transformations of Place and Power in the Kingdom of God in the Gospel of Luke," in *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible: Essays by the Context Group in Honor of Bruce J. Malina* (eds. Bruce J. Malina, et al.; BIS 53; Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 184. But Fitzmyer says it is not clear. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 516.

this manner, as previously noted, Luke depicts that the *oikoumene* is the realm of the Roman Empire, behind which the devil is located as its backdrop.[566]

3.3.2. Restoration for the *Oikoumene*

Jesus rejects the devil's suggestion that he rules over the *oikoumene* or that he is worthy of worship (v. 7), by answering, "Worship the Lord your God, and serve only him" (v. 8), quoting Deuteronomy 6:13.[567] Jesus' kingship comes from his worship only of God; in this sense, he receives and maintains ἐξουσία from God.

Regarding Jesus' counterattack on the devil, there are two important passages from the Hebrew Bible. First, Jesus' response is based on the commandment in Deuteronomy 6. Interestingly, this chapter corresponds to the commandment for the Israelites who will occupy the land. Chapter 6 begins with the passage "Now this is the commandment—the statutes and the ordinances—that the LORD your God charged me to teach you to observe in the land that you are about to cross into and occupy" (6:1). Namely, this verse is relevant to the qualification for possessing the land provided by God. Jesus' response thus implies his strong resolution to take the Holy Land, granted by God. Samson Uytanlet notes, "by showing Jesus' faithfulness and loyalty to God through his refusal to worship another 'god,' Luke shows that Jesus has the right to possession of the land."[568] Uytanlet sheds light on the fact that Jesus is the legitimate heir for obtaining this land that belongs to God.[569] This suggestion can be a clue with which to analyse Jesus' response in terms of the concept of the *oikoumene*. It vindicates

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[566] Otherwise, the relationship between the Empire and the Devil can be said to be a subordinate relation. Bock notes that the Roman regime receives power and glory to reign over the *oikoumene* from the devil. Bock, *Luke*, 375. Yamazaki-Ransom claims that Satan is depicted as the ruler of the worldly political system, which is roughly equivalent to the Roman Empire. Yamazaki-Ransom, *Empire in Luke*, 97. Also see, Seyoon Kim, *Christ and Caesar: The Gospel and the Roman Empire in the Writings of Paul and Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 2008), 89, 191; Richard B. Hays, "The Liberation of Israel in Luke-Acts: Intertextual Narration as Countercultural Practice," in *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (eds. Richard B. Hays, et al.; Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2009), 114.

[567] "The LORD your God you shall fear; him you shall serve, and by his name alone you shall swear." (Deut 6:13).

[568] Samson Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Study on the Theology, Literature, and Ideology of Luke-Acts* (WUNT 2.366; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 210.

[569] Ibid., 210.

Jesus' mission for conquering and thus Jesus' authority (ἐξουσία) as the rightful possessor of the entire *oikoumene*.

Second, Jesus' proclamation alludes to Psalm 2:7–8. Immediately before the temptation account, Jesus was baptized and heard a voice from heaven (3:21–22), a voice which alluded to Psalm 2: "I will tell of the decree of the Lord: He said to me, "You are my son; today I have begotten you. Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession" (2:7–8).[570] The voice confirms Jesus' identity as the Son of God. Though the devil tries to subvert Jesus' identity which is ratified in the Baptism and Luke's genealogy (3:23–38), Jesus firmly maintains his identity which allows him to triumph over the devil's blasphemous suggestion without falling into temptation, and, in so doing, upholds his right to possess the whole of the *oikoumene* created by God. In this way, Jesus' saying in v. 6 can be characterized as a strong resolution for restoring the *oikoumene* into the world of God, even though the *oikoumene* has the potential of being taken by the devil, or the Roman Empire. Jesus' response toward the devil serves as Luke's claim that Jesus will retrieve the world through his salvific program, as the legitimate possessor of the *oikoumene*. Just as Luke sheds light on Jesus' identity in 2:1-4, so does Luke highlight again Jesus' identity here by emphasizing his divine sonship. In doing so, Luke portrays in the Gospel that Jesus takes his Father's territories as the Son of God. The *oikoumene* is, in essence, the world owned by God, and Jesus will restore the *oikoumene* as the world reigned over by God. The theme of Jesus' sonship thus combines the sections on Jesus' baptism (Luke 3:31–32), genealogy (3:23–38), and temptation (4:1–13). By doing so, Luke attempts to depict Jesus' imminent reign of the *oikoumene*.

Indeed, Luke portrays that Jesus expands the divine realm from Galilee to Jerusalem and justifies Jesus' mission from the beginning of the Gospel. The kingdom

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[570] Psalm 2:7 appears again in Luke 3:22 and Acts 13:33. As for the relevance between Baptist and Psalms, see Downing, "Psalms and the Baptist."

belongs to Jesus and it will never end (1:33). Accordingly, the kingdom(s) over which the devil allegedly claims lordship actually belong to Jesus. For the restoration of the world, Jesus must defeat the devil and does so by repelling the devil with authority (ἐξουσία) and power (4:36). Also, Jesus casts out the devil, proclaiming that the kingdom of God has come to the world (11:20). The devil's alleged lordship is an illegitimate one, so that it should be dismantled.[571] And this will be accomplished in Jerusalem, just as the temptation is finalized in Jerusalem (v. 9).[572]

Through discussion and detailed exegesis, it is possible to attain a broader perspective on the *oikoumene.* To be sure, the *oikoumene* in Luke 4:5 seems not to be the world ruled and sustained by God's divine scheme. In particular, by combining the devil and the term, *oikoumene*, Luke continues to support his counter-imperial stance. While Luke obviously claims that the *oikoumene* is the Roman world in 2:1, he illustrates that the *oikoumene* has been given over to the devil in 4:5 but implicitly alludes to the Roman world too. Furthermore, while the first occurrence of the *oikoumene* sheds light on Jesus' kinship identity of Davidic lineage, this second occurrence underlines Jesus' kingship identity as the Son of God. By doing so, Luke clarifies that the *oikoumene* is an object which should be retrieved by Jesus.

3.4. The *Oikoumene* in Luke 21:26

The third occurrence of *oikoumene* occurs in Luke 21, "People will faint from fear and foreboding of what is coming upon *the world*, for the powers of the heavens

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[571] Yamazaki-Ransom, *Empire in Luke*, 96.
[572] In the third phase of the temptation, Luke notes the devil takes Jesus to "Jerusalem" (v. 9), unlike Matthew's, "the holy city" (Matt 4:5). In addition, in terms of the temptation's order, whereas Matthew finalizes the temptation in the high mountain (Matt 4:8), Luke presents the climactic ending to Jerusalem. By doing so, Luke continues the sequential order of the *oikoumene* and Jerusalem, in turn, as in chapters one to three.

will be shaken. Then they will see 'the Son of Man coming in a cloud' with power and great glory" (21:26–27).

While the two former occurrences of the *oikoumene* display an imperial/political perspective (cf. 2:1; 4:5), this *oikoumene* displays an eschatological sense. In fact, the function of the *oikoumene* in this passage has not received much attention from Lukan scholars thus far. Yet, by employing the *oikoumene* in the apocalyptic discourse of Jesus, Luke invites his readers to broaden their conception of the *oikoumene* beyond a political understanding.[573] Luke's Jesus here proclaims the *oikoumene* as the object into which catastrophic events happen in the End. Thus, this study aims to demonstrate that Luke's third occurrence of the *oikoumene* in 21:26 reveals Luke's concern with the aspect of eschatological judgment of the *oikoumene*.

3.4.1. Catastrophe in the *Oikoumene*

In order to investigate this occurrence, in detail, it is necessary to approach it within its broader context. Chapter 21 begins with Jesus' foretelling to Jerusalem: "all will be thrown down" (21:6). Then the disciples asked Jesus about the time and the sign (σημεῖον) (v. 7), followed by Jesus' explanations of the signs (σημεῖα) that will happen in the end-time. Subsequently, Jesus' apocalyptic discourse is made up of five stages: (1) the signs and persecutions (vv. 7–19); (2) destruction of Jerusalem (vv. 20–24); (3) coming of the Son of Man (vv. 25–28); (4) the lesson of the fig tree (vv. 29–33); and (5) the exhortation to watch (vv. 34–38).

The first stage of the *semeia* which Jesus narrates is recorded in vv. 7–19. This text is equivalent to Mark 13 but Luke slightly edits the discourse with his own perspective, by expanding on the natural disaster of v. 11.[574] Luke's Jesus warns of the

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[573] Johnson asserts this case also implies the social or political order, much like other cases. Johnson, *Luke*, 74.

[574] As for a detailed explanation and comparison between Luke and Mark, see Edward Adams, *The Stars Will Fall from Heaven: Cosmic Catastrophe in the New Testament and Its World* (LNTS 347; New York:

arrest and persecutions by kings and governors (v. 12), added to catastrophic natural disasters (v. 11). And Jesus further narrows down the feature of the *semeia* into the single place, Jerusalem, particularly the Temple. Jesus foretells the destruction of Jerusalem (vv. 20–24), proclaiming that "Jerusalem will be trampled on by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled" (v. 24).[575]

Continuously, Luke expands the scope of *semeia* into the whole world with respect to a universal perspective (vv. 25–28). While vv. 20–24 provide the localized aspect in terms of the signs' effect, vv. 25–28 connote the worldwide judgment. That is to say, while the former deals with the destruction of Jerusalem based on historical-prophetic imagery, the latter expands the scope of the destruction into the entire world, the *oikoumene*, combining it with cosmic apocalyptic imagery.[576] In a sense, this switch can be characterized as a transit from an implicit sign directed toward the temple into explicit signs of the coming of the End.[577] In terms of an epoch, while the former reminds Luke's informed audiences of the tragedy in the past, the latter draws their attention to the events in the future and requires them to prepare for eschatological intervention. Between these two paragraphs, the passage in v. 24, equivalent to Mark 13:10, connects to both.[578] The clause, "the times of the Gentiles (καιροὶ ἐθνῶν) are

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T&T Clark, 2007), 175-8.

[575] In fact, the collapse of Jerusalem appears elsewhere in the Gospel of Luke (13:31; 23:27-31)

[576] Robert H. Stein, "Jesus, the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the Coming of the Son of Man in Luke 21:5-38," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 16 (2012): 23.

[577] Green, *Luke*, 739.

[578] As for importance of v. 24, by dividing Jesus' discourse into the fall of Jerusalem and the whole world, then Luke is able to insert a temporal clause between them. This temporal subordinate clause, which is Luke's work, describes what will happen in the end-time. Also, it reveals the fact that the trampling will not be eternal but have its limitation in terms of its length. Luke's usage of the preposition "until," ἄχρι, supports this point. In particular, it is noteworthy that Luke uses "the Gentiles" two times in this single verse. It is necessary for readers to approach each occurrence of "the Gentiles" separately. At first, the former Gentiles can be understood as the Romans. Bovon, *Luke 3*, 116. Unlike other Synoptic gospel authors, only Luke alludes to the Roman Army's destroying Jerusalem (v. 20, 24). Luke attempts to suggest that his audiences perceive the historical event, the fall of Jerusalem, by the Roman Empire, and "the historical character of the fate of Jerusalem," in 70 CE. Ibid., 114. The other occurrence of "Gentiles" signifies all nations (cf. Luke 24:47; Acts 1:8). Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1347. That is to say, the latter means the nations to which the apostles of Jesus should proclaim the gospel. By arranging one word repeatedly, with a different meaning, in this single verse, Luke intends to emphasize the expansion of the salvific program of Jesus from Jerusalem to the nations. In this sense, v. 24 suggests not only Luke's temporal concern but also the geographical expansion from Jerusalem to the whole world. Furthermore, it leads readers to expect a new kingdom which will substitute for the Roman Empire.

fulfilled" (v. 24), might correspond to not only the domination of the foreign powers, more specifically, Romans as an agent of God's wrath,[579] but also to the Gentile mission.[580] However, it is more likely to function as a temporal transition from the past to the future. The time of the Gentiles gives way to the coming of the Son of Man.[581] Indeed, Luke's Jesus extends the καιρός into the time of the final judgment in vv. 25–28. Above all, the passage in v. 25 displays several apocalyptic signs in two divided area— the heavens and the earth: "There will be signs in the sun, the moon, and the stars, and on the earth distress among nations confused by the roaring of the sea and the waves" (v. 25).[582] Given that such celestial portents in the heavens have been the prelude to the revelation of final judgment in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Joel 2:30–31), it is the case that the signs function as a signal for the judgment in Luke, as well.[583] And the signs on the earth among the nations illustrate an expanded end-time discourse beyond Judea. Then, Jesus foretells that people will faint from fear and foreboding of what is coming upon the *oikoumene* (v. 26).[584] This verse is Luke's own. Even though both v. 25 and v. 26 describe the features of the final judgment, there is a difference in terms of a developing pattern of disasters.[585] This is because the cosmic catastrophe is heightened in v. 26 in which Luke employs the term, *oikoumene*, to describe the place where dreadful apocalyptic events happen. Also, it becomes the space of extreme fear. Put another way, while v. 25 describes the heavenly portents, v. 26 explains "what is coming upon" the *oikoumene* and thereafter people will faint from fear and foreboding. The fear comes

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[579] Mikeal C. Parsons, *Luke* (PCNT; Grand Rapids, Mich: Baker Academic, 2015), 303.

[580] Bock notes that the phrase, "times of the Gentiles," suggests three things: first, the city's fall is of limited duration; second, there is a period of God's plan when Gentiles will dominate; and, third, this view of Israelite judgment now, but of vindication later, suggests what Paul also argues in Rom 11:25-26. Darrell L. Bock, *A Theology of Luke and Acts: Biblical Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2011), 295-6.

[581] Gerhard Schneider, *Das Evangelium Nach Lukas* (2 vols.; Würzburg: Echter Verlag., 1977), 2:424 cited from Parsons, *Luke*, 303.

[582] It appears also in Mark but with a slight difference. As for the difference, see Adams, *Stars*, 176.

[583] Ibid., 177.

[584] Luke employs, γῆ, "the earth," apart from the *oikoumene* in 21:23, 25, 35. Each use of γῆ signals its own significance: 1) the Judean land (v. 23); 2) the realm distinguished from the heaven (v. 25); and 3) the territory where human beings reside (v. 35). Yet, the *oikoumene* is a more comprehensive concept than those meanings.

[585] John Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53* (WBC; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1993), 1006.

from the fact that "for the power (δύναμις) of the heavens will be shaken" (v. 26).

According to François Bovon, the heaven is "not only the heaven as part of the visible

creation but also the invisible 'powers' that inhabit it."[586] The cosmos will be shaken

by universal catastrophe. That the powers of the heavens will be shaken, corresponds to

the prelude of the advent of the Son of man.

3.4.2. The *Oikoumene* and the Son of Man

The *oikoumene* in 21:26 is relevant to an eschatological view of the world. For

here, Luke associates the *oikoumene* with the coming of the Son of Man. Jesus'

apocalyptic discourse switched from the judgment on Jerusalem into the final judgment

at the coming of the Son of Man in a cloud (v. 27). When the *oikoumene* encounters

unexpected things at the future and people faint from fear, the Son of Man will come to

the *oikoumene* with power and glory.

In Luke's Gospel, Jesus is repeatedly described as the Son of Man (9:26; 11:30;

12:8, 40; 17:22, 24, 26, 30; 18:8). Luke illustrates that the Son of Man will be a sign "to

the generation" (τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ) (11:30) and will come again along with the signs of the

end-time, even though the Son of Man will "be rejected by this generation" (17:25).

Luke represents Jesus as the supreme sign of God's divine action in human history.[587]

For a profound understanding of this theme, Green suggests two texts to relate the Son

of Man:[588] 1) Jesus' parable about the heir to the throne (Luke 19:11–27) and 2)

Judgment before the Ancient One (Dan. 7:13–14). Both of these offer helpful insights

towards interpreting this passage and for unveiling the meaning of the *oikoumene*. First,

as for Jesus' parable, it depicts Jesus as the legitimate heir of the world and when Jesus

returns to the *oikoumene*, he will judge those who do not want him to *be king over them*

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[586] Bovon, *Luke 3*, 117.
[587] Squires claims that God shows various portents as signs of divine action in history, but particularly, Jesus himself, is the sign. John T. Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 76; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 95-102.
[588] Green, *Luke*, 740.

(βασιλεῦσαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς) (19:27).[589] Second, the apocalyptic text in Daniel supports the

Coming of the Son of Man with comprehensive descriptions. The author of Daniel

portrays that the Son of Man comes in authority and glory: "To him was given

dominion (ἐξουσία) and glory (δόξα) and kingship, that all peoples, nations, and

languages should serve him" (LXX Dan. 7:14). Similar to Daniel, Luke also expects

that the Son of Man will come with "power and great glory" (21:27). It allows Luke's

readers to be reminded of "the glory and authority" owned by the devil over the

oikoumene (4:5). Thus, it might imply that the devil's authority and glory, based on his

own *oikoumene*, will be substituted by the legitimate heir of the divine *oikoumene*,

namely by the Son of Man, whose authority and glory will allow him to judge the whole

of the *oikoumene*.

However, the reason for the advent of the Son of Man is not limited to the

judgment of the *oikoumene*; it establishes the redemption of God's people who are

faithful and who resolved themselves to the divine purpose of God as well. Jesus

already foretold the final judgement "on the day that the Son of Man is revealed" (ᾗ

ἡμέρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται) (17:30). In that revealed judgment,

redemption is not available for all human beings of the world. Luke singles out God's

chosen people from the peoples of the *oikoumene*. Indeed, Jesus already spoke about

that: on the day of the Son of Man (17:30), "one will be taken and the other left" (17:34,

35). That is to say, deliverance will be conducted only for the chosen people. In this

apocalyptic discourse, Jesus distinguished his people from his antagonist (21:28). The

opponents will become the footstool of the Son of God (cf. 20:43) and, thereafter, Jesus

will bring liberation for the chosen people.[590] Thus, "faint from fear and foreboding of

what is coming upon the *oikoumene*" (21:26) is not relevant for the Christ followers.

Luke underlines this by emphasizing a personal pronoun, "you," for whom "redemption

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[589] In this parable, the phrase appears in v. 14 too.
[590] Carroll, *Luke*, 420.

is drawing near" (ἐγγίζει ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν) (21:28). Those who stand up and raise their heads in the hope of redemption will see glory. This magnificent event means, as Carroll argues, "restored freedom for God's people."[591] Even though God's people reside within the imperial *oikoumene*, they will see the coming Son of Man and experience the glorious redemption.

But when will the Son of Man come? Jesus asserts, "the end will not follow immediately" (21:9). Equally, in Acts, when the apostles ask about "the time when you [Jesus] will restore the kingdom to Israel" (Acts 1:6), Jesus answers, "It is not for you to know the times or periods" (1:7). Luke points out that the eschatological signs are not necessarily a signal of the imminent End. Jesus warns that the disasters and collapse of Jerusalem will happen "first" (πρῶτον) but "the end will not follow immediately" (ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εὐθέως τὸ τέλος) (21:9). But, even if the end will not come immediately, it is surely impending. Luke's Jesus uses the term, ἐπέρχομαι, to signify "what is coming" (21:26).[592] Among the authors of the Synoptic Gospels, Luke alone employs this term.[593] It appears seven times in Luke and Acts (Luke 1:35; 11:22; 21:26; Acts 1:8; 8:24; 13:40; 14:19), but this is the only occurrence of the present participle as a substantive.[594] This present participle heightens the atmosphere of the imminent advent.[595]

Luke's apocalyptic perspective is developed by the imminence of the Kingdom of God in this eschatological context of the Parousia: "your redemption is drawing near" (21:28); "the Kingdom of God is near" (21:31). In these two verses, the verb ἐγγίζω "to approach, draw near," is noteworthy. The verb, ἐγγίζω, contains eschatological meaning

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[591] Ibid., 420.

[592] As for ἐπέρχομαι, "coming," Luke uses it alone among the authors of the synoptic gospels. Luke employs this word in Luke 1:35; 11:22; 21:26; Acts 1:8; 8:24; 13:40; 14:19. Interestingly, Luke uses this term in the beginning of Luke and Acts, by connecting it with the Holy Spirit (Luke 1:35; Acts 1:8).

[593] Interestingly, Luke uses this term in the beginning of Luke and Acts, by combining it with the Holy Spirit (Luke 1:35; Acts 1:8).

[594] Bovon, *Luke 3*, 117 n. 93.

[595] Bovon argues, "the present tense, which underscores that it is imminent." Ibid., 119.

in Luke (cf. 10:9, 11: 21:8).[596] And, in terms of terminology, ἀπολύτρωσις, which appears only here, is noteworthy also. Its simple form, λύτρωσις, appears already in 1:68 and 2:38. This term was used for signifying God's intervention on behalf of Israel and Jerusalem in the birth narrative.[597] The term, ἀπολύτρωσις, signals "the total eschatological liberation brought about by Christ (here as well as in Rom. 8:23; Eph. 1:14; 4:30)."[598] Namely, it is the divine intervention of God toward the *oikoumene*. In this sense, the eschatological mood in this passage leads readers to conceive the *oikoumene* as the world which will be judged at the end of time.

To sum up, the *oikoumene* in 21:26 is relevant to Luke's eschatological and apocalyptic references. His usage of the *oikoumene* in this passage signifies the fact that the *oikoumene* is the area where the fulfilment of God's rule is accomplished and therefore the reign by the Son of God becomes definitive when the true eschatological event happens there. Thus, can we say that the *oikoumene* in this passage also indicates an imperial *oikoumene*? Of course, this passage resonates with the cessation of the Roman Empire in the future.[599] Yet, furthermore, this text invites Luke's audience to perceive the Roman *oikoumene* within an eschatological perspective in the area of apocalyptic discourse. Also, this occurrence reminds his readers of the *oikoumene* which appears in the Septuagint since it portrays the features of the *oikoumene* which will be judged and restored by God. By highlighting the final judgment in the End, Luke intends his readers to expect the Parousia and to sustain daily living as Christ-followers at the moment, with a sense of eschatological hope. In this way, Luke's third usage of

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[596] Ibid., 119.
[597] Green, *Luke*, 741.
[598] Bovon, *Luke 3*, 120.
[599] Rossing approaches this *oikoumene* in terms of a Roman political perspective. Rossing, "Oikoumenē," 82. Rossing also argues that the translation of the *oikoumene* as the "empire" should be applied also to the New Testament end-times discourses. She argues that, in this passage, "When the Gospel of Luke uses the *oikoumene* in the context of end-times tribulations that will come upon the nations….this text signals the end of *empire*." in "Hastening the Day When the Earth Will Burn? Global Warming, Revelation, 2 Peter 3," in *Compassionate Eschatology: The Future as Friend* (eds. Ted Grimsrud and Michael Hardin; Eugene, Ore.: Cascade Books, 2011), 96.

the *oikoumene* is relevant to other occurrences in the New Testament (e.g. Matt. 24:14; Rom. 10:18; Heb. 1:6; 2:5; Rev. 3:10). Equally, in terms of an eschatological restoration, one can argue that the third occurrence of the *oikoumene* is closely related with the second occurrence in 4:5, because the *oikoumene* deceived by the devil will be the object of final judgement by the Son of Man, Jesus, born in the Roman *oikoumene* (2:1).

3.5. The *Oikoumene* in Acts 11:28

This is the first occurrence of the *oikoumene* in Acts: "One of them named Agabus stood up and predicted by the Spirit that there would be a severe famine over *all the world*; and this took place during the reign of Claudius" (11:28).

Acts 11 focuses on the mission to the Gentiles and the ministry of the Antioch church. When the Jerusalem church suffered from the famine which was occurring all over the *oikoumene* (11:28), the Antiochian Christians undertook a collection of money to help the Jerusalem church. After collecting money, they sent it to the Jerusalem church in Judea by Barnabas and Paul (11:28–30). This passage contains several similarities with Luke 2:1 in which the *oikoumene* first occurs: 1) the Roman emperors (Augustus and Claudius) appear in the narrative; 2) specific historical events (cf. census and famine) occur over the *oikoumene*; 3) the author depicts the extent of the events by displaying "all" (πᾶς and ὅλος)—"over all the world;" and 4) Luke seems to include a chronological error about historical events. Among these, it is noteworthy that a Roman emperor appears again in this passage. Luke is the only evangelist who refers to the name of the Emperor through his work: Augustus (Luke 2:1), Tiberius (Luke 3:1), and Claudius (Acts 11:28; 18:2). Among these three emperors, Luke relates two emperors (Augustus and Claudius) with the *oikoumene*. By connecting the history of early Christianity alongside imperial history, Luke highlights "an orderly account of the

events" (ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν…καθεξῆς) (Luke 1:1, 3) to his audiences. Moreover, the names of the emperors in the narrative lead the reader to perceive that the world Luke is describing is the Roman imperial world. Needless to say, for Luke the *oikoumene* in this passage is the Roman Empire. In this sense, Johnson's translation of the phrase, ἐφ᾽ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, into "the whole of the empire" is quite adequate (v. 28).[600] By embellishing the *oikoumene* with the reign of the emperor Claudius, Luke seems to display "a thoroughly 'political' nuance."[601] Yet, the *oikoumene* in this passage provides significant meaning which is more than just a political nuance. By connecting the *oikoumene* to the famine and prophecy noted by Agabus, Luke connotes a broader perspective of the *oikoumene*. In fact, the fulfilment of Agabus' prophecy—famine within the *oikoumene* —seems to be a superfluous statement because, without this phrase, Luke could smoothly unfold the story that the Antioch church collects money for the Jerusalem church. Nevertheless, Luke sheds light on the disaster from the famine and prophecy on the *oikoumene*.

This passage has been discussed by Lukan scholars focusing on the historical accuracy of a universal famine. However, this study explores the relation between a universal famine, prophecy, and the *oikoumene*. In doing so, it demonstrates that the primary point of this passage is not the fact that a universal famine occurred over the *oikoumene* but that the *oikoumene* is the place in which prophecy is fulfilled through a universal famine.

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[600] Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (SP 5; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992), 205-6.
[601] Ibid., 206.

3.5.1. Universal Famine in Roman Antiquity

Famine (λιμός) was not an unfamiliar phenomenon in the first century CE.[602] Because the Mediterranean world was a dry zone with variation of precipitation, the failures of harvests were frequent.[603] According to Peter Garnsey, famine in the Roman Empire was caused by a critical shortage of essential foodstuffs which led to hunger and starvation and thus a substantially increased mortality rate.[604] Many places were afflicted with food scarcity, which followed climatic disasters from dry weather and the consequential failure of the harvest. Luke, too, would be aware of the trouble, thereby narrating that a severe famine over the entire world took place during the reign of Claudius (41–54 CE). By using the adjective "all" (ὅλην) Luke intends to describe that the famine was a universal event in that time.

Yet, the interpretation of ὅλην has raised a debate about the extent of the famine and thus this famine is historically unlikely.[605] This is because scholarly investigation has not found any evidence from ancient sources to prove a world-wide famine in that period. Several ancient texts provide evidence of famines which happened in that time but these only attest that there was a series of famines in several regions in the reign of Claudius (Suetonius, *Claud.* 18.2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.43; Cassius Dio, *Hist. rom.* 40.11).[606] Can the discrepancy be solved?

Above all, the worldwide famine can be understood through the social context of the time. Famine was not only represented an absolute lack of food rooted in serious climatic events, but also derived from food shortages due to socio-economic problems,

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[602] As for famine in Roman antiquity, see Robert W. Funk, "The Enigma of the Famine Visit," *JBL* 75 (1956): 130-36; Bruce W. Winter, "Acts and Food Shortages," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*; Peter Garnsey, "Famine in Rome," in *Trade and Famine in Classical Antiquity* (eds. Peter Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker; Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1983); idem, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[603] Garnsey, "Famine in Rome," 56.

[604] Garnsey, *Famine and Food*, 6.

[605] Kenneth S. Gapp, "The Universal Famine under Claudius," *HTR* 28 (1935): 258-65; Funk, "Enigma," 130-36.

[606] For a study of the geographical range of famine, see Garnsey, *Famine and Food*, 21.

agricultural production, economic issues, social class, and foreign trade. Kenneth Gapp notes, "famine was always essentially a class famine"[607] in the ancient world. Gapp expounds that the primary origin of a universal famine is rather to be found in a general increase in the price of food, and in the universal inability of the poor to purchase food at a reasonable price.[608] In other words, famine in Hellenistic-Roman antiquity is closely related to the matter of distribution and class, beyond purely climatic issues.[609] Indeed, famine was not so much an absolute lack of foodstuffs as the inability of a province to make use of the food resources already available.[610] Moreover, a famine occurring in a particular place had an effect on other places, causing a chain reaction. Starvation in a region might be the consequential result of famine in neighbouring land. Even worse, if one major country encountered severe famine, it could have a ripple effect throughout the neighbouring regions. At this point, one might refer to it as a *general famine*. In this light, the Greek term, λιμός, might be translated as famine as well as dearth.[611] Thus, given that a local famine had an effect on other places, thereby causing those places to suffer a dearth too, a local famine could be perceived as a universal famine for a wide number of groups.

This point can be a clue with which to interpret Acts 11:28, and Luke's focus on Judea (11:29). It may well mean that the famine actually took place in the Judean land; that the famine was a Judean famine. According to Josephus, a severe famine occurred in Judea during the reign of the procurator Tiberius Alexander (46–48 CE).[612] It may have happened in 46 or 47 CE. At the height of the famine, Queen Helen of Adiabene visited Jerusalem bringing grain and dried figs. Joachim Jeremias summarizes the famine as follows: "Summer 47, the harvest failed; the sabbatical year 47–48

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[607] Gapp, "Universal Famine," 261.
[608] Ibid., 262.
[609] Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (trans. Doug Stott; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997), 127.
[610] Ibid., 127. cf. Josephus, *A.J.* 20.51.
[611] Bruce asserts that dearth is a more appropriate translation than famine. Bruce, *Acts*, 239.
[612] See Josephus who obviously provides evidence for the Judean famine (*A.J.* 20.51-53).

aggravated the famine, and prolonged it until the next harvest of spring 49.”[613]

Josephus' report about the Judean famine during the reign of Claudius is as follows:

> But yet again: shortly before the recent war, Claudius being ruler of the Romans and Ishmael our high-priest, when our country was in the grip of a famine so severe that an *assaron* was sold for four drachms, and when there had been brought in during the Feast of Unleavened bread no less than seventy *cors* of flour—equivalent to thirty-one Sicilian or forty-one Attic *medimni*—not one of the priests ventured to consume a crumb, albeit such dearth prevailed throughout the country, from fear of the law and of the wrath wherewith the Deity ever regards even crimes which elude detection. (*A.J.* 3.320-1)[614]

Josephus affirms the historicity of the Judean famine. However, the Judean famine is not an isolated disaster within the land alone. Drawing attention to the Egyptian famine which arose more or less about the time of Judean famine, Gapp asserts that the latter is derived from the former. He regards the Lukan world-wide famine as an expanded famine which broke out in Egypt. The Egyptian famine happened in 45–47 CE, which is found from the register of the Grapheion at Tebtunis.[615] Egypt in the first century CE was considered a main source of grain for the whole region around the Mediterranean. As Pliny the Elder attests (*Nat.* 5.10.58),[616] there was an unusually high Nile during the reign of Claudius, which caused a severe failure of harvests.[617] Consequently, the Egyptian failure of the harvest resulted in an empire-wide famine.[618] Given that the period of a severe famine in Egypt occurred about the time of that recorded by Josephus, the famine to which Luke alludes might be caused by the Egyptian famine by which Judea encountered serious food shortages, as well. Thus, considering Gapp's argument, the Lukan widespread famine is not a

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[613] Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 143.

[614] It seems to be a different famine from the former famine. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1998), 482. However, Jeremias considers these two famines to be the same. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 142-3.

[615] Gapp, "Universal Famine," 259.

[616] Pliny reports that "Its degrees of increase are detected by means of wells marked with a scale. An average rise is 24 feet." Pliny, *Nat*. 5.10.58.

[617] Gapp, "Universal Famine," 258-9.

[618] Ibid., 262.

groundless assumption but may have historical veracity.[619] Hence, Luke depicts it as a severe famine over all of the Roman *oikoumene* during the reign of Claudius.

3.5.2. Famine and Prophecy

What is remarkable is that Luke associates the famine with prophecy. Luke delineates that the phrase "famine over the *oikoumene*" comes from the mouth of a *prophet* (προφήτης), Agabus.[620] This fact reveals another aspect of famine. Indeed, famine in antiquity has been frequently recorded to denote apocalyptic portents beyond the shortage of food. Famine contains multifarious meanings beyond its aspect of natural disaster. Garnsey notes, "More generally, we find that food crises often appear to have been recorded not because they were in themselves catastrophic, but because, for example, a superstitious people ascribed them religious significance as portents."[621] As Garnsey points out, famine in Roman antiquity was associated with prophetic matters. This tendency appears in the New Testament in which famine is not an unfamiliar theme (Mark 13:8; Matt. 27:7; Luke 4:25; 15:14, 17; 21:11; Acts 7:11; 11:28; Rom. 8:35; 2 Cor. 11:27; Rev. 6:8; 18:8). Among them, the Gospel writers commonly employ the term to signify an apocalyptic phenomenon through eschatological

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[619] Schürer suggests it might be a generalized statement by Luke: "Luke generalizes here...the numerous famines that afflicted various parts of the empire in quite an unusual manner in the time of Claudius, he makes one extending ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην (Acts 11:28)." Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 426. Luke might have grouped together a number of local famines that happened during the reign of Claudius into just one, thus converting them into a universal famine over the entire Roman *oikoumene*. Nevertheless, the historicity of this verse still leaves doubts. This verse has chronological problems as we have already discussed through the Lukan census (cf. Luke 2:1). Luke seems to report that the famine happened in 46-48 CE but "about that time" (12:1) in the following chapter, King Herod, who died in 44 CE, still appears in the Acts narrative. That is, Luke locates the famine story before the death of Herod (cf. 12:23), unlike Josephus who locates the famine between the death of Herod and the Jewish War. (Josephus notes the death of Herod in *A.J.* 19.8.2 and thereafter famine in *A.J.* 20.2.5; 20.5.2) Talbert, assuming Josephus's accuracy, asserts that the inverted order of the two events in Acts may have been due to some Lucan tendency. Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke-Acts in Its Mediterranean Milieu* (NovTSup 107; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 202. Yet, Funk claims that Luke's *orderly* account does not necessarily mean a chronological order. Funk, "Enigma," 133. Considering that, one can argue that the reason Luke places this account after the Antiochian church and the first labelling of Christians (11:19-26), is due to Luke's emphasis on the strong connection between Antioch and Jerusalem.

[620] Agabus appears again in Acts 21:10. But, Rothschild views Agabus not as a historical person, but a straw figure invented by Luke to provide a basis for Paul's Jerusalem collection. Clare K. Rothschild, "Ἐτυμολογία, Dramatis Personae, and the Lukan Invention" in *The Rise and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries of the Common Era*, 294-5.

[621] Garnsey, "Famine in Rome," 57.

discourse. Luke uses this term six times. In particular, the first occurrence in Luke-Acts is noteworthy because Luke uses it in an apocalyptic sense: "But the truth is, there were many widows in Israel in the time of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, and there was a severe famine over all the land" (Luke 4:25). Luke quotes the passage from 1 Kings 18:1 but edits it with his own design.[622] Luke connects a famine with the idea of a closed heaven by which he alludes to the famine's cosmic character. Moreover, Luke, unlike the author of 1 Kings, modifies its length into three years and six months.[623] Interestingly, this period, as Fitzmyer points out, is the same stereotyped length of the period of distress in apocalyptic literature (Dan. 7:25; 12:7; Rev. 11:2; 12:6, 14).[624] Also, famine is considered as a 'sign' in the genre of apocalyptic (cf. Luke 21:11).[625] For Luke the worldwide famine corresponds to a typical event to signify the end.[626] In this sense, one can argue that Luke has a tendency to interpret a famine as an eschatological portent beyond climatic and social phenomena. Famine was recorded as one of σημεῖον at the end-time in Luke 21:11, in which we have discussed the *oikoumene* above. This is the case in 11:28 as well. Luke employs σημαίνω to signify "prophetic prediction," which has associations with the prophetic utterance in 11:28.[627] Furthermore, in order to place reliance on the prophecy of Agabus and make the prophecy one of apocalyptic proclamation, Luke emphasizes that the prophecy was predicted by the Spirit.[628] In doing so, Luke connects famine and the *oikoumene* with oracular prophecy (the Spirit-directed prediction). Consequently, the famine is described as a sign for an apocalyptic disaster through fulfilment of the

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[622] "After many days the word of the LORD came to Elijah, in the third year of the drought, saying, 'Go, present yourself to Ahab; I will send rain on the earth'." (1 Kings 18:1)

[623] James also reports the length as the same as that of Luke (James 5:17).

[624] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 537-8.

[625] See the examples of famine from the Jewish apocalyptic texts (1 *En.* 80:2; 2 Bar. 27:6; 70:8; 4 Ezra 6:22; *Jub.* 23:18) As for the study of famine as a cosmic catastrophe, see Adams, *Stars Will Fall*.

[626] Pervo points out that "Prophetic oracles are fond of *oikoumene*, and prophecies of widespread famine are typical items in lists of the afflictions that will signal the end." Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2009), 296.

[627] Johnson, *Acts*, 205.

[628] Through the entire text of the Acts narrative, Luke sketches the significance of the Spirit-impelled apostles' ministry (Acts 8:29; 10:19; 11:12, 28; 13:2-4; 15:28; 16:6-7; 19:6, 21; 20:22, 23; 21:4, 11).

oracular prediction. Thus the note, "during the reign of Claudius," indicates the fulfilment of the prophecy rather than a signal of historicity.[629]

3.5.3. Famine and the Roman *Oikoumene*

Luke describes that the Empire-wide famine foretold by a prophet took place over the entire Roman *oikoumene*. Luke adopts the historical event in order to portray the *oikoumene* as the place of oracular prediction. In order to dramatize the atmosphere, Luke employs "all" (ὅλος) which is used as rhetorical hyperbole for the sake of emphasis.[630] As we have discussed in the Lukan census account, by using πᾶς which was used for indicating "all the world" (πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην), the narrative displays literary hyperbole for indicating the Roman *oikoumene*.[631] Subsequently, Luke once again adopts such hyperbole by which he underlines that the tremendous disaster arrives at the *oikoumene* reigned over by the emperor Claudius.

From the discussions in Luke 21:26, the *oikoumene* signals the area where the fulfilment of God's rule is accomplished and, therefore, the reign by the Son of God becomes definitive when the true eschatological event happens there. Allowing for the divine judgment in the *oikoumene* at the End, this famine account invites Luke's informed audiences to perceive the Roman *oikoumene* within an eschatological perspective in the area of the apocalyptic. Thus, the *oikoumene* in this passage provides

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[629] Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 374.

[630] Alluding to an inscription from Asia Minor which referred to famine in the Roman world, Winter notes that "all" in Acts 11:28 should be seen as natural hyperbole, even if it was a serious famine. Winter quotes an inscription of "In the year 247": "These two ploughers of earth I Sagaris dedicated, ploughers in Docimene marble in return for living oxen, which the god preserved when famine in the land, flesh-eating, terrible, laden with inescapable death, *spread over all the world…*" (Italics are mine) in *Corpus inscritionum graecarum*, quoted from Winter, "Food Shortages," 67. Fitzmyer also notes that it seems to be "a literary hyperbole used in speaking of a severe famine and shortage of food." Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 481; cf. Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1998), 372; Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary* (4 vols.; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012-2015), 2:1854-5.

[631] Also, Luke uses πᾶς repeatedly in the prologue of Acts (1:1, 8). Witherington points out that "The Acts prologue shows Luke's penchant for stressing the importance of something by resorting to rhetorical hyperbole (*amplificatio*)." Witherington, *Acts,* 106.

the twofold sense of both a political world (the Roman *oikoumene*) as well as an eschatological world that will be under divine judgment. For Luke's informed audiences, the *oikoumene* might be considered as the Roman world that suffered by severe disaster but this passage allows them to have an expectation for the future, when God's divine scheme will be fulfilled, just as the Spirit-impelled Agabus' utterance was fulfilled.

3.6. The *Oikoumene* in Acts 17:6

The *oikoumene* appears two times in Acts 17 (vv. 6, 31). The first occurrence is as follows: "When they could not find them, they dragged Jason and some believers before the city authorities, shouting, 'These people who have been turning *the world* upside down have come here also and Jason has entertained them as guests. They are all acting contrary to the decrees of the emperor, saying that there is another king named Jesus" (17:6–7).

The *oikoumene* is described as the world shaken and agitated by Paul. The term, *oikoumene*, spills from the mouth of the Jews who accuse Paul. In this brief sentence, the *oikoumene* would seem to contain two senses: the Roman world and the Jewish world. From the perspective of the Jews, Paul is subverting the Roman world as well as the Jewish world. As we have discussed, in Acts 11:28, Luke relates the *oikoumene* with the emperor. Yet, unlike the previous four occurrences, this is the first case of the *oikoumene* in which two worlds encounter each other. Thus, it focuses on how these two worlds coexist within a single term.

3.6.1. Disturbance in Thessalonica

Acts 17:1-9 portrays the uproar that broke out through the preaching of Paul and Silas in Thessalonica. Paul proclaims the Messiah to be Jesus, in a synagogue of the

Jews. The audience—some of them Jews, a great many of the devout Greeks, and the leading women—are persuaded by Paul, and, this causes the Jews to become jealous (vv. 4–5). The enraged Jews try to find Paul and Silas, but they fail to seize them. Consequently, they drag Jason and some believers before the city authorities (πολιτάρχης) (v. 6),[632] and they accuse Paul with a charge of turning the *oikoumene* upside down, contrary to the decrees of the emperor and proclaiming another king. The Jews' accusations against Paul could be summarized by three points: (1) social subversion on the *oikoumene* (v. 6); (2) actions against the decrees of the emperor; and (3) proclaiming another king to be Jesus (v. 7). These points need to be discussed in detail.

First, the Jews accuse Paul of conspiring towards social subversion of the *oikoumene*. Luke employs the Greek term, ἀναστατόω, to suit the charge of political disruption.[633] Through this term, meaning riotous upheaval, Luke claims that Paul's charge was considered as a force for sedition in the *oikoumene*, more than as a social nuisance.[634] Among the synoptic evangelists, only Luke employs this term, twice (Acts 17:6; 21:38).[635] Paul's civic disturbance (ἐκταράσσω) appears also in Philippi (16:20), before he arrives at Thessalonica.[636] However, Luke enlarges the extent of the stirring up a revolt from a city to the entire *oikoumene* in 17:6.

Second, the Jews accuse Paul of protesting against the decrees of the emperor. For the Jews, this behaviour of ἀναστατόω means "all acting contrary to the decrees of the emperor" (οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος πράσσουσι) (v. 7). In other

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[632] Luke provides various titles of officials, such as the proconsul (ἀνθύπατος) (13:7-8; 18:12), the town clerk (γραμματεύς) (19:35), the governor (ἡγεμών) (23:24, 26; 24:27; 25:1), the centurions (ἑκατοντάρχης) (10:1; 27:1), and a tribune (χιλίαρχος) (Acts 21:31). Talbert, *Reading Luke-Acts*, 198.

[633] John translates it as "subvert" to suit the charge of political disruption. Johnson, *Acts*, 307. But, this term is also rendered as "stir up a revolt" with a political nuance (cf. Acts 21:38).

[634] C. Kavin Rowe, *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 96.

[635] This terms appears three times in the New Testament (Acts 17:6; 21:38; Gal. 5:12).

[636] Luke repeatedly depicts disturbance in which Paul is involved at Antioch (Acts 13:50), Iconium (14:2, 4-5), Lystra (14:19), Thessalonica (17:5-8), Beroea (17:13), Corinth (18:12-13), and Jerusalem (21:27-30).

words, the subversion (*maiestas*)[637] corresponds to violation against imperial rule. If so, which decrees does Paul try to subvert? Edwin A. Judge, by connecting this passage with 1 and 2 Thessalonians, argues that the decree means a ban on predictions about the change of rulers, first promulgated by Augustus in 11 CE.[638] These accusations are relevant to the third charge, that is, Paul's proclaiming Jesus as "another king" (ἕτερος βασιλεύς).[639] Luke emphasizes the king named Jesus as a contender against the emperor.[640] In fact, Paul speaks of the Messiah, χριστός (v. 3), but the accusers modify Paul's utterance into a king, βασιλεύς in a political sense. The Jews used βασιλεύς, instead of χριστός, to accommodate the Roman officials and to outline Paul's treasonous behaviour.[641] Moreover, this expression reveals the Jews' malicious intention to highlight the Christians' seditious subversion of the Romans. It is a provocative method to stimulate the Romans understanding of the supposed treason of Paul. The Jews narrate that the Christ-followers seem to set up a rival emperor against the Roman emperor, worshipping ἕτερος king.

Each charge does not sit in isolation from the others; rather, they are interconnected. In other words, Luke seems to outline three charges: the claim that the Christians proclaim another king against the decree of Caesar that results in turning the world upside-down. Here, the argument of the opponents of Paul, to the Roman official, is that the *oikoumene* is thus subverted, due to the proclamation of an alternative king,

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[637] "*Maiestas* is an abbreviation for *maiestas populi romani minuta* ('diminishing the majesty of the Roman people')." Justin K. Hardin, "Decrees and Drachmas at Thessalonica: An Illegal Assembly in Jasons House (Acts 17.1-10a)," *NTS* 52 (2006): 30 n. 4.

[638] Edwin A. Judge, "The Decrees of Caesar at Thessalonica," *RTR* 30(1971): 1-7. His claims is supported by Karl P. Donfried, "The Imperial Cults of Thessalonica and Political Conflict in 1 Thessalonians," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997), 215-19; James R. Harrison, "Paul and the Imperial Gospel at Thessaloniki," *JSNT* 25 (2002): 79-80. However, Hardin puts forward a fresh proposal that both the charges and the seizure of payment in this judicial episode relate to the imperial laws repressing Graeco-Roman voluntary associations. See Hardin, "Decrees and Drachmas."

[639] Indeed, as Barrett points out, the participle, λέγοντες, links this phrase with Paul's action against the imperial decrees as explanations of ἀπέναντι...πράσσουσι. C.K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994-1998), 2:816.

[640] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 97.

[641] Ibid., 100.

Jesus, which stands against the decrees of the Roman emperor. Yet, interestingly, the accusation of the Jews is not the first case in Luke and Acts. Such an intrigue similarly appears in the Passion narrative of the Gospel of Luke. Therefore, before proceeding to examining the meaning of the *oikoumene* in Acts 17:6, it will be necessary to explore the trial scene of Jesus in Luke 23:2–5.

3.6.2. Trial of Jesus in Luke 23:2

The ending of the Gospel of Luke deals with the Passion narrative of Jesus (Luke 22:1–23:56) within which the entire trial scene of Jesus covers Luke 22:66–23:5. This passage can be divided into two scenes: (1) the religious trial before the Sanhedrin (22:66–71) and (2) the political trial before the governor of Judea, Pilate (23:1–5).[642] The encounter between Jesus and Pilate, in particular, displays the political character of the charges.[643] In the political trial scene, the party of the high priest is described as being in collaboration with the Roman Empire.[644]

Luke, unlike Mark, adds the charges claimed by the Jews (cf. Mark 15:1–5). Luke reports: "[Jews] began to accuse him, saying, "We found this man perverting our nation (διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν), forbidding us to pay taxes to the emperor, and saying that he himself is the Messiah, a king (λέγοντα αὐτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι)" (Luke 23:2). The accusations of the Jews can be classified into three charges.[645] First, the Jews accuse Jesus of perverting their nation. Second, the Jews accuse Jesus as a man who acts against the Roman policy of taxation (cf. Luke 20:20-26). Third, the Jews accuse Jesus of saying that he, himself, is the Messiah, a king. Luke introduces each one

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[642] Green, *Luke*, 798.
[643] Lee asserts the charge of Jesus is replete with a political charge. Jae Won Lee, "Pilate and the Crucifixion of Jesus in Luke-Acts," in *Luke-Acts and Empire: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Brawley* (eds. David Rhoads, et al.; PrTMS 151; Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 101.
[644] Ibid., 95-100.
[645] As for labels applied to Jesus, see Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, "Conflict in Luke-Acts: Labelling and Deviance Theory," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), 110-111.

by three participles— διαστρέφοντα, κωλύοντα, and λέγοντα, and connects these by using a coordinate conjunction καί.[646] Among them, the first and the third charges are remarkably parallel with the charges against Paul in Acts. Yet, the second charge against Jesus seems to propose quite different issues from those in Paul's case. Nevertheless, given that both cases of Paul and Jesus refer to the emperor and violations of the dominant imperial rulers, one can argue that the second charge from both texts deal with the same issues. This passage surely bears a close parallel to Acts 17:6. As for similarities between them, first, the three charges support one another, describing Jesus as the treasonous leader against the Roman Empire.[647] Second, the Jews accuse Jesus before Roman authorities by describing Jesus as βασιλεύς.

Luke's trial scene displays a somewhat remarkable point: the first charge epitomizes the remaining charges. When Pilate repeats the accusations of the Jewish leaders, he wraps up these as one sentence, "Jesus stirs up (ἀνασείει) the people" (v. 5) and is "perverting the people" (v. 14).[648] Yet, the treason is culminated in the third charge which plays an important role as explaining the two previous charges.[649] The religious leaders use the term, χριστός, as well as βασιλεύς for accusing Jesus before Pilate. Strictly speaking, βασιλεύς is in apposition to χριστός.[650] As seen above, βασιλεύς might be a rephrasing of χριστός for the better understanding of the Roman official, Pilate. Similar to the case in Acts, this expression is a provocative method to stimulate the Roman sense of threat and the treason of Jesus. Yet, Pilate takes notice of only βασιλεύς, among the two titles and asks back: "Are you the king of the Jews?" (v. 3). The term, βασιλεύς, in Pilate's question has clearly characterized Jesus as a political

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[646] Alexandru Neagoe, *The Trial of the Gospel: An Apologetic Reading of Luke's Trial Narratives* (SNTSMS 116; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 70.

[647] Yong Sung Ahn, *The Reign of God and Rome in Luke's Passion Narrative: An East Asian Global Perspective* (BibInt 80; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 181.

[648] This repeated charge leads Jesus to be accepted of being a false prophet (v. 14). Green, *Luke*, 800.

[649] In this sense, the second and the third are subordinate to the first. On the other hand, the expression, to "stir up," means to "heighten the impression of civic turmoil incited by Jesus." Ibid., 802.

[650] Culy, *Luke*, 703.

king. Thus, it would seem that this term is used for signalling Jesus as a political rebel against the Roman Empire. Likewise, Luke delineates that Jesus is a king and thereby perceived as a rival emperor, which gives rise to an act of social subversion on the nation and the *oikoumene*.

3.6.3. Jesus' Kingship and the Roman *Oikoumene*

Both accusations for Jesus and Paul end up signifying the Messiah, Jesus, as βασιλεύς. Of course, this naming is due to the Jews' strategy for accusing Jesus. If so, does Luke also perceive Jesus as βασιλεύς? In both Luke 23:2 and Acts 17:1–6, the two terms, χριστός and βασιλεύς, appear together.[651] Unlike χριστός, Luke's perception of βασιλεύς seems to be quite ambiguous.

Luke uses βασιλεύς for indicating the lawful king.[652] Luke's Jesus depicts an authority figure as βασιλεύς through his teaching (Luke 10:24; 14:31; 21:12; 22:25). Whereas Luke perceives βασιλεία as the Kingdom of God, he seems to understand βασιλεύς as a political king. In Luke's Gospel, Jesus is also reluctant to accept the title for himself. Regarding Pilate's questions to Jesus, Jesus' answer appears to be quite equivocal: "You say so" (σὺ λέγεις) (Luke 23:3). Regardless of whether Jesus accepts the title or not, Jesus avoids using a plain expression as his *own* opinion.[653]

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[651] Jesus holds diverse titles in the Gospel of Luke: Christ (2:11, 9:20; 22:67; 23:2, 35, 39; 24:26), King (1:32-33; 19:38; 23:2, 3, 37, 38), Son of God. (1:32, 35; 3:22; 4:3, 9, 41; 8:28; 9:35; 22:70), Lord (1:46; 5:8, 12; 6:5; 7:13; 9:54; 11:1; 24:34), Prophet (4:24; 7:16, 39; 9:8, 19; 13:33-34; 24:19), and Saviour (2:11).

[652] As for word group of βασιλεύς, Luke employs βασιλεύς thirty-two times and βασιλεία fifty-two times and βασιλεύω three times. Fitzmyer asserts that βασιλεύς should not be translated into emperor "since that term as a title did not then exist in Roman history." Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 596. But Rowe provides examples illustrating that the term was rendered the emperor in several Roman and Jewish texts. Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 97-99. This is also the case in the New Testament (John 19:12; 1 Pet. 2:13, 17). Yet, Luke always renders the emperor not as βασιλεύς but as Καῖσαρ (cf. Luke 23:2; Acts 25:8). Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia; trans. James Limburg, et al.; Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1987), 135.

[653] Bovon provides three different interpretations about Jesus's response: (1) you say it, and I do not accept your opinion; (2) you say it, and I do accept your opinion; and (3) you say it, and I refuse to express an opinion. Bovon, *Luke 3*, 255.

However, that is not to say that Jesus' thoughts are far from ideas of kingship. Luke depicts that Jesus "will reign over (βασιλεύσει) the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom (βασιλείας) there will be no end" (Luke 1:33). Luke employs the verb, βασιλεύω, to delineate the royal power of Jesus, in particular, in the Parable of the Ten Pounds (Luke 19:14, 27), in which Jesus scolds those who do not want him to be king over them (τοὺς μὴ θελήσαντάς με βασιλεῦσαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς) (19:27). Also, unlike Mark and Matthew (cf. Mark 11:9-10; Matt. 21:5, 9), Luke notes that the crowd acclaims Jesus as a King during Jesus' entry into Jerusalem: "Blessed is the king who comes in the name of the Lord! Peace in heaven, and glory in the highest heaven!" (εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις) (19:38). This verse reflects Luke's earlier depiction of Jesus in the birth narrative (1:79; 2:14).[654] Considering the discussion so far, βασιλεύς seems to indicate a political throne, but it also conveys the sovereign power of Jesus. In this light, Luke's perspective on βασιλεύς is ambiguous, much like Jesus' answer to Pilate.

Luke's equivocal viewpoint is synthesized in the crucifixion of Jesus. The Jews succeed in crucifying Jesus by claiming Jesus as the rival emperor and as the leader of a rebellion against Rome, yet, Pilate does not take Jesus' answer as a statement of treason (23:14). Nevertheless, given that Jesus is put to death because of the title (23:38), it is no doubt that βασιλεύς is considered the primary reason for the death of Jesus. Ironically, because of the title, βασιλεύς, the salvific program by Jesus is accomplished in the end. The title, βασιλεύς, is located at the top of the cross. Thus, βασιλεύς has a political sense but also it places Jesus as βασιλεύς in the βασιλεία. Thus, the Jews misunderstand, and their designation is ironically correct. The Jews' accusation is interestingly neither

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[654] Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 114-5.

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wrong nor biased. In this light, Luke's Christological term, χριστός, is complemented by another title, βασιλεύς, in both Luke 23:2 and Acts 17:6.

When Acts 17:6 is discussed together with Luke 23:2, Luke's informed readers would understand more clearly how Luke perceives the *oikoumene*. To be sure, Luke portrays the *oikoumene* with a political sense but implicitly argues that the Lordship over the *oikoumene* is attributed to Jesus. Luke narrates that Jesus' subversive ministry extends from Galilee throughout all Judea: "[Jesus] stirs up the people by teaching throughout all Judea, from Galilee where he began even to this place" (Luke 23:5). This geographic pervasiveness occurs in Acts by his followers as well. Luke portrays that Paul's civic subversion is expanded into the entire world, turning the *oikoumene* upside down. The crucified Messiah, the King appears again in Thessalonica as a "different-kind-of-king"[655] through the proclamation of Paul. In this light, Luke's association of the *oikoumene* with Jesus' Kingship offers an alternative approach to the Roman *oikoumene*. Thus, the Roman *oikoumene* becomes the realm where Jesus displays his own identity.

3.6.4. Jewish *Oikoumene*

Besides the facet of the Roman world, the *oikoumene* in 17:6 provides another aspect. Luke is seemingly delineating the imperial *oikoumene* and the Jews also seem to worry about civic disorder within the Roman *oikoumene*, causing them to accuse Paul. However, Luke's audiences might be aware that the proclamation of Paul was not so much an act of treason toward the empire. In a previous scene, Paul proclaims κύριος Jesus before a Roman jailer in Philippi (Acts 16:31).[656] Yet, it does not cause any problems for the Romans. Rather, the jailers are baptized by Paul and become believers

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[655] Rowe points out that ἕτερος king would suggest a use in its positive Christian construal as a second, non-rival, and different-kind-of-king. C. Kavin Rowe, "The Ecclesiology of Acts," *Int* 66 (2012): 266-7.
[656] Steve Walton, "The State They Were In: Luke's View of the Roman Empire," in *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church* (ed. Peter Oakes; Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002), 26.

(16:33–34). Put another way, Christianity was harmless and was not a political threat to the Roman Empire.[657] Luke's Paul is innocent of political wrongdoing. Given that Paul's message was not an act of treason toward the empire, their anxiety of Paul disturbing the Roman world sounds unreasonable to Luke's audience. Rather, the genuine anxiety of the Jews is related to the sense that the Jewish world is agitated by Christians. The accusation is taken by the Jews, because other Jews "became jealous" (v. 5). In other words, their primary reason of accusation came from anxiety for "some of them [Jews] were persuaded and joined Paul and Silas" (v. 4). And the jealousy and anxiety lead them to accuse Paul of turning the *oikoumene* upside-down (v. 6).

In order to investigate this passage, once again, let us return to Luke 23:2. The Jerusalem leaders present three charges for Jesus before Pilate. Among them, the first charge is that Jesus perverts *their* nation (τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν). The charge that Jesus perverts *their* nation can be explained as Jesus' predominant influence on the peoples in the Judean land. For the Jewish leaders, their concern is more or less their own nation. The primary reason for accusing Jesus is their concern with the stability of their own nation rather than concern for imperial order as an expression of their loyalty to it. This fact can be a clue in the investigation of the *oikoumene* in Acts 17:6 also. This is because the Jews remained anxious about whether their religious order might be disturbed and subverted by the Christians.

From the perspective of the Jews in Thessalonica, Paul's target of ἀναστατόω is directed to the Jewish world. As seen in the Second Temple Jewish literature, the *oikoumene* means the inhabited world where the Diaspora Jews spread out from their mother city, Jerusalem. The Hellenistic Jewish writers identify the *oikoumene* with the territory of the Jewish Diaspora. As they spread out around the Mediterranean Sea, they

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[657] Conzelmann asserts that Luke constructs an Apology for the Church to Rome. See Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; New York: Faber and Faber, 1960). However, since Conzelmann asserts the opinion, Luke's perspectives on the Roman Empire have produced significant discussions among Lukan scholars. For the discussions, see Walton, "The State," 1-41.

also employed the Greek term to signal the world created by God and where they dwell. Consequently, they established the Jewish conceptual *oikoumene* upon the imperial territory. And they thought that Paul's proclamation was countering the religious world to which the Jews adhered. Thus, considering the context of 17:6, the *oikoumene* can be characterized not only as the Roman *oikoumene* but also as the Jewish *oikoumene*.

To sum up, the *oikoumene* is a world agitated by Jesus. Just as Jesus was born in the *oikoumene* (Luke 2:1), so Jesus appears again in the *oikoumene* as bringing forth a message and a movement. Given that the new-born king Jesus was born under the decrees of the Roman emperor (cf. Luke 2:1), now the βασιλεύς is proclaimed by his followers against the decree of Καῖσαρ. While Καῖσαρ is the head of the Roman *oikoumene*, βασιλεύς is the head of βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. The *oikoumene* which has been the realm of the devil and was made up of βασιλείας (Luke 4:5) is subverted by a new Βασιλεύς. Also, the *oikoumene* represents the Jewish world built on imperial territory. The conceptual structure of the Jewish *oikoumene* is destroyed by the new order brought forth by Jesus. Jesus is turning both the Roman *oikoumene* and the Jewish world upside down.

3.7. The *Oikoumene* in Acts 17:31

In Areopagus' speech in Acts 17, the *oikoumene* occurs again: "because he has fixed a day on which he will have the world judged in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed, and of this he has given assurance to all by raising him from the dead" (17:31). This verse is the only case in which the *oikoumene* spills from Paul's mouth in the entire occurrences of the word in Acts. The *oikoumene* is described as the world which will be judged in the end.

3.7.1. From Thessalonica to Athens

The Areopagus speech, the so-called "climax" of Acts,[658] has been an important theme in Lukan scholarship.[659] In particular, in this speech, Luke's Paul provides a remarkable worldview to us. Even though the term, *oikoumene*, appears at the end of the discourse, the entire speech carefully deals with the issue of Paul's worldview. Thus, it can be an optimized passage with which to investigate Luke' perspective on the world among the eight occurrences of the *oikoumene*. This speech begins with the creation of the world (κόσμος) (v. 24) and ends with the judgment of the world (οἰκουμένη) (v. 31).[660]

A stage setting in Acts 17 is changed from Thessalonica (vv. 1–9) to Athens (vv. 16–34). In Athens, the heartland as well as the philosophical centre of ancient Greece,[661] Paul participates in vehement debate with the Greek philosophers in the well-known civic space (ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ).[662] As Joshua Jipp points out, Luke invites readers to read this

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[658] Martin Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. Mary Ling; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), 26.

[659] Colin J. Hemer, "The Speeches of Acts, 2: The Areopagus Address," *TynBul* 40 (1989); Hans Conzelmann, "The Address of Paul on the Areopagus" in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert, Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation at Yale University* (eds. Paul Schubert, et al.; London: SPCK, 1976); Karl Olav Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates: The Aim of Paul's Areopagus Speech," *JSNT* 50 (1993); Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminister/John Knox Press, 1994), 95-100; David L. Balch, "The Areopagus Speech: An Appeal to the Stoic Historian Posidonius against Later Stoics and the Epicureans," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (eds. Abraham J. Malherbe, et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); C. Kavin Rowe, "The Grammar of Life: The Areopagus Speech and Pagan Tradition," *NTS* 57 (2011); Joshua W. Jipp, "Paul's Areopagus Speech of Acts 17:16-34 as Both Critique and Propaganda," *JBL* 131 (2012).

[660] NRSV renders both of these two terms as meaning "the world."

[661] Through a preliminary dispute between Paul and Greeks philosophers before the Areopagus speech (vv. 16-21), Luke sheds light on the new site, Athens. The heartland of ancient Greece draws the attention of readers. Even though Athens lost its centrality under the Roman Empire in the first century CE, Luke sheds light on its significance as the philosophical centre of the ancient world. It becomes "the ideal setting for a sermon that his hero preaches to educated Gentiles of the Greco-Roman world." Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 600–1.

[662] As for the public space in Athens, see Loveday C. A. Alexander, "'Foolishness to the Greeks': Jews and Christians in the Public Life of the Empire," in *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World : Essays in Honour of Miriam Griffin* (eds. Gillian Clark and Tessa Rajak; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 234-5. In fact, Luke delineates Paul as a philosopher like Socrates, through Paul's debate with the Greeks: "he argued in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons, and also in the marketplace (ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ) every day with those who happened to be there" (v. 17). Cf, Sandnes, "Paul and Socrates," 570-74.

scene as "a conflict between Paul and Athens."[663] Some in Athens brought Paul to the

Areopagus and asked him about his "new teaching" (v. 19). Consequently, Luke

delivers his speech before the Athenians. In essence, the speech corresponds to Paul's

critical message against the ignorant people who worship unknown idols (v. 23) but

what is remarkable is that Paul develops his own message into a comprehensive account

illustrating God's divine creation of the inhabited world. Paul proclaims God's

sovereignty across the entire world. In particular, Luke's Paul asserts that God has fixed

a day on which he will have the *oikoumene* judged in rightness by a man whom he has

appointed (v. 31). As seen the case of the *oikoumene* in Luke 21:26, Luke once again

associates the *oikoumene* with the judgement in the end, fulfilled by Jesus (the Son of

God). But unlike the previous case, Luke locates Paul in a place of Athens that is

prominent and, accordingly, makes him confront the Greeks who invented the concept

of the *oikoumene* as the inhabited world from the sixth century BCE. To be sure, Luke

employs the *oikoumene* in terms of the eschatological setting in this account, but filled

the entire speech with elaborate content which established the essential features of the

world, such as origin of the world, its geographic construction, territorial division, and

ethnic reasoning. In a sense, the Areopagus speech is an ideal passage which outlines

Luke's own perceptions of the inhabited world in terms of ethno-geography. One can

argue that the Areopagus Speech provides the most significant source for determining

Luke's worldview. Thus, in order to discuss the *oikoumene* in the final stage of the

speech, it is necessary to fully explore the speech with respect to Luke's portrayal of the

world. Given that this speech is a "literary creation by Luke" as Hans Conzelmann

points out,[664] the Areopagus speech might be a significant theoretical frame to reveal

Luke's perspective on the inhabited world.[665]

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663 Jipp, "Areopagus," 575.
664 Conzelmann, "Areopagus," 218.
665 Lukan scholars have noted that Luke's hero dashes toward his opponents with Jewish traditions and
his own knowledge of Hellenistic philosophy. In this sense, this speech challenges readers to explore

3.7.2. The Inhabited World Created by God

Paul begins the speech with the origin of the world. Paul clarifies that "the God who made the world and everything in it, he who is LORD of heaven and earth" (ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος) (v. 24). In this passage, Luke suggests three keywords to formulate the universe: κόσμος, οὐρανός, and γῆ. Among them, the term, κόσμος, contains "everything" (πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτω) including heaven and earth (v. 24).[666] This term only appears here in Acts. The cosmos, which was a term common to Greeks, signifies a well-ordered universe of a divine creator.[667] Moreover, the cosmos also denotes the totality of creatures inhabiting the world, including the human inhabitants.[668] Consequently, Paul employs this Greek philosophical language to his Athenian audience who are familiar with the concept of effective persuasion. In this light, it serves as "one concession to Greek philosophical language."[669]

Luke's hero clarifies that the creator of the cosmos is God. This assertion could be a strong refutation against the Stoic philosophers who stand before Paul. The philosophers conceived the creation of the cosmos in three senses: (1) of god himself; (2) the orderly arrangement of the heavenly bodies in itself; and (3) the whole of which these two are parts (Diogenes, *Laer.* 7.138). However, Paul subverts these notions by claiming God's creation. Their polytheistic notion is challenged by Paul's bold proclamation of the monotheistic God. Furthermore, Paul underscores God's creative

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Luke's world with respect to these two layers—Jewish and Hellenistic.

[666] See Johnston, "Οἰκουμένη and Κόσμος," 352-4.

[667] In particular, the Stoic world view of his opponents such as Stoic philosophers was the most influential in Graeco-Roman antiquity. Adams, "Cosmology," 16. "It was the strong sense that the early Greek philosophers had of the world's orderliness that prompted the application of the word *kosmos* (κόσμος), which had the primary sense of 'order', to the physical universe. In early Greek usage, the term was used with reference to specific types of social orderings, such as the seating order of rowers (Homer, *Od.* 13.77), the order of soldiers (Homer, *Il.* 12.225) and well-ordered political status such as Sparta (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.65)." Ibid., 6.

[668] Hermann Sasse, "κόσμος," *TDNT* 3: 867-98.

[669] Pervo, *Acts*, 434.

work with the phrase, ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας. On the one hand, the term, ποιέω, was not unfamiliar to Luke's informed audiences because this expression was prevalent in the Greek world.[670] On the other hand, the word echoes the Septuagint reading of creation in Genesis (Gen. 1:1; 2:7; Isa. 42:5; 2 Macc. 7:23) and the Hellenistic Jewish literature (Philo, *Opif.* 2.7)[671] in which ποιέω or ποιεῖν is used to reveal God's creative work. Thus, as C.K. Barrett points out, this concept of God as the maker of the cosmos is Greek as well as Jewish.[672] Luke also acknowledges both the Jewish and Greek traditions about ὁ ποιῶν and takes these two traditions into consideration through Paul's speech. In doing so, even though Luke's hero depends on his counterpart's terminology, he delivers the speech in the biblical sense.

Luke analyses the cosmos in which Paul uses the heaven-and-earth language with reference to God as Lord of all (cf. Luke 10:21).[673] For Luke, this dualistic structure, or tripartite structure with the addition of the sea,[674] is a basis on which to draw an image of the entire cosmos.[675] Then Paul claims it is God who provides life and breath in all things (v. 25). Contrary to the Stoic worldview, the cosmos is ordered by reason and providence (Τὸν δὴ κόσμον διοκεῖσθαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν) (Diogenes, *Laer.* 7.139), Paul's speech emphasizes God's providence, including creation and all human beings. Subsequently, from the cosmic universe, Luke focuses on the whole

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[670] Plato, *Tim.* 28c; 76 c; Epictetus, *Disc.* 4.7.6. See Conzelmann, *Acts*, 141.

[671] "His powers as Maker and Father" (τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς) (Philo, *Opif.* 2.7).

[672] Barrett, *Acts*, 2:840.

[673] Walton notes that Luke's preference for the heaven-and-earth language over the cosmos is plausibly an example of Luke's imitating the Septuagint. Steve Walton, "'The Heavens Opened': Cosmological and Theological Transformation in Luke and Acts," in *Cosmology and New Testament Theology* (eds. Jonathan T. Pennington and Sean M. McDonough; LNTS 355; London: T & T Clark, 2008), 61.

[674] Luke has a tendency to add the sea to this dualistic structure, thereby formulating the tripartite cosmos composed of heaven, earth, and sea (Acts 4:24; 14:15). For discussions of comparing Paul's speech in Lystra and Areopagus, see Béchard, *Paul*, 355-427.

[675] Also, Luke's Paul narrates that the creator God is not served by human hands. It reminds readers of the sermon of Stephen: "the Most High does not dwell in houses made with human hands" (Acts 7:48). In particular, given that χειροποίητος was used for denunciations of idolatry in the Hebrew Bible, this allusion implies that God is above the objects of their worship (cf. v. 23). Moreover, "Paul has managed to criticize both temples and cultic service as useless in humanity's search for God….This critique resonates *both* with the Septuagintal anti-idolatry polemic *and* the Hellenistic philosophical critiques." Jipp, "Areopagus," 580-1. In doing so, Paul asserts that the world is created by the Lord of heaven and earth (οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων κύριος).

inhabited earth (γῆ) itself. For the inhabitable earth, Luke does not use the term,

οἰκουμένη, but γῆ. Namely, Luke favours the latter rather than the former to indicate the

inhabited earth (world). This is relevant to Luke's preference for the heaven-and-earth

language. In Luke-Acts, γῆ is frequently used to make a pair with οὐρανός (Luke 2:14;

10:21; 16:17; 21:33; Acts 2:19; 4:24; 14:15).[676] Otherwise, γῆ without οὐρανός denotes

the physical landmass distinguished from the heavenly realm.[677] Luke sheds light on γῆ

as an earthly part of κόσμος (cf. Acts 7:49) and, accordingly, emphasizes that γῆ is the

space for the indwelling of the human race, thereby making a distinction from the

oikoumene, re-interpreted in political and religious senses.

While Luke highlights the formation of the world in v. 25, he converts the

theme to that of human habitation in v. 26. Just as the ancient Greeks had a concern

with the inhabitants of the world, so Luke offers a description for all inhabitants. This

statement can be divided into three points.

First, Luke clarifies the origin of human beings. Luke narrates that the Creator

made all nations (πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων) from one ancestor (ἐξ ἑνός). It clearly denotes the

unity of all nations inhabiting γῆ. In other words, the entire human race is rooted in a

common origin and derived from the original one. This assertion leads readers into an

inquiry about "one ancestor." Regarding "one," a majority of Lukan scholars have

argued that Luke alludes to Adam (Gen. 1:27–28; 2:7).[678] Luke's stance about the world

is quite clear that the first human becomes the origin of all nations throughout the

world.[679] Luke describes ἑνός, Adam, as "son of God" in Jesus' genealogy (Luke 3:38).

By doing so, Luke's Paul draws all humanity's relatedness to God (cf. Luke 10:21; Acts

4:24). Toward the Athenians, Paul asserts that "we are God's offspring" (γένος οὖν

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[676] Particularly, Luke uses it to refer to the object for proclaiming the gospel of the apostles (Acts 1:8).
[677] Walton, "Heavens Opened," 63. For Luke's understanding of the land, see W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 244-87.
[678] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 142; Johnson, *Acts*, 315; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:842.
[679] On the contrary, Balch claims it could refer to God himself. Balch, "Areopagus Speech," 77.

ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θεοῦ) (v. 29). In order to effectively deliver the speech, Paul makes

reference to a Greek poem: "For 'In him we live and move and have our being,' as even

some of your own poets have said, 'For we too are his offspring'" (v. 28). This alludes

to two poets: first, Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* that includes the following proclamation,

"Zeus, lord of nature, who governs the universe according to law, all hail! It is fitting to

praise you, for we are indeed all your offspring, and we alone, of all that lives and

moves here on earth";[680] second, the Cretan poet, Epimenides, writer of *Cretica*, reads,

"For in thee we live and move and have our being."[681] Indeed, the unity of humanity

was a significant conception for the Hellenistic philosophers as well as for the Israelites

(cf. Cicero, *Leg*. 22-39; *Off.* 3.28).[682] However, Paul approaches the oneness of all

people and the unity in terms of the one Lord.[683] His speech is rooted in the notion of

one true God against a pluralistic world.[684] As a result, it might be a provocative claim

to Athenian beliefs that they sprang exclusively from the soil of their Attic homeland

and thus were not like other races.[685] Luke classifies Greeks under God's dominion.

This assertion might be provocative to the Athenian audience because Greeks sustained

their ethnic superiority over the non-Greeks (barbarians). Paul defies Greek racial

superiority and thus their ethnic exclusivity through the concept of the universal

γένος.[686]

Second, Luke emphasizes God's scheme for all nations to inhabit the whole

earth (πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς) (v. 26). That the

human race from one root spread abroad and thereafter inhabited the world has been a

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[680] Cited from Jipp, "Areopagus," 584.
[681] Cited from Richard N. Longenecker, *Acts* (ExpBC 10; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2007), 984.
[682] Jipp, "Areopagus," 582.
[683] Alan J. Thompson, *One Lord, One People: The Unity of the Church in Acts in Its Literary Setting* (LNTS 359; London: T & T Clark, 2008), 57-104.
[684] "Moreover, through its account of Paul's deeds and speeches in key sites...Acts articulates a theological vision of how Christianity and its notion of one, true God, can fit within a "pluralistic" empire and its notions of ethnic difference." Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 88.
[685] Keener, *Acts*, 3:2648; Longenecker, *Acts*, 983.
[686] Bruce, *Acts*, 382; Witherington, *Acts*, 526.

significant issue in the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 10:1–11:9). Accordingly, Luke claims that

the Diaspora and settlement, operated by God, establishes the list of nations in the

inhabited world. In other words, God allotted the times of their existence and the

boundaries of the places where they would live (ὁρίσας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς

ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν) (v. 26).[687] Yet it is quite difficult to interpret these two

terms, καιροί and ὁροθεσίαι. Lukan scholars have engaged in the debate between the

historical and philosophical interpretations.[688] With respect to the historical view, these

two terms indicate that epochs of history and the national boundaries are based on

biblical texts (cf. Gen. 10:1-32; Deut. 32:8; LXX Ps. 74:17; Sir. 16:26–27; 1 *En*. 89–90;

Josephus, *A.J.* 1.120).[689] On the other hand, in terms of the philosophical view, Martin

Dibelius challenges this historical view. He claims that καιροί and ὁροθεσίαι refer to the

divine order of the seasons and the natural boundaries of the (five) Zones[690] where men

shall live.[691] However, given that the Areopagus speech displays both historical and

philosophical perspectives, the controversy demands too much from Acts, as

Conzelmann notes.[692]

Considering Luke's worldview, it is rather noteworthy that Luke employs οικ-

root terms such as κατοικέω and κατοικία to underline an aspect of the inhabitation of all

human beings (v. 26). Luke repeatedly employs κατοικέω to portray the inhabitants of

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[687] Josephus "From that hour, therefore, they were dispersed through their diversity of languages and founded founding of colonies everywhere, each group occupying the country that they lit upon and to which God led them, so that every continent was peopled by them, the interior and the seaboard alike; while some crossed the sea on shipboard and settled in the islands." (Josephus, *A.J.* 1.120); "When the Lord created his works from the beginning, and, in making them, determined their boundaries, he arranged his works in an eternal order, and their dominion for all generations." (Sir 16:26-27)

[688] For further study in the debate, see Balch, "Areopagus Speech," 54-57; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:843-4. Pervo provides another understanding, claiming that ὁροθεσίαι would be applied to political boundaries. Pervo, *Acts*, 436.

[689] See Johnson, *Acts*, 315; Witherington, *Acts*, 527; Pervo, *Acts*, 436 n. 108. For interpreting the speech in terms of the Tale of Nations, see Scott, *Geography*, 94-95.

[690] This notion that the cosmos is composed of five zones, only two of which were fit for human habitation, echoes the zone theory in Graeco-Roman antiquities.

[691] Dibelius suggests philosophical interpretation, rooted in the Stoic perspective of the world. Dibelius, *Acts*, 33-34; Walther Eltester, *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann: Zu seinem Siebzigsten Geburtstag am 20. August 1954.* (vol. 21.; Berlin A. Töpelmann, 1957).

[692] Conzelmann, *Acts,*143-4.

the world through the whole of Acts.[693] Otto Michel claims that this verb holds spiritual, religious, and psychological significance.[694] Indeed, for Luke, the concept of inhabitation is relevant not only to God's indwelling (cf. 7:48; 17:24) but also to the indwelling of God's offspring in the world. The inhabitation (κατοικία) is subjected to God's divine scheme to set the boundaries of the nations.[695] Thus, the boundaries (ὁροθεσίαι), which used to be known as the geopolitical sense of borders between nations in Greek culture, have also become one of God's designs on the world.

Third, Luke illuminates God's aim of inhabitation. Luke heightens the meaning of the divine scheme through God's determination (ὁρίσας προστεταγμένους) (v. 26). God's purpose of ποιεῖν (v. 26) is characterized as both κατοικεῖν and ζητεῖν.[696] The primary purpose of God in allowing human beings to inhabit the world is relevant to the seeking of God (ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν) (v. 27). The infinitive, κατοικεῖν, functions as a parallel with the infinitive, ζητεῖν, in describing the desire of God.[697] Yet, besides their parallel relation, κατοικεῖν can be a cause for ζητεῖν because of the inferential participle ἄρα (consequently) in v. 27. Thus, God's intention for κατοικεῖν, by determining periods and boundaries, can be explained by seeking the Creator. As Johnson asserts, these two terms are "more likely to be a standard statement of God's creative power,"[698] because, "In him we live and move and have our being" (v. 28). Even if εἰ ἄρα suggests uncertainty by the author, the uncertainty is modified by καί γε (indeed) in the following sentence because God is not far from any of them (v. 27).[699] Thus, for Luke, γῆ is the world inhabited by God's offspring, under (ἐν) God.

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693 Luke repeatedly employs κατοικέω to portray the inhabitants on the world throughout the text of Acts. It appears four times in Matthew, two times in Luke, twenty times in Acts.

694 Otto Michel, "κατοικέω," *TDNT* 5:153.

695 Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 107-13.

696 Conzelmann, *Acts*, 142.

697 Dibelius, *Acts*, 35; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 142.

698 Johnson, *Acts*, 315.

699 Barrett, *Acts*, 2:845.

3.7.3. Judgement on the *Oikoumene*

Luke expands God's scheme from creation to judgment and draws attention from the divine world by God into the *oikoumene* which would be judged by God.[700] The reason for judgment is that human beings, particularly the Gentiles such as the Athenians, worship idolatry (v. 29) contrary to "good news about Jesus" (v. 18), neglecting that they are the offspring of God.[701] Luke's Paul proclaims that God is not far from each one of them (οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα) (v. 27) but, ironically, they are μακρὰν ἀπό God. Consequently, Paul requires them to repent (v. 30) before the day fixed for judgment in righteousness (v. 31).

In this passage, we should pay attention to the fact that the verb, ὁρίζω (determine), appears again here. This term repeatedly appears in Luke and Acts (Luke 22:22; Acts 2:23; 10:42; 11:29; 17:26, 31). In particular, according to Peter, the crucifixion of "the one ordained by God" (ὁ ὡρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ) (Acts 10:42) is accomplished according to God's "definite plan" (ὡρισμένῃ βουλῇ) (Acts 2:23). Thus, Richard Pervo aptly observes that it binds "judgment with creation as the poles between which God's plan unfolds."[702] While God created the world by determination, God will judge the world by his own determination as well. The verb, μέλλει, refers to the fact that events happen according to the divine plan.[703]

As for an agent of judgment, Luke's Paul reports that it will be fulfilled "by a man whom he has appointed" (ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν) (v. 31). There is no doubt that the ἀνήρ is Jesus (17:3, 18). In v. 30, the temporal adverb, νῦν, is functioning as a temporal transition into the new era revealed by Christ. This temporal phrase, τὰ νῦν, "dramatizes

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[700] Vv.28-30 are connected by a conjunction οὖν which indicates the causality of God's desire. (Acts 17:28-30)

[701] Nasrallah expands the scope of idolatry from one of the Greek East to the Roman imperial cult. Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 115.

[702] Pervo, *Acts*, 440.

[703] Talbert, *Reading Luke-Acts*, 164.

the change of the times according to the work and will of God (see. 3:17)."[704] To use

the expression of Conzelmann, it is the change from the epoch of ἄγνοια (ignorance)

into the epoch of μετάνοια (repentance).[705] In a sense, this change reflects Luke's

concern with connecting the temporal transition from past to future.[706] God's command

to repent is urgent *now* (νῦν). That is not to say that the judgment is imminent, but

Luke's Paul asserts that the Athenians, or τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πάντας, should repent and be

aware of the judgment because the new era of salvation history has come to all people.

The Areopagus speech suggests that Jesus will appear in the end-time to judge

the *oikoumene*. Luke narrows down the discourse about the world into a reference of the

agent of the salvific program. Thus, Paul's speech provides the totality of the world:

from creation (vv. 24-26) to consummation (vv. 30-31).[707] And the *oikoumene* in this

account refers to the world which will be judged by Jesus (cf. LXX Ps. 9:9).

As seen in previous cases of the *oikoumene* in Luke 21:26 and Acts 11:28, Luke

places the *oikoumene* within an eschatological setting.[708] The *oikoumene* in this account

corresponds to the world inhabited by peoples who are μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Consequently, Luke foretells the prospective event in the future on the *oikoumene*. Luke

still seems to have a tendency to use the term, *oikoumene*, based upon Jewish literature

and a reading of the Septuagint. However, it is remarkable that Luke also illustrates an

aspect of the *oikoumene* through Paul's Areopagus speech in terms of its original sense,

the inhabited world, as discussed by Greek geographers. Paul exploits the prominent

Athenian discourse about the inhabited world but within which Luke resorts to the

Jewish ancestral theme to describe the inhabited world, thereby providing a schematic

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[704] Soards, *Speeches in Acts*, 99.
[705] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 146.
[706] Nasrallah sheds light on the early Christian movements not only in terms of space but also time. Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 87-118.
[707] Cf. Rowe adopts these terms to describe "the totality of human life" but I adapted these into the totality of the world. Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 40.
[708] Regarding eschatology, Rowe emphasizes its particularized eschatology contrary to the universalizing scope of Paul's speech. Ibid., 39.

picture of the world created by God in terms of geographic features and ethnic origin. This account can be an aid with which to explore Luke's worldview in the following Chapter. Plausibly, Luke was aware of the discourses about the Greek *oikoumene*.

3.8. The *Oikoumene* in Acts 19:27

The seventh occurrence of the *oikoumene* occurs in 19.27: "And there is danger not only that this trade of ours may come into disrepute but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis will be scorned, and she will be deprived of her majesty that brought all Asia and *the world* to worship her."

The *oikoumene* is depicted as the world of the pagan cult which worships the goddess Artemis. In order to explore the *oikoumene* in this passage, an appropriate place to begin is with the relationship of Ephesus and Artemis.

3.8.1. The City of Ephesus and Artemis

Ephesus was one of the central cities in the Greek East in the first century CE. Located near the Aegean Sea, it grew into the largest city in Asia Minor, and absorbed diverse cultures, arts, and religions (Pausania, *Descr.* 4.31; Xenophon, *Eph.* 1). In particular, during Augustus' reign, Ephesus achieved expeditious growth and a general prosperity which resulted from the *Pax Romana*.[709] At that time, Ephesus became the third largest city in the Roman Empire after Rome and Alexandria, with an estimated population of about two hundred thousand people.[710] According to Strabo, "the city, because of its advantageous situation in other respects, grows daily, and is the largest emporium in Asia this side the Taurus" (*Geogr.* 14.1.24). As a commercial centre in

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[709] Paul Trebilco, "Asia," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, 305.
[710] C. L. Brinks, "'Great is Artemis of the Ephesians': Acts 19:23-41 in Light of Goddess Worship in Ephesus," *CBQ* 71 (2009): 783.

Asia Minor, the city exhibited its prosperity around the Mediterranean and absorbed various peoples.

Besides being a city of cultural and economic importance, Ephesus was a central place for worshipping Artemis, since at least the eleventh century BCE. The Ephesians thought that the goddess, Artemis, had made Ephesus more famous than all other cities, and that their prosperity resulted from their solid bond with the goddess. Artemis was more than a local religion for the peoples in Ephesus. The cult of Artemis had influenced the religious, social, cultural, political, and economic life of the Ephesians.[711] Richard Oster summarizes the perspectives of the Ephesians toward Artemis as follows:

> She [Artemis] was also venerated because of her lordship over supernatural powers. She was acclaimed as Artemis of the first throne (πρωτοθρόνιος), the Queen of the Cosmos (Βασιλῆΐς κόσμου), Lord (Κυρία), Saviour (Σώτειρα), and a heavenly goddess (οὐράνιος θεὸς Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσία) whose very nature and character could only be described in superlatives: μεγίστη, ἁγιωτάτη, and ἐπιφανεστάτη.[712]

In this manner, the Ephesians conceived of a belief in the tutelary of the goddess. The relationship between city and goddess can be characterized as "reciprocal responsibilities to her in this divinely directed covenant relationship."[713] Such a strong bond appears in Luke's record as well, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!" (μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων) (19:28). Luke repeatedly employs this sentence in v. 28 and v. 34. This expression displays their veneration for Artemis as well as the unique bond with their goddess.

The Temple of Artemis was a significant place for glorifying the divinity. Basically, it was the house for worship. Many wealthy worshippers of Artemis came to

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[711] Richard E. Oster, "Ephesus as a Religious Center under the Principate, I. Paganism before Constantine," in *ANRW* 18.3:1700.

[712] Ibid., 1724. Additionally, in a fragmentary decree of the sunhedrion of the Gerousia, which has been dated to the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180 to 192), Artemis's name appears in the genitive after the saviour: "the cult statue of the Saviour Artemis" (ἄγαλμα Σωτείρας Ἀρτέμιδος). Guy MacLean Rogers, *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 75-76.

[713] Oster, "Ephesus," 1700.

Ephesus to view the temple; their visits resulting in increasing the city's revenue. The Ephesians attributed the temple to be the source of their prosperity.[714] Consequently, it functioned not only as a house of worship, but also as the arbiter for regional disputes and the origin of economic prosperity. In terms of economy, the temple of Artemis was a significant part of Ephesian business.[715] As for the benefit, Dio Chrysostom notes:

> you know about the Ephesians, of course, and that large sums of money are in their hands, some of it belonging to private citizens and deposited in the temple of Artemis, not alone money of the Ephesians but also of aliens and of persons from all parts of the world, and in some cases of commonwealths and kings, money which all deposits in order that it may be safe, since no one has ever dared to violate that place, although countless wars have occurred in the past and the city has often been captured. (*Or.* 31.54)

By the visiting of numerous worshippers from the provinces of Asia, the Ephesians gained financial profit. Luke's description on Ephesus also reflects this point. They achieve their wealth from the business of making silver shrines of Artemis (19:24–25). As a result, the Ephesians conducted to be the temple keeper of the great Artemis (v. 35). Luke's depiction gets historical support from an Ephesian inscription which highlights them as νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.[716] As for the term, Oster notes:

> The word was frequently employed both by pagan and Jewish writers of the Graeco-Roman period to designate those persons of the temple hierarchy in charge of temple administration, proper performance of sacrifices, and other cultic events. Within this urban self-designation of νεωκόρος, the city was affirming its divine appointment as the keeper and protector of the religion and cult of the goddess, and is the recipient of the privileges and blessing which go with that office.[717]

Likewise, because they received great benefits from the goddess, it was natural for them to be seen as her guardian. In this light, "Artemis was involved in a reciprocal 'give and take' with the civic self-image and urban needs of Ephesus."[718]

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[714] Trebilco, "Asia," 323-4.

[715] Brinks, "Artemis of the Ephesians," 781-2; Trebilco, "Asia," 322-6; Scott Shauf, *Theology as History, History as Theology: Paul in Ephesus in Acts 19* (BZNW 133; Munchen: Walter De Gruyter, 2005), 244.

[716] *Forschungen in Ephesos* vol. 2 no. 40.4-5. Quoted from Oster, "Ephesus," 1702.

[717] Ibid., 1702.

[718] Ibid., 1727.

Moreover, the relationship displays a vertical structure between the earthly human beings and the heavenly goddess. Namely, it is a form of subordinated hierarchy. Citizens of Ephesus believed that the heavenly world of immortality had been placed on the earth.[719] Luke also tells of, "the great Artemis and of the statue that fell from heaven" (v. 35). Luke employs διοπετής to signify the spatial division between heaven and earth. Consequently, the Ephesians on earth celebrate the goddess from heaven.

3.8.2. The Worldwide Expansion of Artemis

For the Ephesians, Artemis was a goddess worshipped by numerous peoples in various nations in Asia and across the world. To be sure, Artemis was not an isolated goddess only within the area of Ephesus. She was worshipped outside of Ephesus as well. In order to emphasize her dominant power, Demetrius shouts a phrase "all Asia and [*the oikoumene*] to worship her" (v. 27). An Ephesian inscription reports its influence over the *oikoumene*:

> Since the goddess Artemis, patron of our city, is honoured not only in her native city, which she has made more famous than all other cities through her own divinity, but also by Greeks and barbarians, so that everywhere sanctuaries and precincts are consecrated for her, temples are dedicated and altars set up for her, on account of her manifest epiphanies. (162/3 or 163/4 CE)[720]

This inscription claims that Artemis is worshipped by Greeks and non-Greeks alike.[721] From the edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus, "The temple of Artemis herself, which is the ornament of the whole province" (τὸ τε τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος αὐτῆς ἱερόν, ὃ τῆς ἐπαρχείας ὅλης ἐστὶν κόσμος). We can find her influential power from a text written by Pausanias also,

> But all cities worship Artemis of Ephesus, and individuals hold her in honour above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the renown of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple,

[719] Cf. Shauf, *Theology as History*, 244.
[720] G. H. R. Horsley, "The Inscriptions of Ephesos and the New Testament," *NovT* 34 (1992): 154.
[721] Quoted from Trebilco, "Asia," 323.

surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the city of the Ephesians and the renown of the goddess who dwells there. (Pausanias, *Descr.* 4.31.8)

Her influence reaches not only dozens of places in Asia Minor, but numerous other regions around the Mediterranean basin.[722] According to Strabo's description of her influential expansion (*Geogr.* 3.4.6, 8; 4.1.8), the Artemis cult could be found in Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, France, areas in the northern Black Sea, and Phoenicia.[723]

There are several texts which demonstrate that the reputation of Artemis was widespread.[724] According to Xenophon, the Temple of Artemis provides a stylish pattern which was followed by people in Scillus near Olympia (Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.3.12).[725] Even the disseminated cult of Artemis is reflected in the adoption of her name as a month name in the calendars of the Greek speaking world.[726] Strabo notes that the Ephesian image was found in the colonial cities and thereby describes the city as "the mother city" which generates the same artistic design in other cities (*Geogr.* 4.1.4).[727] The city of Ephesus with a central position of authority provides "a high degree of uniformity" in terms of establishing cults and shrines through the entire world.[728]

The Ephesians, as the warden of the temple and the inhabitants of the mother city, had the responsibility to expand her cult across the *oikoumene*. As a result, the Artemis cult was transplanted elsewhere by the Ephesians. In this sense, as Trebilco points out, Artemis in Ephesus is an expansionary cult.[729]

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[722] For a detailed account, see Richard E. Oster, "Holy days in honour of Artemis," in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1979* (ed. G.H.R. Horsley; North Ryde, Australia: Macquarie University, 1981), 4:79-80.

[723] Ibid., 80-81.

[724] Cf. Horsley, "Inscriptions of Ephesos," 153-55; Trebilco, "Asia," 332-6.

[725] "The temple itself is like the one at Ephesus, although small as compared with great, and the image of the goddess …is like the 'Ephesian image'" (Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.3.12). Quoted from Trebilco, "Asia," 334.

[726] Oster, "Holy Days," 81

[727] "…in the colonial cities the people everywhere do this goddess honours of the first bank, and they preserve the artistic design of the 'xoanon' the same, and all the other usages precisely the same as is customary in the mother-city" (Strabo, *Geogr.* 4.1.4)

[728] Oster, "Ephesus," 1705-6.

[729] Trebilco, "Asia," 336.

3.8.3. Artemis within the Roman Imperial Cult

During the Roman reign over Ephesus, Artemis became intertwined with the Roman imperial cult.[730] Through the Artemis cult, the Ephesian local elites gained political benefits from the imperial centre.[731] Horsley points out that "From Rome's point of view, the prestige of Artemis meant that it was useful for political and social reasons that her cult be brought into association with the Imperial cult."[732] The association of Artemis with the imperial cult guaranteed her influence across the Roman *oikoumene*.[733]

Luke's description reflects this. The term, νεωκόρος, (v. 35) is often used to designate a city as the location of the imperial cult.[734] This technical term for a city where a provincial temple of the Roman emperor was located became synonymous with provincial imperial cults.[735] An inscription in Ephesus reads: "double temple keeper of the emperors…and temple keeper of Artemis" (δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν…καὶ νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος).[736] An inscription found on a coin from 65/66 CE reads the city as Ἐφεσίων νεωκόρων.[737] The city's other title displays its self-identity and association with the Emperor. Also, it reflects that Ephesus had charge of a temple of the imperial cult.[738] The temple was built to praise their patron-goddess but was also utilized for the rituals toward the Roman Emperor. Edward notes:

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[730] Steven J. Friesen, "The Cult of the Roman Emperors in Ephesos," in *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture* (ed. Helmut Koester; HTS 41; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1995); idem, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (RGRW 116; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 50-75; Colin Miller, "The Imperial Cult in the Pauline Cities of Asia Minor and Greece," *CBQ* 72 (2010): 326-329.
[731] Edwards, *Religion and Power*, 77.
[732] Horsley, "Inscriptions of Ephesos," 156.
[733] Brent, *Imperial Cult*, 124.
[734] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 166.
[735] Friesen, "Cult of the Roman," 229. As for a general study for this term, see Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*.
[736] Ephesos 2, p.163, no.40. Quoted from Conzelmann, *Acts*, 166.
[737] Friesen, "Cult of the Roman," 231.
[738] A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 88.

Power resides in the intimate relation local elites believe the goddess has established with Ephesus and in the fact that that association is acknowledged "everywhere" by the founding of associated religious sites. The perception that the cult extends across the *oikoumene* and the reality of the spread of the cult largely coincide in this instance. Shrines and cult statuettes of the goddess appear throughout much of the Roman Empire.[739]

From the early Christians' point of view, worship of Artemis was not simply a pagan religion but a religious rival power which encroached over the *oikoumene* within the context of imperial power. In this way, the goddess, Artemis, could be perceived as a significant religious, cultural, and political factor for the early Christians. And Luke acknowledged the political and religious situation of Ephesus.[740]

3.8.4. The Conflict between the Way (expansionary Christianity) and Artemis (expansionary cult)

The solid reciprocal bond between the Ephesians and Artemis has been discussed and it has been pointed out how the Ephesians established their expansionary ambition across the *oikoumene*. Yet, this religious authority, based on Ephesus, encountered another religious movement, Christianity. In terms of expansionary rhetoric, these two religions closely resembled one another. Both of them pursued missionary efforts to expand their own beliefs. Eventually, they clashed in the city of Artemis.

Before pointing out the riot in Ephesus (19:21–41), Luke provides a preliminary description of Christian expansion. Luke begins Paul's ministry in Ephesus with a proclamation of "the Way" (19:9, 23) and "the kingdom of God" (19:8). In particular, just prior to the riot in Ephesus, Luke inserts a summary statement of Paul's work: "So the word of the Lord grew mightily and prevailed" (οὕτως κατὰ κράτος τοῦ κυρίου ὁ λόγος ηὔξανεν καὶ ἴσχυεν) (v. 20). This statement contains three significant words to encompass the expansion of the Church: κράτος, αὐξάνω, and ἰσχύω. With

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[739] Edwards, *Religion & Power*, 75.
[740] Helmut Koester, "Ephesos in Early Christian Literature," in *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia*, 126-33.

mighty power the Way of Jesus spread out among the people. In particular, given that Luke already used the term, κατισχύω, another form of ἰσχύω, in order to mean "strong" in Luke 21:36,[741] one can argue that Jesus' order toward his own disciples is being fulfilled through the embodiment of an increasingly powerful Church.[742] In doing so, Luke intends to depict the expansion of Christianity and the perceived attack against the religious power of Artemis. By comparing the range of the two religious movements— the Christians from "all the residents of Asia" (v. 10) and believers of Artemis from "all Asia and the world" (v. 27), Luke sheds light on the expeditious growth of Christianity compared to the Artemis cult. Paul's progress could be an intrusion into the pagan space of the Ephesians. Moreover, it is an invasion into the heart of the space. Paul's proclamation was persuasive and influential to the Ephesians (v. 10).

Luke portrays that the disturbance originated from a sense of economic damage for the Ephesians. Luke introduces a business man known as Demetrius, a silversmith who made silver shrines of Artemis. Since the goddess was a source for crucial economic income for the Ephesians, for Demetrius, it was important business (vv. 24, 25, 27). The Ephesians perceived Paul's proclamation as a serious obstruction to their business. Consequently, Demetrius strongly critiques Paul. He thought that gods, including Artemis, could be made by hands (v. 26). Such an assertion is in contrast to Paul's speech in the Areopagus (17:24–25). This fact implies that Paul's speech continued in Ephesus as well. Demetrius' complaint to Paul is composed of three stages: 1) a threat to their margin of profit; 2) as scorn of their goddess; and 3) a deprivation of her majesty on the *oikoumene* (v. 27). Surely, his initial concern was an economic matter but he expanded the charge into the issue of the dignity of Artemis in order to get support from the Ephesian citizens. Demetrius' strategy seems to be quite successful because he succeeds in stirring up the populace, by highlighting Paul's proclamation of

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[741] "Praying that you may have the *strength* to escape all these things that will take place, and to stand before the Son of Man" (Luke 21:36)
[742] Walter Grundmann, "ἰσχύω," *TDNT* 3:398.

the Way. In this sense, the riot is indeed about "the Way" (v. 23), and not merely about Paul.[743] Subsequently, this riot account begins with disturbance (τάραχος) (v. 23) and ends with charging with a riot (κινδυνεύομεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως) (v. 40).[744]

Luke thus implicitly displays the conflict between the pagan religion and Christianity. Through the contrast, this account shows "how the power of the Christian God is threatening to eclipse the power of even the great Artemis of the Ephesians."[745] In this sense, Luke's purpose in this narrative is to portray a confrontation between two expansionist religions.[746]

3.8.5. The *Oikoumene* and Artemis

This account corresponds to a conflict between Paul and the Ephesians. But Luke skilfully inserts the Roman hegemony in this event. In the final part of the disturbance, the Ephesian official describes the riot as στάσις (v. 40).[747] In this context, the στάσις refers to a "riot-interpreted-by-the-Romans-as-sedition," namely, a breach of the civic order required to sustain the *pax Romana*, as C. Kavin Rowe points out.[748] Luke reminds his audience that this event happened in the Roman world. The Roman Empire exists as a territoriality where the worship of the goddess was established.

In this manner, this episode displays the conceptual encounter of three expansionist ideologies: Roman, the cult of Artemis, and Christian. The Romans expanded their realm across the Mediterranean world; Artemis of the Ephesians was expanded across the Roman imperial territory, and then the Christ-followers expanded

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[743] Shauf, *Theology as History*, 249.

[744] The clerk's argument "made against the rioters and not against Paul, it makes more sense to see the term as a round-about defense of Paul in the specific context of the rioters' concerns—Paul has not insulted our goddess because her image was not made from human hands; there is therefore no reason to be in such a dither." Ibid., 255.

[745] Brinks, "Artemis of the Ephesians," 791.

[746] Trebilco, "Asia," 336.

[747] Tripp summarizes well the meaning of riot. See Jeffrey M. Tripp, "A Tale of Two Riots: The Synkrisis of the Temples of Ephesus and Jerusalem in Acts 19–23," *JSNT* 37 (2014): 19–23.

[748] Rowe, "Ecclesiology of Acts," 262.

the space of the Way across the Roman *oikoumene*. As a result, these three worlds met

together at the city of Ephesus.

In this account, Luke portrays that the *oikoumene*, itself, signifies the world that

worships the goddess, Artemis. More specifically, the *oikoumene* is the Roman world in

which the Artemis cult permeated the society and combined it with the imperial cult.

From the perspective of Luke, Artemis is venerated over much of the Roman *oikoumene*.

Consequently, Luke implicitly accentuates an aspect of the *oikoumene* occupied by the

imperial cult. While Luke sheds light on the universal idolatry within the *oikoumene* in

the previous case of the term (17:31), here, he stresses the Empire-wide idolatry

worshipped here. Accordingly, Luke delineates that the (Roman) *oikoumene* is

obviously far from God. Luke depicts a scene in which expansive Christianity enters

forcibly into the mother-city of the idolatry cult and thereby the *oikoumene*. In a sense,

Paul's bold challenge against pagan worshippers is about who shall be the Lord on the

oikoumene, Jesus or Artemis? Therefore, this incident illustrates how the Way

proclaimed by Paul is turning the *oikoumene* upside down.

3.9. The *Oikoumene* in Acts 24:5

This is the final occurrence of the *oikoumene*: "We have, in fact, found this man

a pestilent fellow, an agitator among all the Jews throughout *the world*, and a ringleader

of the sect of the Nazarenes" (24:5). In this passage, the *oikoumene* is described as the

world that the Jews inhabit but which is also agitated by Paul's proclamation. In terms

of accusation and disturbance, this passage seems to be similar to 17:6 but it also

provides other aspects of the *oikoumene*.

3.9.1. Paul's Sedition

Acts 24 begins with an accusation of Paul by an attorney, Tertullus, whom the high priest, Ananias, accompanies to accuse Paul of his behaviour. According to Tertullus, Paul conspires to subvert all the Jews throughout the *oikoumene*. Tertullus accuses Paul of the following (vv. 5–6): 1) agitating the Jews; 2) being a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes; and 3) profaning the temple.[749] Of course, these three accusations for Paul are not the first case of such behaviour in Acts. Back in 18:13, the Jews made an attack on Paul and then brought him before the tribunal, claiming Paul's ministry was contrary to the law (18:13). Later Paul was arrested again by the Jews because of his teaching against the Law and defiling the Temple (21:28). But this charge is not so much a political offense as a religious offense argued only by the Jews. Consequently, such a charge on its own was not a threat to the Roman authorities. The Romans thought that a religious charge should be and can be only solved within the Jewish community. As Gallio, a proconsul of Achaia, responds, Paul's charges are relevant to the matter of the Jews' own law (18:15). As a result, they had no choice but to expand the charge against Paul into political treason in order to persuade the Romans, because the stirring up of sedition was a capital charge in the Roman Empire. Subsequently, the Jews exaggerate Paul's behaviour and categorize it as stirring up political sedition. Tertullus utters the word, the *oikoumene*, to incite the Romans and to highlight the serious treason of Paul. Given that the *oikoumene* indicates Roman imperium, the *oikoumene* was an optimized word to awaken the seriousness of Paul's ministry to the Roman authorities.

Tertullus labels Paul as "a pestilent fellow." The term λοιμός, "pestilent," suggests that Paul's activities gave a deleterious and contagious influence on the Jewish

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[749] Among these three offenses, first and second show the relation of cause-effect. Even if 1) and 2) can be levelled separately, they can be assembled into one charge. Mikeal C. Parsons, *Acts* (PCNT; Grand Rapids, Mich: Baker Academic, 2008), 324-5.

communities.[750] Given that this word even denotes "a contagious disease or plague transmitting the sickness of disruption, dissension, even revolution,"[751] it illustrates the malicious intention of Tertullus. He describes Paul as an "agitator" and Paul's ministry as στάσις. Luke's informed audiences know well this term because Luke frequently depicts Paul as a trigger of social disturbance (15:2; 19:40; 23:7, 10).[752] Rowe notes that "στάσις is best construed in its more robust sense as sedition."[753] In the Roman Empire, *seditio* corresponds to a capital charge.[754] Sedition was considered as a riot-causing revolt. Regarding the seriousness of seditious behaviour by Paul, Sherwin-White notes:

> This interpretation of the charge against Paul is confirmed by the parallel evidence of the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines…Claudius there sums up his objection to certain political actions of the Jews as: 'stirring up a universal plague throughout the world', κοινήν τινα τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον ἐξεγείποντας. The similarity to the formulation of the charge against Paul is startling, 'stirring up a plague and disturbances for the Jews throughout the world', λοιμὸν καὶ κινοῦντα στάσεις πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην.[755]

To magnify Paul's subversive behaviours through the mouth of Tertullus, Luke uses forensic hyperbole.[756] Tertullus claims that the extent of Paul's disturbance reaches out to "all the Jews throughout *the world*."[757] Considering that the Jews used this hyperbolic rhetoric to accuse Paul in Thessalonica (17:6), Ephesus (19:27), and Jerusalem (21:28), it is plausible that the Jews had a tendency for rhetorical exaggeration with the aim for prosecuting Paul.[758]

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[750] Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 733.
[751] Witherington, *Acts*, 707-8.
[752] For a comprehensive research of riots in Acts, see Tripp, "Two Riots."
[753] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 73.
[754] As for evidence to demonstrate the seriousness of sedition in the Roman Empire, see ibid., 73.
[755] Sherwin-White, *Roman Society*, 51.
[756] Craig S. Keener, "Some Rhetorical Techniques in Acts 24:2-21," in *Paul's World* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; PAST 4; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 222-3.
[757] Tertullus' emphasis on the adverb, πάντη, and an adjective, πᾶς, representing "all," is repeated in the Jews' universal praise of Felix: "We welcome this in every way and everywhere (πάντη τε καὶ πανταχοῦ ἀποδεχόμεθα) with utmost gratitude (μετὰ πάσης εὐχαριστίας)" (v. 3). Ibid., 230.
[758] Ibid., 228.

Even more, Paul is called as "a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes." Tertullus sheds light on the fact that a seditious activity could not occur without the cooperation of his followers. Namely, by magnifying Paul's work into the collective revolt by a sect, Tertullus induces Felix to realize Paul's hazardous status and to place Paul under arrest. By explaining Paul as a ringleader, Tertullus alleges serious activity by Paul. Tertullus gives the sect the title of the 'Nazarenes.' As seen in Luke 23:2, Jesus of Nazareth was charged with treasonous activity to pervert the empire. Accordingly, by complaining about Paul and the Nazareans as well, Tertullus places Paul as a leader of a subversive sect.

3.9.2. The *Oikoumene* as the Realm where the Diaspora Jews Inhabited

The term, *oikoumene*, appears in Tertullus's overstating of Paul's influence on the Jewish people. Similar to the case in 17:6, Luke's usage of the *oikoumene* in 24:5 is relevant to the political aspect of the *oikoumene*, as the Roman Empire.[759] However, the meaning of the term goes beyond the Empire because it implies another facet—the realm where the Diaspora Jews inhabit. Luke relates directly the *oikoumene* with the Jewish world and describes the *oikoumene* as the world that the Jews inhabit as well. The world the Diaspora Jews envisaged is a picture in which divine power flowed from the Temple toward all nations and pervaded the entire *oikoumene* through their Diaspora. Even if they physically dwelled in the Roman world, they retained a hope for the eschatological Jewish world which will be restored in the end, as their ancestors argued. And the Jerusalem Temple continued to their centre so as to maintain the belief and draw an image of the *oikoumene* in their minds. Thus, their worldview, rooted in their religious creed, can be characterized as a Jerusalem (Temple)-centred *oikoumene* rather than as a Rome-centred *oikoumene*. However, Luke portrays that Paul's sedition might have contributed to the collapse of the Jewish world because Paul tried to profane the

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[759] Surely, it suggests a thoroughly "political" nuance to the term, *oikoumene*. Johnson, *Acts*, 206.

Jerusalem Temple (v. 6). Put another way, the *oikoumene* that Paul tried to subvert was the Jerusalem/Temple-centred world. Thus, one can claim that the *oikoumene* Paul agitated against is not only the Roman *oikoumene* but also the Jewish *oikoumene* (cf. 17:6). Tertullus depicts the Jews whom he represents as being on the side of the Romans.[760] By exploiting the political power of the Romans, they also tried to defeat Paul who was attempting to disrupt and thus destroy their own world.

To summarize, the *oikoumene* in this passage provides quite a similar perspective with the case of Acts 17:6, in terms of the Diaspora setting. Yet, in this specific passage, Luke more clearly highlights the aspects of the Diaspora Jewish *oikoumene*. The occurrence in 24:5 reflects their notion of the *oikoumene* originally rooted in the Hellenistic-Jewish literature, as found in both Philo and Josephus.

3.10. Summary

In this Chapter, the meanings of the *oikoumene* have been explored through the analysis of eight occurrences in Luke and Acts. The *oikoumene* appears in diverse contexts from Jesus' birth via the Roman Empire to eschatological events. It seems clear that Luke's *oikoumene* is far from the meaning for the inhabited world as the ancient Greeks perceived. Rather, his usage of the term reflects various political, cultural, and religious conceptions of the *oikoumene* in his era. This fact implies that he was living in the circumstance in which various meaning of the *oikoumene* coexisted. Luke's usage of the *oikoumene* can be classified into five facets of the term.

First, the *oikoumene* reflects the Roman world in terms of its political setting (Luke 2:1; Acts 11:28; 17:6; 19:27). Plausibly, this view might be the most familiar sense for Luke. He combines the emperor's name with the *oikoumene*, thereby highlighting the feature of the *oikoumene* ruled by the Roman Empire.

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[760] Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 733.

Second, the *oikoumene* reflects a world filled with idolatrous worship (Luke 21:26; Acts 11:28; 17:31; 19:27). For Luke, the Roman *oikoumene* overlaps the image of the realm under pagan religions. More specifically, this image signals the Roman world in which an idolatrous cult, such as that of Artemis, permeates and is combined with the imperial cult. This point can be relevant to Luke's depiction that the *oikoumene* has been given over to the devil (4:5).

Third, the *oikoumene* should be retrieved by Jesus (Luke 4:5). Luke attributes the *oikoumene*'s origin to the creator God. Jesus was born under the decree of the emperor and had a divine mission to restore the *oikoumene* deceived by the devil or the empire. Consequently, the world will be judged at the end and then the world will be restored by Jesus. This stance is clarified within the eschatological setting. The *oikoumene* signals the area where the fulfilment of God's rule is accomplished. Therefore, the reign of the Son of God becomes definitive when the true eschatological event happens. Subsequently, this claim encourages Luke's audiences who are dwelling in the Roman *oikoumene* to have an expectation for the future, when God's divine scheme will be fulfilled.

Fourth, the *oikoumene* is the realm where the Diaspora Jews dwell (Acts 17:6; 24:5). Luke acknowledges that the *oikoumene* means the inhabited world where the Diaspora Jews spread out from their mother city, Jerusalem. Consequently, Luke illustrates the Roman world in various passages but simultaneously overlays the Jewish conceptual *oikoumene* on the Roman *oikoumene*. Namely, the *oikoumene* can be seen as the Jewish world established within the imperial territory. This usage reflects that Luke perceived the Hellenistic Jewish traditions about the *oikoumene* as descended from his ancestors. Even though the *oikoumene* is ruled by the Romans, the *oikoumene* is, in essence, the world inhabited by the peoples who retain the belief of YHWH.

Finally, the *oikoumene* is a world subverted by Christianity (Acts 17:6; 19:27). Luke depicts a scene in which increasingly, Christianity forcibly enters in the Roman *oikoumene*. As a result, the *oikoumene* becomes an agitated world by the Way of Jesus. In this manner, the Spirit-impelled apostles turn the *oikoumene* upside down (Acts 17:6). This movement raises an inquiry about who shall be the Lord of the *oikoumene*.

To sum up, Luke's understanding of the *oikoumene* can be characterized as the world ruled by Roman hegemony in terms of politics and the pagan cults in terms of religion, but the *oikoumene* should be restored by Jesus and his followers; this is their eschatological hope, and the divine program is progressing with regard to the *oikoumene*. Thus, Luke's notion of the *oikoumene* displays a temporal shift from the past via the present to the future. Also, his portrayals of the *oikoumene* display conceptual shifts between Roman power and the Jewish world. Thus, one can argue that Luke's perception of the *oikoumene* is composed of multiple contemporary worldviews.

However, it is remarkable that these views converge within the Acts narrative, thereby drawing an image of the inhabited world. That is to say, these five facets of the *oikoumene* become a crucial framework to constitute Luke's mental image of the inhabited world in Acts. To be sure, Luke had his *own* image of the world. This fact is attested to in Paul's Areopagus speech where Luke illustrates an original sense of the οἰκουμένη, namely, the inhabited world discussed by Greek geographers. Luke's Paul exploits the prominent discourse of the Greeks about the inhabited world but within which he resorts to the Jewish ancestral theme to describe the inhabited world, thereby providing a schematic picture of the inhabited world created by God in terms of geographic features and ethnic origins. This fact also illustrates that Luke had a perception of the inhabited world in terms of ethno-geography. In particular, the Acts narrative implicitly represents the author's image of that worldview, based on his consideration of the political and religious *oikoumene*. Accordingly, his notions of the

oikoumene in these eight occurrences function as five significant strands to formulate

Luke's worldview and to comprise his image of the inhabited world.

Chapter 4. The Inhabited World in the Acts of the Apostles and Its Implications

This chapter aims to explore the represented image of the inhabited world in Acts. While the previous chapter discusses Luke's usages of the *oikoumene* within specific passages, this chapter which is based on the previous discussion, explores the image of the embodied *oikoumene* (inhabited world) throughout the text of the Acts of the Apostles.

Ancient peoples had an image of the inhabited world in their *minds*. They constructed the space of the *oikoumene* through geographic descriptions and invited peoples into a spatial imagery. One's own mind takes the place of maps in giving shape and structure to the *oikoumene*. Namely, ancient peoples projected the inhabited world in their minds. This is the case as well for Luke. Even though it is not a cartographic book, Acts contains abundant geographic factors, and Luke draws a "verbal map," based on narrative geography.[761] The map corresponds to Luke's schematic images rather than scaled maps. The image of the inhabited world is represented through Luke's portrayal of the Apostles' movement. The portrayal also represents Luke's conceptual images of the inhabited world. Through the discussion of this research, the reader will grasp Luke's desire to write his two-volume book by examining his portrayal of the world in terms of a mental map.

The primary text of the current chapter is the Acts of the Apostles. Unlike the Gospel of Luke, the Acts of the Apostles displays the image of the whole of the inhabited world. It contains the story that portrays the movements of the Apostles toward the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8). Namely, this book shows how the commandment of Jesus is accomplished in the entire world by his apostles who

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[761] The expression, "verbal map," is taken from Meeks, "From Jerusalem to Illyricum," 177.

traversed across the Roman *oikoumene*, claiming the world for the Kingdom of God (28:31). Subsequently, for Luke, it was inevitable to depict the whole world as a geographic background to unfold the story.

The Acts narrative displays two images of the world: a Jerusalem-centred world and a Rome-centred *oikoumene*.[762] Whereas the Romans had their mental image of the *oikoumene*, the Jews who lived in the Roman Empire also had their own mental image of the world.[763] For Luke, these two pictures were the most influential images. As for the Roman world, the author stands in the territory of the Roman *oikoumene*. However, beside this aspect, Jewish traditions also take a central position in Luke's mental shaping of the inhabited world.[764] As seen in Josephus, there was a conceptual encounter between those two *oikoumenai* by the first century CE. Based on this perspective, we can assume that Luke superimposes these two world maps onto a single canvas, known as the Acts of the Apostles, by deploying Jerusalem at the beginning and then Rome at the final scene. Namely, Acts displays a two-layered world map. It can be construed as overlapping *oikoumenai*. If so, how do these two contrasting *oikoumenai* interact in Acts? Is the Lukan *oikoumene* synonymous with the Roman *oikoumene* or the Jewish *oikoumene*? With these questions in mind, this study will focus on the unveiling of the two *oikoumenai* in Acts. It will inform the readers of the world conceived by Luke, and its implications for his theological agenda.

As for methodological considerations, it takes an analytical framework of ethno-geography to explicate the concept of the *oikoumene* in Chapters One and Two. In the Graeco-Roman antiquity, the concept of the *oikoumene* is firmly established in the connection between geographical space and the peoples who dwell in it. These were

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[762] Alexander notes that "Luke's story really has two mental maps, one centred on Jerusalem and one on the Mediterranean, and the movement from the one to the other enables us to chart a profound cultural shift within early Christianity." Alexander, "Journeying Often," 30.

[763] Meeks, "From Jerusalem to Illyricum," 172.

[764] As for the claim of confluences of the two perspectives, see Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon"; Béchard, *Paul*, 171-354 esp. 341.

essential aspects of the *oikoumene*. The first century CE was the period when

discussions of the world and its people were widely prevalent. Even though the

Christian geographical traditions clearly appear in late antiquity,[765] in the time of Luke,

the study of classical geography became of interest and was prevalent in the Church.

The ethno-geographic frame that constitutes the *oikoumene* is applicable to Luke's

portrayal of the world and its people who inhabited the world, more specifically, τά ἔθνη,

between the centre (Jerusalem) and the end of the earth (cf. 1:8). Luke's depiction of the

inhabited world is established by his abiding interest in geographical references and

ethnic illustrations. Accordingly, Luke develops the Acts narrative in terms of the

geographic expansion of early Christianity but also in terms of ethnic descriptions.

While the mapping method *in* the ancient world has been discussed in previous chapters,

the current study now undertakes the mapping of Luke's world itself.[766] In doing so,

this research project will demonstrate that Luke's worldview was considerably

influenced by the theoretical framework of the *oikoumene* in Graeco-Roman antiquity,

but one in which Luke has reinterpreted the concept that portrays his own worldview.

4.1. Overview for Luke's Worldview in 1:8

Luke's worldview in Acts begins with the following passage: "But you will

receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses

in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (1:8). This

programmatic statement has been widely discussed in Lukan scholarship. There can be

little doubt that it corresponds to "the plan"[767] and "the contents of Acts,"[768] and "the

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[765] E.g. Mark Humphries, "A New Created World: Classical Geographical Texts and Christian Contexts in Late Antiquity," in *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity: Inheritance, Authority, and Change* (ed. J. H. D. Scourfield; Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2007); Albu, "Christian Empire."
[766] This phrase is taken from Brodersen who claims that "Mapping the Ancient World was considered inseparable from Mapping *in* the Ancient World." Brodersen, "Mapping (in) the Ancient World," 185.
[767] Conzelmann, *Acts*, 7.
[768] Haenchen, *Acts*, 145.

programme outlined"[769] of the work. Approaching the entire Acts narrative based on this passage and its importance can hardly be overstated. It is an essential statement for the mission of Jesus' Apostles after his ascension into heaven, but also it contains important preliminary conceptions about the world as a background for the mission. It corresponds to a cardinal statement reflecting how Luke conceived the inhabited world which will be explored.[770]

The commandment by Jesus provides significant insights for exploring Luke's worldview that helps to grasp several important themes. Those are not so much geographic notions as theoretical notions, but they help to develop current discussions. Those points can be classified and characterized as follows: restoration, eschatological expectations, and territorial expansion.

4.1.1. Jesus' Mission Statement in 1:8

4.1.1.1. Restoration

In the passage in 1:8, Jesus claims that the world should be restored by his followers. The theme of Israel's restoration (ἀποκαθιστάνω) has been an important agenda in Lukan scholarship and Luke addresses this theme repeatedly in his Gospel (Luke 1:33, 54–55, 68–74; 2:32, 38; 22:30; 24:21). Considering the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the challenges of a coherent socio-political context by the first century CE, it was quite probable that the theme was widely known among Luke's informed audiences. As seen in Chapter Two, the Jewish people, as a chosen nation, felt that they had a responsibility to sustain and preserve the world. Furthermore, given that the delayed Parousia was a significant topic for them,[771] it can be presumed that the

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[769] I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC; Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980), 61.
[770] Smit claims that this statement provides Luke's worldview in an intercultural and subversive way. Peter-Ben Smit, "Negotiating a New World View in Acts 1.8? A Note on the Expression Ἕως Ἐσχάτου Τῆς Γῆς," *NTS* 63 (2017).
[771] See Conzelmann, *Theology of Luke*.

restoration was an urgent issue for Luke's informed audiences. Luke begins the Acts

narrative with a question from the disciples: "Lord, is this the time when you will

restore the kingdom to Israel?" (1:6) and thereafter notes Jesus' commandment to

witness in 1:8.

Interestingly, the restoration is closely relevant to Luke's usage of the

oikoumene in the Gospel of Luke, as discussed in the previous Chapter. The author

employs the term, *oikoumene*, to portray the Roman Empire (2:1). Also, the *oikoumene*

is depicted as the world given to the Devil (4:5). Jesus was born in the territory of the

Roman *oikoumene* (2:1), but Jesus' primary ministry is to restore the *oikoumene* so that

Jesus moves forward to take the *oikoumene* from the Devil's hands and thus *restores* it

into the Kingdom of God, which Luke perceives as occurring through the journey from

Galilee to Jerusalem. It can be characterized as a procedure to transform the world from

the *oikoumene* owned by the Devil, or the Roman emperor, into the *oikoumene* reigned

over by God. The *oikoumene* appears again within the eschatological event in Luke

21:26. When the *oikoumene* encounters unexpected things in the future and people faint

from fear, the Son of Man will come to the *oikoumene* with power and glory (21:26-27).

Thus, bearing in mind the discussions above, the question in Acts 1:6 and Jesus'

subsequent commandment in 1:8, can be understood to be part of Luke's notion of the

oikoumene. Given that the *oikoumene* was the object for restoration in Luke's first book,

Jesus' proclamation in Acts reflects that Luke's worldview is based on the concept of

restoration.

4.1.1.2. Eschatological Expectation

For Luke, the worldview is relevant to his eschatological expectation.

Considering Luke's concern for eschatological hope through the discussions of Luke's

usages of the *oikoumene*, as we have discussed in Luke 21:26 and Acts 17:31, one can

argue that Luke views the world with an eschatological anticipation. In this way, the term ἔσχατος in 1:8 is noteworthy. This term might be interpreted as a geographic limitation but also signifies the completion of salvation history.[772] In the ensuing passages, Luke encourages his audiences to have expectations about Jesus' coming again from heaven (1:11). By using ἔσχατος again in 2:17, "In the last days" (ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις), Luke portrays the end-time when the program of restoration will be completed.[773] This eschatological aspect of the end is strengthened by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit promised by Jesus before his Ascension. The Spirit that Jesus promised appears in the Pentecost event: "all of them were filled with the Holy Spirit" (2:4). The "other languages" (v. 4) activated by the Spirit were impressed upon the "devout Jews from every nation under heaven living in Jerusalem" (v. 5). The sign that urges the Apostles to advance to the end of the earth is illustrated by diverse languages, followed by the sermon of Peter: "In the last days it will be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh" (2:17).

The Holy Spirit is an essential and characteristic feature of Acts, strengthening the connection with the Gospel of Luke[774] and hence, serves as an important "thematic link" between the two volumes.[775] Steve Walton notes that the restoration's shape, accomplished by the Spirit-empowered apostles, will not be "Israel *ruling over* the nations, but *incorporation of* the nations into Israel's hope through Israel's Messiah."[776] In this respect, Luke's worldview can be seen with respect to a salvation-historical perspective.[777]

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[772] W. C. van Unnik, *Sparsa Collecta: The Collected Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 386-401.
[773] Interestingly, ἔσχατος appears only three times (1:8; 2:17; 13:47) but, it only appears here without including the word, earth.
[774] Barrett, *Acts*, 1:63.
[775] Keener, *Acts*, 1:678.
[776] Steve Walton, "What Does 'Mission' in Acts Mean in Relation to the 'Powers That Be'?" *JETS* 55 (1997): 539. Italics are mine.
[777] Pervo notes that the outline is salvation-historical rather than geographical. Pervo, *Acts*, 43.

4.1.1.3. Territorial Expansion

Jesus claims that there should be a missionary expansion to the end of the earth by his followers in order to expand the territorial realm of the Kingdom of God. Jesus' mission statement reflects a strong geographical expansion through proclaiming the gospel. This emphasis reminds the reader of not only the Greeks' conceptual cosmopolitan world but also the Roman territorial expansion and even the expansionary rhetoric of the Ephesians for Artemis (cf. 19:27). In particular, by the first century CE, the phrase, "the end of the earth," was prevalently used to highlight their worldwide expansion, a phrase synonymous with the ambition of a universal empire. In the Septuagint, the prologue in 1 Maccabees portrays the conquest of Alexander to the end as follows:

> After Alexander son of Philip, the Macedonian, who came from the land of Kittim, had defeated King Darius of the Persians and the Medes, he succeeded him as king. He fought many battles, conquered strongholds, and put to death the kings of the earth. He advanced *to the ends of the earth*, and plundered many nations (διῆλθεν ἕως ἄκρων τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔλαβεν σκῦλα πλήθους ἐθνῶν). When the earth became quiet before him, he was exalted, and his heart was lifted up (1 Macc. 1:1–3)

However, unlike this illustration, Alexander never did rule over the entire inhabited world; nevertheless, that the author employed the phrase, "the end of the earth," implies that it was used to decorate the conqueror's splendid achievement. This expression was used for magnifying and exalting his conquest. In a sense, this expression was an ideal phrase to embellish the subjection over the known world. In this perspective, the meaning of the end, for the ancient peoples, can be characterized in two ways: 1) geographical extremity as the limit; and 2) an object for the expansionary rhetoric. Just as the *oikoumene* is used for rhetorical hyperbole (Luke 2:1; Acts 11:28; 17:6), so does this phrase underscore rhetorical embellishment.

Such rhetoric appears in the texts of early Christianity as well. Just as the reach to the end means an expansion of imperial power for Romans, so the reach to the end of the world created by God denotes an expansion of divine power. As we have discussed

in Chapter Two, the primary reason of illustrating the ends of the earth in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Jewish literature is not caused from their geographic curiosity regarding on the edges of the known earth but from their desire to express God's ruling realm from Mt. Zion over the whole world. Also, the end of the earth is not simply the most remote area of the world from Jerusalem, but it is also an apocalyptic area, the junction that connects heaven and earth created by God. Such a concern appears in several texts as follows: The Ethiopian Chamberlain at the southern edge (Acts 8:26–40), Paul in Spain at the eastern edge (Rom. 15:24, 28), Thomas in India at the eastern edge (*Acts of Thomas*), and Andrew and Matthias in the city of the Scythian cannibals at the northern edge (*Acts of Andrew and Matthias*; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.1).[778] Early Christian missionaries expanded the divine realm with their own strategy and tactics.[779] Likewise, the apostles were depicted as arriving at "the edges" to proclaim the gospel and expand Christianity.[780] In other words, they had a firm will to reach the ends and to meet all inhabitants for the fulfilment of their appointed task.[781] Subsequently, the ambassadors of Jesus radiated their ministry, making concentric circles from the centre (Jerusalem) to the end of the world. While Luke portrays the movement of Jesus taking place in a limited geographical area in the Gospel of Luke, he expands the movements of Christ-followers to the ends of the world in Acts. It is surely an expansionary narrative as noted in summary statements (Acts 6:7; 9:31; 12:24; 16:5; 19:20; 28:30–31). The march toward the end from their own centre means that they advanced toward all the parts of the known world with a strong resolution to transform the entire *oikoumene*

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[778] Spittler, "Christianity at the Edges," 365-71.

[779] Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission* (2 vols.; Downers Grove, Il; Leicester: InterVarsity Press; Apollos, 2004), 1:511-517.

[780] Alexander refers to Eusebius to interpret the notions of centre and periphery. See Loveday C. A. Alexander, "Mapping Early Christianity: Acts and the Shape of Early Church History," *Int* 57 (2003): 165-8.

[781] Rosner claims that Acts shows the spread of the gospel message as a major theme, in particular, the passage 1:8. He notes that the open-ended ending of Acts indicates that the progress of the word is ongoing. Brian S. Rosner, "The Progress of the World," in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (eds. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998), esp. 215.

into the Kingdom of God.[782] In this respect, Luke's narrative seems to be one of expansionary rhetoric rather than simply a curious investigation into geographic extremities. Interestingly, it parallels the Roman expansionary ideology.

Furthermore, Luke's view of territorial expansion is relevant to the theme of universality. The phrase, "the end of the earth," is interpreted in light of the passages which contain the phrase in the Septuagint (Isa. 8:9; 45:22; 48:20; 49:6; 62:11; Jer. 38:8 [31:8]; 1Macc. 3:9; Ps. Sol. 1:4).[783] Among them, in particular, the passages in Isaiah show God's universal scheme through the Gentile mission.[784] As for the universality of this passage, it is noteworthy that, in the geographical designations in 1:8, Luke does not specifically describe the area between Samaria and the end of the earth. By a geographic leap, Luke implies that the places into which the Spirit-empowered witness should go is *everywhere* beyond the land of Israel. Moreover, the expansionary march of the witnesses in Luke's mind seems to be a progression beyond Rome, the ending place in Acts.[785] In this light, the phrase, "the end of the earth," serves as a "symbol of universality."[786] To summarize, the passage in 1:8 signifies Jesus' commandment for his agents to expand God's domain to the end of the earth, thereby restoring this inhabited world into the universal kingdom of God from the Roman *oikoumene*.

4.1.2. The World before the Eyes of Luke

This programmatic verse invites the reader to ponder how Luke views the world. Basically, this passage displays an itinerary for the apostles from Jerusalem via

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[782] Jung discussed the process of the expansion in terms of fluid sacredness. Deok Hee Jung, "Fluid Sacredness from a Newly Built Temple in Luke-Acts," *ExpTim* 128 (2017).
[783] Among them, Isa 45:22 omits ἕως.
[784] For Luke's use of Isaiah, see David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2002); Peter Mallen, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts* (LNTS 367; London; New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 1-19, 102-209.
[785] Tannehill points out, "Thus Acts 1:8 does not outline the actual course of Acts beyond Samaria, and it envisions a goal that reaches beyond the end of Acts. It is an outline of the mission, but only in part an outline of Acts." Robert C. Tannehill, "Israel in Luke-Acts: A Tragic Story," *JBL* 104 (1985): 18. Keener also provides a similar claim: "...the LXX uses the phrase to emphasize universality. Thus there is, in a real sense, no outline after Samaria; the mission "reaches beyond the end of Acts." Keener, *Acts*, 1:708.
[786] Pervo, *Acts*, 44.

Judea and Samaria to the ends of the earth. To be sure, it displays a centrifugal movement by the apostles. Luke's gaze on the world originates from Jerusalem but his eyes are fixed on the end too. As for this point, Steinberg's picture may provide a clue for the reader to understand Luke's imaginative worldview through 1:8.[787]
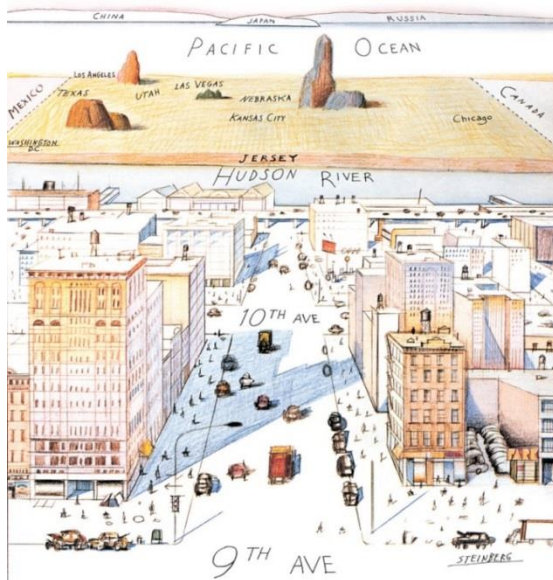
[Fig. 8] *View of the World from 9th Avenue* Illustration by Saul Steinberg, published on the cover of *The New Yorker*, March 29, 1976.[788]

This picture is an example to show that people have considerably subjective mental mapping about the world. This famous magazine cover, illustrated by Saul Steinberg, presents the worldview from 9th Avenue in Manhattan of the rest of the world displaying New York as the centre of the world. It provides a bird's eye view of a New Yorker in a straight line westward, with space becoming ever more condensed in which Manhattan, the New Yorker's location, looms large. Contrary to the city of New York, the Pacific Ocean, slightly wider than the Hudson River, looms smaller and three countries—China, Japan, and Russia—are depicted as flattened land masses. It

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[787] This picture was mentioned by Mikeal C. Parsons, "The Place of Jerusalem on the Lukan Landscape: An Exercise in Symbolic Cartography," in *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (eds. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Philips; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 155; Nasrallah, "Spatial Perspectives," 57.
[788] http://saulsteinbergfoundation.org/essay/view-of-the-world-from-9th-avenue/

highlights nearby places (10th Avenue and New Jersey). At the edge of this figure, there is the horizontal line, signalling the end of the world. The farther away from the central location, the smaller the size of a territory becomes. It distorts the objective distance between cities and continents and emphasizes a central location, displaying the cartographic image of one's desired space. It is truly a self-absorbed view of a typical New Yorker, as depicted by the cartoonist, Saul Steinberg, of *The New Yorker* magazine.

However, this landscape style comes from not only *The New Yorker*; rather, it can be said to be the view of many from the past to the present. In general, a person's worldview is relevant to their own current location. We all have a similar way of thinking about one's own location and the rest of the world much like that of 'a New Yorker.' This is because everyone has a localized birds-eye view of the world.[789] As we have observed in previous chapters, through cartographic images of the *oikoumene* in the Graeco-Roman antiquity which provide a sense of spatial imagery, ancient peoples view the world from their own location. Ancient geographers had a tendency to focus on their own *Omphalos* and ignored any secondary or less-known trivial places. Their cartographic skills were separated from a neutral standpoint and the maps were made for the purposes they have intended.[790]

Pliny the Elder suggests that the map of the *orbis terrarum* (*oikoumene*) taken by Agrippa in the northern Campus Martius aimed to "set before the eyes of Rome a survey of the world" (*orbem terrarum urbi spectandum propositurus*) (*Nat.* 3.2.1).[791] In this phrase, the city of Rome is described as a personified viewer to observe the entire *oikoumene*. Likewise, just as the Greeks and Romans viewed the *oikoumene* from their central locus, Delphi and Rome, so did Jews view the world from their homeland, Mt.

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[789] S. E. Overell and S. Rüger, "View of the World According to Wikipedia: Are We All Little Steinbergs?" *Journal of Computational Science* 2 (2011): 197.

[790] Talbert, "Roman Worldview," 259.

[791] "Agrippa was a very painstaking man, and also a very careful geographer; who therefore could believe that when intending to set before the eyes of Rome a survey of the world he made a mistake, and with him the late lamented Augustus?" (Pliny, *Nat.* 3.2.1)

Zion. Early Christians also had this kind of spatial imagination and this was the case for Luke too. This point can be a clue to understand Luke's worldview within this passage. Loveday Alexander points out that the passage in 1:8 "impl[ies] a divine bird's-eye view of the world, and Luke's continued use of the Greek term *oikoumene* reinforces the sense of a mission with a strong territorial imperative."[792] Indeed, 1:8 reflects Luke's perspective on surveying the world. Namely, Acts is the book for his survey of the inhabited world *before his eyes*.

Luke's eyes are also rooted in his *own* location, or standpoint, that shape his mental map. It is unquestionably true that one's worldview is relevant to his or her social location. Alexander claims the importance of the standpoint of the observer as follows:

> In cartography, as in history, the standpoint of the observer has a profound effect on his or her worldview, the way he or she puts together the scattered data at his or her command. And the place where the observer stands is always a place in time as well as in space, not only the center of the world but the end of a journey. In a sense, each of us stands at a point to which the whole of history has been pointing. It is this purposiveness, this sense of a teleological direction in history, that gives shape to our mental maps.[793]

Luke's mental map in Acts narrative reflects his own rhetorical and social location. And the place where one stands gives effect on shaping his or her worldview in its own right. Likewise, one's social location plays an important role in mapping one's worldview. If so, where is Luke's standpoint? Luke portrays that Jesus stands at Jerusalem from which Jesus points toward the end of the world across the *oikoumene* to his apostles, based on the context of restoration, eschatological expectation, and territorial expansion. Luke's standpoint can be clarified through discussion with and analysis of a Jerusalem-centred *oikoumene*, as is noted through this Chapter.

Strictly speaking, this statement does not contain any explicit geographic description of the world but it seems to be an affirmative proposition that Luke's

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[792] Alexander, "Journeying Often," 22.
[793] Alexander, "Mapping," 164.

primary concern is to provide his worldview to his audiences through this text. By doing so, Luke intends to disclose the essence of the world in which the readers dwell.

Acts 1:8 highlights nearby places such as Judea and Samaria. The reader cannot recognize the areas beyond Samaria. The city of Jerusalem looms large followed by the Judean lands. Also, given that the apostles' itinerary is in a straight line westward in Acts, one can presume that this statement provides an image of the world with the back turned to areas east of Jerusalem, which is absent from the mental map of Luke. The entire narrative of Acts reflects that the author's eyes are directed westward, with space becoming ever more condensed beyond the Judean lands. In a sense, this statement corresponds to Luke's mental image of the world without actual geographical information. Thus the world in 1:8 can be seen as an abstractly conceived space. However, through the entire Acts narrative, Luke transforms it into space experienced by the Apostles' travel and movements.

4.2. Jerusalem-Centred World

Luke's worldview which initially appears in 1:8 is represented as a marvellous image in the Pentecost event (2:1-13). This miraculous account shows his rudimentary mental image of the inhabited world centred on Jerusalem. Luke attempts to reconstruct the world inhabited by God's offspring in which Jerusalem plays a pivotal function as an alternative *Omphalos*, based on the Jewish traditions. Luke's picture of the world in Acts 2 is not so much a cartographic image as a schematic portrayal in a theological sense. It corresponds to the representation from Luke's conceptual world, rooted in the belief of God as the Lord of the *oikoumene*.

To unfold this theme, Luke sets about the plan from his own location, Jerusalem. The Pentecost episode illustrates the scene that God pours out the Holy

Spirit as promised in Acts 1:4–8 to people who were gathered in a house situated in Jerusalem (2:1). The city of Jerusalem corresponds to the place in which "the eyes of Luke" survey the world. Barrett notes that Luke indicates "in a rough, approximate, impressionistic way that the whole world was represented at Pentecost."[794] But the image is also an intelligible and elaborate one. The represented image of the inhabited world which Luke attempts to portray is based on two dimensions: 1) an account of the inhabitants of the world; 2) a mental image of the world centred on Jerusalem. The world image in Acts 2 is based on this formula—the world and its people—that constructed the conception of the *oikoumene*, from the classical Greek period forward. Luke's world map is facilitated by the list of the names of places and peoples in the presented order. Thus, in order to carefully explore the represented image of the *oikoumene*, this theme is approached from the following two points: 1) Luke's conception for the inhabitants in the world in terms of ethnography; and 2) the geographic centrality of Jerusalem where Luke's symbolic world is displayed.

4.2.1. Every Nation (τά ἔθνη): Peoples in the Inhabited World

Depicting the scene of the Pentecost festival, Luke presents a clue to explicate the dwellers in the inhabited world. It comes from the expression, "every nation" (v. 5). Luke illustrates that devout Jews from every nation under heaven were living in Jerusalem (Ἦσαν δὲ εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν).[795] According to Luke, "every nation" is embodied by the list composed of fifteen names in 2:9-11. The list begins with the Parthians who rule the east and covers the Romans represented by their hegemony of the west (cf. Josephus,

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[794] Barrett, *Acts*, 1:124.
[795] Moore notes that this phrase appears in the Hebrew Bible to explain universal eschatology in LXX Gen 18:18; 22:18 26:4; Tob. 14:6; Pss. 71[72]:11, 17; 85[86]:9; 116[117]:1; Amos 9:12; Hag 2:7; Jer 3:17; Dan 7:14. Thomas S. Moore, "'To the End of the Earth': The Geographical and Ethnic Universalism of Acts 1:8 in Light of Isaianic Influence on Luke," *JETS* 40 (1997): 394. In particular, this phrase reflects Isaiah's eschatological vision (Isa 2:2; 25:6-7; 52:10; 56:7; 61:11; 66:18, 20).

B.J. 2.16.4). Lukan scholars have discussed this catalogue from various perspectives as follows:[796] 1) ancient astrological lists; 2) lists of the Jewish Diaspora; 3) Genesis 10 and the Table of Nations; 4) the eschatological ingathering of Jews from the Diaspora; and 5) the Christian *oikoumene* reflecting the Roman universal empire. All of these discussions converge into an expression of "every nation." Luke employs the hyperbolic adjective, "every" (πᾶς), to highlight ἔθνος (v. 5) in which "every nation" corresponds to a representative function and denotes literary hyperbole to emphasize its universality.[797] In other words, Luke intends to envisage the entire inhabitants of the world by adding πᾶς to ἔθνος. We can find the clue about his intention from the passages in vv. 1–4 which allude to the Babel story in Genesis 10. Through the Jewish tradition rooted in the Hebrew Bible, Luke invites his audiences to a "memory theatre"[798] about the origin of the human race and thus, explains the inhabitants of the *oikoumene*. To fully understand the concept of τά ἔθνη, more comprehensive discussions on Luke's ethnic reasoning are needed.

4.2.1.1. One Root

Luke highlights his ethnic considerations throughout Luke-Acts. Most of all, Luke acknowledges one root of the human race. It goes back to the Lukan genealogy in the Gospel of Luke (3:23–38). Unlike the Matthean genealogy in which the author arranges the ancestry of Jesus from Abraham (Matt 1:1–16), the Lukan genealogy extends its scope from Jesus to Adam and thus God. In earlier Graeco-Roman periods, such an arrangement, to trace genealogies back to their gods, was quite prevalent.[799]

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[796] Gilbert, "The List of Nations in Acts 2," 501-7. Nasrallah notes that "Acts 2's geographical vision is also temporal; it offers an image of kingdoms of the world that were great at different historical periods. Listing these disparate empires together produces a movement not only through space but also through time, from the Parthians to the Romans…." Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 108.
[797] Keener, *Acts*, 1:835; James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (NAC; Valley Forge, Pa.; Trinity Press, 1996), 26.
[798] This term is taken from Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 117.
[799] For instance, Herodotus illustrates Hecataeus' genealogy that goes back to a god. "Hecataeus the

This inclination implies their beliefs in the relationship between human beings and the divine gods. In this light, Luke's aim to trace the genealogy to God can be explained as an attempt to connect Jesus with God. In the genealogy, Luke repeatedly uses a genitive article for highlighting genealogical relationship, τοῦ, to link Jesus to God. In doing so, Luke affirms Jesus' identity as the son of God.[800] The genealogy concludes with the phrase, "Adam, son of God" (τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ θεοῦ) (3:38).[801] Here, by combining Adam, the progenitor of the human race, to God, Luke claims that all human beings are rooted in one God. To clarify this point, William Kurz interprets it with the Septuagint Genesis texts.[802] In Genesis 1:26–27, God said "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness (ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ᾽ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν)... So God created humankind in his image (ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ᾽ εἰκόνα θεοῦ)." In this passage, God makes (ποιέω) humankind in his image (εἰκών), according to the likeness (ὁμοίωσις). The author of Genesis repeats this phrase in the list of the descendants of Adam (Gen 5:1–32): "When God created humankind, he made them in the likeness of God" (5:1). But this passage in the Septuagint carefully distinguishes ποιέω by God from γεννάω by Adam. That is to say, whereas God *makes* Adam, Adam *begot* his son Seth "in his likeness, according to his image" (ἐγέννησεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ) (5:3).

Considering this account from Genesis, Luke's extension of the genealogy back to Adam, the son of God, highlights not only Jesus' origin in God but also the origin of the human race originated from their common ancestor, Adam. Namely, regardless of

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historian was once at Thebes, where he made for himself a genealogy which connected him by lineage with a god in the sixteenth generation" (*Hist.* 2.143).

[800] The genealogy is located after the baptism of Jesus in which Jesus' identity is affirmed by a voice that came from heaven. This sandwiched narrative between the baptism (3:21-22) and the Temptation story (4:1-13) indicates Jesus' identity as the Son of God.

[801] Johnson observes: "The genealogy in fact does not end with Adam but with the phrase Ἀδὰμ τοῦ θεοῦ." Johnson, *Biblical Genealogies*, 235.

[802] William S. Kurz, "Luke 3:23-38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies," in *Luke-Acts, New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; New York: Crossroad Pub., 1984), 177-181.

their religions, cultures, and ethnic customs, all nations in the world share one root. In doing so, Luke simplifies diverse races into a single root.[803] Thus, Luke's genealogy affirms the divine root of all human beings in the inhabited world. In a sense, Luke's genealogical concern goes beyond the Noahite list of the nations in *Jubilees*.

Based on this discussion, the Book of Acts provides various passages to show the ethnic origin of peoples in the world. Acts provides more detailed explanations for: 1) the origin of human beings; 2) the common ancestor of the human race; 3) the reason for scattered peoples; and 4) the catalogue of the nations.

Once again, Luke claims, through Paul's Areopagus speech, that all peoples in the world are common descendants of God, emphasizing that God had created the world and thus *made* the human race as well (Acts 17:24, 26). As for the inhabitants of the world, the Creator made all nations ($\pi\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων) from one ancestor (ἐξ ἑνός) (v. 26). The whole human race is rooted in a common origin and derived from that, as hinted in the genealogy of Jesus. In this manner, Luke relates all humanity with Adam and thus God (cf. Luke 10:21; Acts 4:24). Subsequently, toward the Athenians, Paul proclaims that "we are God's offspring" (γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θεοῦ) (v. 29). In essence, γένος focuses on the notion of shared descent and the segmental nature of lineage fission,[804] a term referring to a human group with a common origin and social life. In Acts, Tannehill expresses it as all humans becoming part of God's "family" and "[a]ll are embraced by God as God's people and children."[805] Also, this term reveals the unity of the human race and its kinship with God. Paul establishes the oneness of all

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[803] In this sense, Bock's claim is remarkable: "Luke's genealogy in 3:23-38 ties all humankind into one unit. Their fate is wrapped up in Jesus….The introduction of the genealogy right before the commencement of his ministry serves to highlight the scope of Jesus' concern for humans." Bock, *Luke*, 360. On the other hand, Uytanlet associates the genealogy with the theme of Jesus' legitimacy as an heir of the land that belongs to God and His kingship. Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts*, 208-15.

[804] Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 36.

[805] Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (vol. 1: The Gospel of Luke; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 219.

humanity in their creation by one God and their descent from a common ancestor as a family of God.

Excursus: Three Keywords for Signifying Human Race in Luke-Acts

In order to illustrate the inhabited peoples in the world, Luke employs three principal words: ἔθνος/ ἔθνη, λαός, and γένος.[806] First, the term τὸ ἔθνος and its plural form, τά ἔθνη, are the most prevalent expressions to indicate people in the New Testament. Luke employs this term fifty-six times in Luke and Acts: thirteen times in Luke and forty-three times in Acts. The term, ἔθνος, contains a wide variety of meanings, indicating a class or a group of beings who share a common identification of people and animals in Homer.[807] However, it contains different meanings in singular and in plural forms. While τὸ ἔθνος signifies a specific group in a neutral sense, τά ἔθνη was sometimes used with cultural and ideological connotations, as a label for "non-Hellenic people."[808] Since the time of Aristotle, unlike ἔθνος, ἔθνη was used to indicate the people other than Greeks (Aristotle, *Pol*. 1324b10).[809] In doing so, Greeks used this term to designate a category of difference, otherness, and implicit inferiority.[810] In the Hellenistic custom of using ἔθνη, it was employed to indicate their cultural exclusiveness toward foreigners, the non-Hellene.[811]

Such an exclusive and group-differentiating sense in ἔθνη is found in the Septuagint as well. Scott interprets the meaning of the ἔθνη in three interrelated senses: 1) the nations of the world including Israel; 2) the nations of the world apart from Israel; and 3) individuals of any nation other than the nation of the Jews.[812] However, whereas the singular form, ἔθνος, refers to

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[806] The term ἔθνος/ ἔθνη appears 162 times in the NT. And, it occurs 13 times in Luke and 42 times in Acts; λαός appears 142 times in the NT. And it occurs 36 times in Luke, and 48 in Acts; as for γένος , among 21 times in the NT, Luke employs it 9 times in Acts.

[807] Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 35.

[808] Béchard, *Paul*, 150-1.

[809] Aristotle considered as "primitive" those who live in north-western Greece in comparison with the Hellenes of the *polis*. Denzey, "Ethnic Categories," 494; cf. James M. Scott, *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* (WUNT 84; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995), 58 n. 7.

[810] Denzey, "Ethnic Categories," 494. The Romans also made similar distinction between Romans and non-Romans, dividing a *populous* and a *natio*. Duling, "Ethnicity," 129.

[811] Béchard, *Paul*, 150-1. Especially see n. 16.

[812] Scott, *Paul and the Nations*, 58-59.

the nation of Israel, ἔθνη is predominantly used to refer to the Gentiles, distinguished from the chosen people, λαός. Luke also adopts this distinction. In its singular form, ἔθνος usually means the nation of Israel (Luke 7:5; 23:2; Acts 10:22; 24:2, 10, 17; 26:4; 28:19).[813] Yet, Luke renders ἔθνη to denote the nations of the world apart from Israel, namely the Gentiles.[814] The Israelite regards himself/herself as λαός, but sees the Gentiles as ἔθνη. In this sense, the term, ἔθνη, is "a vocabulary of group-differentiation"[815] and is related to social differentiation in Luke-Acts.[816] Likewise, the term, ἔθνη, formulates an invisible borderline between the Jews and the Gentiles. In particular, Luke employs ἔθνη three times as much in Acts as in Luke. This fact signals that Luke provides his prominent concern for the mission by the Spirit-impelled witnesses toward the Gentiles in Acts. Luke has a tendency to portray the Gentiles negatively (cf. Luke 18:32; 21:24). Luke mostly describes them as "people who merely lived life while pursuing wealth and power with little or no attention to God."[817] Through spatial distance, Luke depicts that they are far from (μακράν) God and Israel (17:27; 22:21).[818] This term establishes an invisible borderline between Israel as a chosen nation and the other nations of the world.[819] However, ἔθνη is essentially the fundamental target of Jesus and his followers, in terms of their ministry (Luke 24:47; Acts 9:15; 13:47; 22:21; 26:17). Thus, the term, ἔθνη, is an epitomized concept to show Luke's overall concept of the Salvation plan of Jesus toward all nations of the *oikoumene*.

Second, λαός is also a noteworthy term to signal people in Luke-Acts. Luke employs this term eighty-four times in Luke and Acts: thirty-six times in Luke and forty-eight times in Acts. The term in Luke-Acts accounts for over half of the occurrences in the NT. In Homer, λαός denotes the people as a crowd, the population, a group of inhabitants, and especially, the population as distinct from the rulers, or in some relationship of subordination to their lord.[820]

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[813] Exception for Luke 21:10

[814] Exception for Acts 2:5; 17:26

[815] Aaron J. Kuecker, *The Spirit and the "Other": Social Identity, Ethnicity and Intergroup Reconciliation in Luke-Acts* (LNTS 444; London; New York: T & T Clark, 2011), 39.

[816] Aaron J. Kuecker, "Ethnicity and Social Identity" in *T & T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament* (eds. Coleman A. Baker and J. Brian Tucker; London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 63.

[817] Bock, *Theology of Luke and Acts*, 297.

[818] The term, μακράν, alludes to Isa 57:19 and is applied Isaiah's language in that verse to the Gentile mission. Keener, *Acts*, 1:987, 3:3240.

[819] Scott, *Paul and the Nations*, 58.

[820] Hermann Strathmann, "λαός," *TDNT* 4:30.

Its plural form, λαοί, means the "number of individuals of whom the crowd is composed."[821]

Even in the post-Homeric period, both λαός and λαοί were generally used to denote the crowd.

However, in the Septuagint, this term shows quite different aspects. Most of all, this term is usually employed in a singular form, indicating the chosen people of Israel.[822] It provides privileged religious status to Israel as the people chosen by God. As a holy nation (ἔθνος ἅγιον), Israel is depicted as the nation apart from the Gentiles: "you shall be my treasured possession out of all the peoples" (λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν) (Exod. 19:5-6). As for the usage of λαός in the Septuagint, "the truly distinctive feature of the LXX usage is the careful restriction of the use of the term to Israel."[823] Likewise, this term indicates a religiously determined technical sense. Luke also observes the formulaic antithesis between ὁ λαός and τά ἔθνη.[824] For Luke, λαός is the historic people of God distinguished from the nations of the world.[825] Luke acknowledges that God singles out Israel from all nations. Consequently, Luke emphasizes that God takes λαός for his name from among ἔθνη (Acts 15:14; cf. Luke 2:32; Acts 4:27; 26:17, 23). Thus it is probable to surmise that λαός also is an exclusive word to differentiate Israel from countries other than Israel. Besides λαός, Luke highlights σπέρμα for signifying Israelites' ethnic identity.[826] In Luke and Acts, the term σπέρμα appears repeatedly to signify the seed of Abraham (Luke 1:55; Acts 3:25; 7:5, 6) and David (Acts 13:23).[827] Strictly speaking, God's promise with Abraham is not relevant to the entire human race but to Israel as the seed. This concept strengthens the ethnic exclusiveness of Israel as λαός.

Third, Luke employs the term γένος to signal the peoples of the world. It appears nine times, only in Acts. Γένος is derived from the verb, γεννάω, meaning "to give birth."[828] It

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[821] Strathmann, "λαός," 4:30.
[822] Among 2,000 occurrences of λαός, it appears only 135 times in the plural form.
[823] Strathmann, "λαός," 4:34.
[824] And Luke applies it to the peoples who follow Jesus in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 19:48; 20:19, 26) and the community in Acts (Acts 2:47; 4:17, 21; 5:26).
[825] As for the notion of the people of God, see David Seccombe, "The New People of God," in *Witness to the Gospel*, 353.
[826] Luke alludes to Abraham as the ancestor of Israel, quoting God's promise that appears in Gen 22:18 and 26:4. In Genesis, blessing by Abraham are repeated in 12:3, 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14.
[827] The seed of David is depicted for Jesus (Acts 13:23).
[828] The verb, γεννάω, is "the idea of new birth by conversion to the true religion in later Judaism." Friderich Büchsel, "γεννάω," *TDNT* 1:666.

denotes the descendants with a common ancestry and traits. In this light, γένος is relevant to the mechanism by which one's identity is ascribed by birth.[829] While ἔθνος is defined as a nation, γένος is regarded as a tribal subdivision of the ἔθνος.[830] In essence, γένος focuses on the notion of shared descent and the segmental nature of lineage fission.[831] In the Roman Empire, γένος was used to indicate that the myriad peoples of the empire have been united in kinship (cf. Aristides, *To Rome*, 63).[832] Richter notes that "Rome is both empire as *polis* and *polis* as empire; the *polis* is composed of diverse kinds (γένη) but is, nevertheless, a homogeneous whole."[833] In the Septuagint, γένος reflects the term's wide range of meanings. Based on shared descent, it denotes plants and animals (Gen. 1:11-12, 21, 24-25); "specific kin or tribal groups, or lines of descent (Lev. 20:17-18; 21:13-14, 17; 1 Macc 5:2; 12:21; 2 Macc 5:22); or people, in general, as one (human) 'race' (Gen 11:6; 2 Macc. 7:28)."[834] In Acts, Luke employs this term to denote an ethnic-geographical origin (4:36; 18:2), ancestral familiar lineage (4:6; 7:13), ethno-racial descent from an ancestor to refer to the Jewish people (7:19; 13:26) and a common descendent from God (17:28-29). Unlike λαός and ἔθνη, γένος does not contain any exclusive sense toward non-Israelites. Rather, as seen in the Areopagus speech in Acts 17, γένος implies the fact that all human beings have a common ancestry beyond the ethnic divisions between Israel and countries other than Israel (Acts 17:28-29).

Through these three terms— ἔθνη, λαός, and γένος, one can assume that there is a basic distinction between Israel as λαός and non-Israel as ἔθνη. That is to say that Luke's ethnic reasoning seems to depend on group differentiation, establishing their genealogical superiority. In his Gospel, Luke provides his general perspective toward the human race through two essential terms, λαός and ἔθνη. Luke seems to focus on God's people, Israel. From the beginning of the Gospel, Luke highlights the fact that the good news of the Nativity is proclaimed toward λαός (1:68, 77; 2:10, 31-32). However, as for Luke's usage of λαός, Simeon's praise in 2:29-32

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[829] Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 35.
[830] Ibid., 35.
[831] Ibid., 36.
[832] Richter, *Cosmopolis*, 4.
[833] Ibid., 4
[834] David G. Horrell, *Becoming Christian: Essays on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity* (LNTS 394; London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 137.

is noteworthy. It reads: "which you have prepared in the presence of all peoples (πάντων τῶν λαῶν)" (v. 31), "a light for revelation to the Gentiles (ἔθνη) and for glory to your people Israel (λαός Ἰσραήλ)" (v. 32). In vv. 31-32, Luke employs λαός twice.[835] Interestingly, he chooses its plural form, λαῶν (λαοί), in v. 31 but in the singular form, λαός, in v. 32. Luke's uncommon use of the plural is quite intriguing. He clarifies the meaning of λαοί in v. 32 in which λαοί is depicted as an integrated concept composed of both ἔθνη and λαός. That is to say, Luke employs λαοί in a comprehensive sense, including both Israel and nations other than Israel. In particular, by adding a hyperbolic adjective, πᾶς to λαοί (πάντων τῶν λαῶν, v. 31), Luke extends the scope of salvation from the chosen Israel to "all peoples." It is surely a universal reference. Thus, the Nativity of Jesus is good news for all human beings in the world, including the Gentiles. This universal aspect of salvation is affirmed by the expression, "all flesh" (πᾶσα σάρξ): "all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (3:6). Thus, through the birth and ministry of Jesus, Luke portrays that there will be universal salvation toward all people (cf. Acts 10:36).

Even though there is fundamental distinction between God's people and the nations around them, the Gentiles are also heirs of Abraham and thus of the covenant. Therefore the Gentiles should be blessed, even though it is obvious that Israel comes first (Acts 3:26; 13:46). "The promise to Abraham is certainly taken to contain a promise that the blessing offered in the first instance to him and his family would be extended to the non-Jewish people."[836] In Acts 2, the crowd who gather around Jerusalem comprises mostly Jews. Nevertheless, Luke clarifies that universal salvation should be initiated by the chosen nation, λαός. The outline of the Acts narrative from Jerusalem (Jews) toward the end (Gentiles) reflects this aspect.

Thus, as the bearer of the promise, Israel (λαός) should proclaim the gospel to all nations (ἔθνη) (18:18; 22:18; 28:14). This is because all of them are γένος of God. For Luke, γένος includes not only the Israelites but also the whole ἔθνη as a creation of God. To accomplish the plan of God, the Spirit-propelled Apostles march into the nations. This ethnic concept motivates Luke's audiences to accomplish Jesus' commandment to spread the good

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[835] This expression is repeated in Acts 26:23.
[836] Barrett, *Acts*, 1:213.

news toward the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8). In terms of ethnography, Luke unveils the identity of the peoples/nations in the inhabited world. In order to encourage his audiences to proclaim the gospel to the ends of the earth, it was necessary for Luke to clarify the object, namely all nations. Consequently, Luke portrays the peoples under the categories of three keywords— ἔθνη, λαός, and γένος. Luke's ethnic concern is to examine the identity and origin of the human race, rather than to enumerate/display the nations. Luke clarifies the fact that all nations are the offspring of God. And this statement becomes a central motif for ministry in early Christianity. Thus, through this brief survey based on the three keywords, one can argue that Luke views ἔθνη as the peoples apart from the chosen nation but an object which should be restored as the γένος created by God. This discussion serves as a basis to investigate Luke's notion of people's inhabitation of the world.

4.2.1.2. Divided Nations

Luke underlines γένος and thus the oneness of the entire human race. However, Luke explicates why the human race, from a single root, is divided into various nations. As for the reason, Luke's Paul addresses the issue in the Areopagus speech indicating that God allotted the boundaries of each nation (17:26). It alludes to God's divine intervention in the Hebrew Bible: "When the Most High apportioned the nations, when he divided humankind, he fixed the boundaries of the peoples" (Deut. 32:8). Considering this passage, the status of the scattered nations in the world is the result of God's scheme as seen in Deuteronomy. In fact, God's firm intention goes back to Genesis. The author of Genesis repeatedly reports God's commandment to human beings to fill the earth (Gen. 1:26–8; 9:1, 7, 19; 10:1–32). To reconstitute the world was accomplished by the dispersion of humanity throughout the world.[837] Accordingly, the families of Noah's sons and later ancestors, in their respective nations, spread abroad on the earth after the flood (διεσπάρησαν νῆσοι τῶν ἐθνῶν) (Gen 10:32). While Genesis 1-2

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[837] Hiebert, "Tower of Babel," 55.

presents the universal creation of the world by God, the Table of Nations in Genesis 10 presents geographic and ethnographic organization situated within God's comprehensive plan.[838] Furthermore, in the Babel episode, the Lord scattered them abroad, throughout the face of all the earth, after confusing their languages (Gen 11:9). That text functions as a background of the world filled with numerous nations.[839]

These two continued accounts in a postdiluvian period underscore why each nation dwells in its own land, with its own language, by the time of the first century CE (cf. Gen 10:5, 20, 31). Luke seems to be aware of the process of 'multiplying' (Gen 1:28) and that the nations' spread abroad on the earth, in the Septuagint (Gen 10:32; 11:9), and thus implicitly projects the process in the Acts narrative too. In particular, Luke draws an image in which the divided nations (τά ἔθνη) all come together in one place through the Pentecost event in Acts 2.

4.2.1.3. They Were All Together in One Place, House

This account can be classified into two stages: 1) the believers in the house (vv. 1–5); 2) the Diaspora Jews in Jerusalem (vv. 6–11). The two places—the house and the city of Jerusalem—respectively establish the image of the world in its own right. These two scenes seem to be separated but are interconnected within an opening clause, "they were all together in one place" (ἦσαν πάντες ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό) (2:1).

First, Luke sheds light on the house where Jesus' followers gather. Seemingly, this scene—"Divided tongues, as of fire, appeared among them, and a tongue rested on each of them" (2:3)—echoes the Babel story.[840] The divided tongues (διαμεριζόμεναι

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[838] Béchard, *Paul*, 174. Bechard notes that "The genealogical schema of Gen 10 presupposes the early emergence in ancient Israel of the notion of world ethnography."

[839] Scott, "On Earth as in Heaven," 184.

[840] Lüdemann associates Acts 2:1-4 with Sinai traditions. Gerd Lüdemann, *Early Christianity According to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1989), 38. As for a comprehensive discussion on the redaction of Sinai in Acts 2, see A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Traditions and Redaction in Acts 2.1-13," *JSNT* 17 (1995): 29-30; Thompson, *One Lord*, 79-104; Heidi J. Hornik and Mikeal C. Parsons, "Philological and Performative Perspectives on Pentecost," in *Reading Acts Today: Essays in Honour of*

γλῶσσαι) are juxtaposed to the confused "language of all the earth" (Gen. 11:9). Just as peoples were confused (συγχέωμεν) by their languages in Genesis 11:7, so the crowd gathered at one place was "bewildered (συνεχύθη), because each one heard them speaking in the native language of each" (2:6).[841] Luke appropriates and transforms "the sacred traditions of Israel's past as narrated in the Bible of the diaspora Jewish communities, the Septuagint."[842] These divided languages invoke to Luke's informed audiences when and why the human race, rooted in one origin, was dispersed. Simultaneously, this episode reflects that the inhabited world is composed of diverse nations at that moment and that each nation has its own language.

However, Luke suggests an important point to distinguish it from the biblical narrative, for he displays the Holy Spirit promised in Jesus' commandment in 1:8. In Jesus' final commandment, the Twelve were required to be the "witness" (μάρτυρες) of Jesus to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem (Luke 24:47-48). And Jesus promises the Holy Spirit to these prospective "witnesses" (Acts 1:8). Accordingly, the Spirit will be the propelling power for the Apostles to march into τά ἔθνη.[843] Consequently, the narrative forecasts the role of the Spirit-impelled peoples, armed with foreign languages.

A language, itself, is undoubtedly an essential element to identify each ἔθνος. The common language (διάλεκτος) in a community was considered the most reliable ethnic affinity for each nation in the Graeco-Roman world.[844] Consequently, the divided tongues operated by the Spirit stand for the languages ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν (v. 5). That is to say, one can argue that the house is filled with

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Loveday C.A. Alexander (eds. Steve Walton, et al.; LNTS 427; New York: T & T Clark, 2011). On the other hand, Wolff associates it with Philo. Christian Wolff, "Λαλεῖν Γλώσσαις in the Acts of the Apostles," in *Paul, Luke and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J.M. Wedderburn* (eds. Alf Christophersen and A. J. M. Wedderburn; JSNTSup 217; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 192.

[841] Scott, *Geography*, 65.

[842] Marianne P. Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2000), 26.

[843] As for the importance of language in the mission of the apostles, see Schnabel, *Mission*, 1:626-31. As for the function of language in ethnic discussions, see Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 143 ff.

[844] Béchard, *Paul*, 343.

languages which symbolize each nation. In other words, these divided languages are synonymous with πάντα ἔθνη.[845] To clarify the divided languages, Luke supplements an ensuing episode in vv. 5–11. In the continuing scene, he displays the list of the nations who use the "divided tongues" (γλῶσσα) in vv. 3–4 as their own native language (ἴδιος διάλεκτος). Considering the importance of the language as a criterion to signify each ἔθνος, the house which is filled with diverse διάλεκτος can be characterized as the suggestive venue to embody the inhabited world composed of all nations (τά ἔθνη). Within the house, each language spoken by the Galileans (v. 7) stands for each nation. Thus, the house (οἶκος) becomes the space filled with, not only the Holy Spirit, but also with divided-but-gathered nations. More specifically, the οἶκος becomes a symbolic space to represent the entire inhabited world (*oikoumene*).[846]

Luke has considerable concern for the related terms of the *oik*-root— οἶκος, οἰκία, κατοικέω, and even οἰκουμένη. Among them, οἶκος is used to be as symbol of the Kingdom of God and as a "metaphorical reality" to spread the gospel to Rome in Acts (2:46; 5:42; 28:20).[847] This point is applicable to interpret the house as a literary space in this account. On the one hand, the house projects the Babel story as a "memory theatre"[848] in the minds of Luke's informed audiences; on the other hand, it displays the features of the world composed of the scattered nations at present.

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[845] It reminds the readers of the emperor Augustus' decree for a census, in πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, "all the world" (Luke 2:1). While πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην (Luke 2:1) highlights the Roman imperial world, παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν (Acts 2:5) sheds light on Luke's vision for an alternative Christian *oikoumene*. Luke's notion of "every nation" is analogous to the Roman *oikoumene* because both of them are based on their subjected nations (in terms of religion and imperialism). Unlike the Greeks, the Romans considered the *oikoumene* for the nations which were ruled by the Roman Empire; and Luke also used "every nation" to the degree that their religious authorities affected.

[846] The term, οἶκος, appear once again in Peter's address in which he refers to the Jews of Jerusalem as the house of Israel (2:36). Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Acts* (ZECNT; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012), 150.

[847] John H. Elliott, "Temple Versus Household in Luke-Acts: A Contrast in Social Institutions," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, 225, 229.

[848] Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 117.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that this episode highlights the role of the Holy Spirit.[849] Aaron Kuecker claims that the Holy Spirit is the central figure in the formation of a new social identity that affirms, yet chastens and transcends ethnic identity.[850] Of course, because of the language, the human race had been scattered in the postdiluvian period but it establishes unity beyond ethnic divisions. In this light, the people were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other languages; but conversely, they are united by the Spirit itself. Put another way, the inhabited world is composed of various nations but is, nevertheless, united in kinship as "a homogeneous whole,"[851] thereby becoming one race (γένος) by God. They share common roots and are unified through a common identity. Thus, the represented image of the inhabited world within the house signifies that the world is inhabited by various nations but all of them ruled by God's plan. This image is strengthened by the following scene out of the house, in the city of Jerusalem.

4.2.1.4. They Were All Together in One Place, Jerusalem

Continuously, Luke enlarges the scene into the city of Jerusalem. The diverse languages emerge from the house (v. 6). Then the Diaspora Jews hear the familiar voices and the crowd gathers around the place from which the voices emerge. Here, Luke switches the stage from the closed house to the crowd on the outside, zooming out into the city of Jerusalem. Luke implies that the divided nations are gathered together in Jerusalem. In particular, it is important to keep in mind that these peoples are all devout Jews, more specifically, the Diaspora Jews.[852] The pious Jews were born and lived in

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[849] "Empowered by the spirit, they will reach beyond and through the restored Israel to the world—a servant ministry in which Paul, too, will participate...the restoration's shape will not be Israel *ruling over* the nations, but *incorporation of* the nations into Israel's hope through Israel's Messiah." Walton, "Mission in Acts," 539.

[850] Kuecker, *Spirit and Other*, 216.

[851] This expression is taken from Richter, *Cosmopolis*, 4.

[852] As for the Diaspora Jews, Josephus connects them with the term, *oikoumene*. He indicates that they are inhabited in the *oikoumene* (*BJ* 7.43; *AJ* 4.115-6). Besides Josephus, Philo, too, provides similar texts. According to Philo, the Diaspora Jews spread out into the inhabited world from their mother city. And, as

the lands of the Gentile nations. Luke employs the term, γεννάω, to illustrate their birth (γένος) within the Diaspora (v. 8). The Jews resided among every nation but never being understood as belonging to any Gentile nation.[853] They kept their Jewish identity in the Diaspora through the combination of ancestry and custom.[854] Even though they were in residence among various nations, they firmly believed that the centre of the world remained in Jerusalem. For them the holy city corresponds to the mother-city (μητρόπολις). As the Diaspora Jews expanded into neighbouring lands, the capital, Jerusalem, is redressed as the centre for divine subjection. Through the process, they constructed the newly-built notion of the *oikoumene* where the Diaspora Jews dispersed, and then Jerusalem becomes a metropolis of the entire *oikoumene*, as discussed in the references of Philo and Josephus in Chapter Two. To be sure, Luke was aware of this point too. For him, the *oikoumene* is the realm where the Diaspora Jews dwell (Acts 17:6; 24:5). Consequently, Luke illustrates the Roman world in various passages of Luke-Acts but simultaneously lays a Jewish conceptual *oikoumene* on the Roman *oikoumene*. In this sense, the crowd composed of the Diaspora Jews represents Luke's mental image of the Jewish *oikoumene*. This point can be a reason for Luke's choice of the Jews as the template for imagining the world in 2:5–11.

This mental image is strengthened by Luke's portrayal of their inhabiting in Jerusalem. In order to portray the dwelling status of the pious Jews, Luke employs two terms: inhabiting (v. 5) or visiting (v. 10). This episode begins with devout Jews living (κατοικοῦντες) in Jerusalem (v. 5). Of course, besides the living residents, the list

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written in the *Embassy to Gaius* (330), the *oikoumene* denotes the world where Diaspora Jews spread out: "the Jews who dwelt not only in the Holy Land but everywhere through the habitable world (*oikoumene*)." And Philo associates the Jews and the *oikoumene* with Jerusalem. Namely, the native city (πατρίς) Jerusalem becomes the mother city (μητρόπολις) of the entire inhabited world (281-3). Here Philo provides a sample of the list of nations (281-2).

[853] Cynthia M. Baker, "'From Every Nation under Heaven': Jewish Ethnicities in the Greco-Roman World," in *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies* (eds. Laura Salah Nasrallah and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2009), 94.

[854] John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora : From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 404.

includes "visitors" (οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες) (v. 10) as well. However, in the following passage in v. 14, Peter's address indicates the devout Jews are "all who live in Jerusalem" (οἱ κατοικοῦντες). From archaeological evidence, it is clear that the Diaspora Jews returned to dwell in their mother city so as to conclude their own lives.[855] They also wanted to be buried in the holy city. Such evidence implies that the Jews in the scene might be mostly residents over visitors.[856] Here, a noticeable point is that Luke once again sheds light on the *oik*-root term, κατοικέω, in the Pentecost event. As seen in the Areopagus speech of Paul, for Luke, inhabitation of all human beings (17:26) is an essential aspect of his worldview.[857] Luke projects an image of the world inhabited by God's γένος. Even if the crowd is mostly composed of Jews, their origins symbolize the list of nations, namely, "every nation" (2:5). Consequently, the city of Jerusalem becomes the representative place which "every nation under heaven" *inhabits*. In other words, this holy city is a microcosm of the inhabited world. Just as the house was the symbolic space to signify the inhabited world filled with divided languages, so the city of Jerusalem becomes the symbolic place to represent the whole of the inhabited world.

Hence, the house and thus, the city of Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, become a framework from which to project Luke's worldview in terms of ethnography. This Pentecost event displays the cardinal aspects of Luke's ethnic reasoning, such as dispersed nations, ethnic customs by language, and the structure of the world through the list of nations.

4.2.2. The Shape of the Inhabited World and the Centrality of Jerusalem

Luke's portrayal of the crowd in Jerusalem displays his fundamental worldview, namely a Jerusalem-centred world. The list of every nation formulates an image of the

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[855] Witherington, *Acts*, 135.
[856] Keener, *Acts*, 1:833; Witherington, *Acts*, 135.
[857] Luke repeatedly employs κατοικέω to portray the inhabitants on the world through the entire corpus of Acts. It appears four times in Matthew, two times in Luke, and twenty times in Acts.

inhabited world.[858] What is striking, for the present purpose, is that this list manifests

three major continents: Europe, Africa, and Asia. This tripartite structure was common

for the Ionian worldview, and even for the Jews of the Second Temple period. Scott

relates this list with the Table-of-nations traditions based on Genesis 10 and *Jubilees*.[859]

Considering the background of Genesis 10, the list that Luke mentions can be classified

by the sons of Noah. Based on *Jubilees* and the *Diamerismos* of Hippolytus, Scott

classified this list in the context of Noah's three sons as follow: 1) Shem in Asia (Parthia,

Media, Elam, Mesopotamia, Judea, and Arabs); 2) Ham in Africa (Phrygia, Pamphylia,

Egypt, Libya, and Cretans); and 3) Japheth in Europe (Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, and

Rome). From this division, Luke's illustration displays the tripartite structure of the

inhabited world.

Furthermore, Richard Bauckham claims that the peoples illustrated by Luke

denote the nations having come from the four corners of the world.[860] Accordingly, this

list can be classified by four directions as follows:[861] 1) the east: Parthians, Medes,

Elamites, and Mesopotamia; 2) the centre: Judea;[862] 3) the north: Cappadocia, Pontus,

Phrygia and Pamphylia; 4) the south: Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene;

5) the west: Rome; and 6) finally: both Jews and proselytes, Cretans, and Arabs. The list

encircles the Judean land, tracing a counter-clockwise direction. The names of every

nation draw a wide circle around Jerusalem, making a continuous belt encircling the

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[858] See Richard Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (ed. Richard Bauckham; BAFCS 4; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Carlisle, UK: Eerdmans; Paternoster Press, 1995), 419; Gilbert, "The List of Nations in Acts 2," 497-529. esp. 500-501. Nasrallah expands the interpretation of the list not only into space but also into the chronological perspective. Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 108.

[859] Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," 528-30; idem, *Geography*, 68-84; idem, *Paul and the Nations*, 168-76. Even further, Scott divides Acts with this framework as follows: The mission to Shem (2:1-8:25); Ham (8:26-40); and Japheth (9:1-28:31).

[860] Luke was aware of the conception for four directions (Luke 13:29).

[861] Bauckham, "Jerusalem Church," 419. Also, see Alexander, "Journeying Often," Figure 9.

[862] However, Scott notes that "it is impossible to isolate Judea as the centrepiece of the list." Scott, *Geography*, 72. Also, Hengel argues that Judea, listed between Mesopotamian and Cappadocia, probably is "larger Judea," which included Syria. Namely, it indicates Syria as greater Judea. Martin Hengel, "Ἰουδαία in the Geographical List of Acts 2:9-11 and Syria as 'Greater Judea'," *BBR* 10 (2000):161-6.

world.[863] This pictorial style was typical for ancient peoples to imagine the world from their own location, with themselves as the central location. Particularly, this schematic image shows Luke's intention to locate Jerusalem at the centre of the world.

In fact, Luke's emphasis on Jerusalem might not be unfamiliar to his informed audiences. This is because the centrality of Jerusalem was emphasized from his first book. In the Gospel of Luke, the city assumes a pivotal function through the entire narrative. Luke cleverly reconstructs the movement of Jesus' salvific program which is initiated from Jerusalem, but will also be accomplished in Jerusalem. The journey-to-Jerusalem motif displays Jesus' strong resolution toward Jerusalem expressed by repeated δεῖ.[864] Furthermore, Luke emphasizes Jerusalem as the place where the salvific plan of the Father, death and resurrection, is accomplished.[865] Unlike Matthew and Mark, Luke depicts that the risen Jesus appears in Jerusalem to proclaim his mission (not in Galilee: cf. Matt 28:19; Mark 16:15). However, at least in the Gospel of Luke, Jerusalem is not so much a geographic centre as a religious centre for Jewish people. In terms of geography, the city of Jerusalem does not gain significance from the entire world. Rather, Jerusalem seems to be no more than the centre of the Judean land. This is also seen in other historical documents such as Josephus who limits its centrality to the Judean land. The city of Jerusalem lies at its centre for which reason the city has been called the navel (ὀμφαλός) of the country (B.J. 3.52).

However, in Acts, the worldwide centrality of Jerusalem is more plainly emphasized by the author. Jerusalem plays an important role not only as ἀρχή of the

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[863] As for this point, Bauckham provides a helpful image of the Jewish Diaspora according to Acts 2:9-11 on a map of the world according to Strabo. See Bauckham, "Jerusalem Church," 420.
[864] Its frequent use in Luke in contrast to its isolated occurrences in Mark (8:31) and Matthew (16:21) reveal its importance: Luke 2:49; 4:43; 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 19:5; 21:9; 22:37; 24:7. 26. 44; Acts 1:16, 21; 3:21; 4:12; 5:29; 9:6, 16; 14:22; 15:5; 16:30; 17:3; 19:21; 20:35; 23:11; 24:19; 25:10; 27:24. Fitzmyer, *Luke*,180; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 114. As for δεῖ, see Charles H. Cosgrove, "The Divine ΔΕΙ in Luke-Acts," *NovT* 26 (1984).
[865] Dennis D. Sylva, "Death and Life at the Center of the World," in *Reimaging the Death of the Lukan Jesus* (ed. Dennis D. Sylva; Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1990), 153-169; James D. G. Dunn, "Luke's Jerusalem Perspective," in *Reading Acts Today*; Davies, *Gospel and Land*, 253; Keener, *Acts,* 1:698-702.

Christian movement but also as ὀμφαλός in Acts. At the final stage in the Gospel of Luke, the author describes that the Apostles' mission toward all nations should begin from Jerusalem (εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ) (Luke 24:47). Once again, at the beginning of Acts, Luke emphasizes the crucial position of Jerusalem. Jesus affirms that the promise of the Father will be proclaimed in Jerusalem (1:4), and the proclamation is fulfilled in the place through the event that people are baptized by the Holy Spirit (1:5). The significance of Jerusalem culminates in the Pentecost account. Considering the connection of the Pentecost account with the passage in 1:8, this event corresponds to the starting point of the world mission of the Apostles toward the ends of the world, including "every nation" (v. 5). Here the central importance of Jerusalem goes beyond the boundary of the Judean land.[866] In addition to this horizontal centrality, Jerusalem functions as the vertical centre in which heaven and earth meet. In this event, the Holy Spirit which is promised by Jesus, in 1:8 descended "from heaven" (ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) (2:2) to the devout Jews "under heaven" (ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν) (v. 5). Likewise, in Acts 2, Jerusalem is described as employing a "veritable *axis mundi* of intersecting horizontal and vertical planes."[867]

The city, then, could be figured as dominating the *oikoumene*, but also as representing or summing up the *oikoumene*—in terms of the synecdoche constituting its head, in terms of metonymy standing for its totality (every nation is represented within it).[868] In this sense, at least from the perspective of the crowd within the city, Jerusalem

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[866] Luke seems to make his readers feel that Jerusalem is an authentic centre. The Jews who came and settled in the city might feel that they reside in the central locus of the entire inhabited world because of the devout peoples from all over the *oikoumene* under heaven. Considering the Hellenistic Jewish texts above, the Diaspora Jews returned from the tripartite world in Acts 2:9-11 are formulating a representative world on which the whole inhabited world can stand, even though these fifteen nations do not cover the entire *oikoumene*.

[867] Scott, *Geography*, 57.

[868] This sentence is taken and adapted from Edwards and Woolf, "Cosmopolis: Rome as World City," 5.

had not merely taken over the world, but eclipsed it completely. The world as it is represented within the city displaces the actual world beyond it.[869]

Luke elaborately illustrates an image of the world concentrated in the space of the city. Luke needed to provide an alternative world image contrasting the Roman *imperium* centred on Rome. Ancient peoples identified their sacred place, the oracle for the worship of their gods, with the centre of the world.[870] For instance, for Greeks, Delphi was the navel of the world; but, for Romans, the navel was Rome.[871] Likewise, the navel of the world can be variously conceptualized by each nation. Namely, it depends on standpoints from which people survey the *oikoumene*. Interestingly, the Acts narrative displays two prominent central places around the Mediterranean Sea: Athens (17:16–34), and Rome (28:11–31).[872] However, Luke firmly claims that the navel of the world is neither Delphi for the Greeks, nor Rome for the Romans, but Jerusalem, based on Jewish traditions.[873] For Luke, imaginations about the inhabited world were generated from the central locus, Jerusalem. For Luke, the concept of the inhabited world is basically rooted in the notion that Jews or Christians possess the central place of the entire *oikoumene*. So Luke sets a centre and then unfolds the Acts narrative from this central locus. The world map in Luke's mind is organized by the manifold ἔθνη distributed across the *oikoumene*, each of them in their diversity tasked to find unity by being subjected to a single root. Luke's conception of the inhabitants in the Jerusalem-centred *oikoumene*, represented in the Pentecost event, is essentially based on the

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[869] Ibid., 5.

[870] Bauckham, "Jerusalem Church," 417 n.4.

[871] Strictly speaking, Rome was not the geographic centre of the *oikoumene* and might be the end of the world (*terra incognita*) to peoples in the East. Nevertheless, Romans asserted their central position horizontally as well as vertically. As Salway points out, it is surprising that Romans asserted their central position horizontally as well as vertically, despite being influenced by Greek geographical heritage. Salway, "Putting the World," 196-7. It implies that the central locus becomes their *own* place, for those who possess power. This is because mapping and hegemony are intertwined. The place of the centre depends on the subject of power. Harley claims that "The cartographic processes by which power is enforced, reproduced, reinforced, and stereotyped consist of both deliberate and 'practical' acts of surveillance and less conscious cognitive adjustments by map-makers and map-users to dominant values and beliefs." See Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 303.

[872] Peder Borgen, *Philo, John, and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1987), 279.

[873] Jub. 8-9, Ezek 38:12 and 1 *En*. 26:1, especially see Chapter Two.

Jewish traditions and this list stands for not only Diaspora Jews but also Luke's mental image of the *oikoumene*.

4.2.3. The World in Acts 2 within Entire Acts Narrative

The discussion on the represented world in Acts 2 by far provides an essential facet of Luke's overall worldview through the entire book of Acts. However, it is necessary to consider two problematic points in this study.

First, the image of the world in Acts 2 does not correspond to Luke's portrayal of the inhabited world in its entirety. For instance, the scope of the *oikoumene* depicted in Acts 2 is interrupted by Paul's itinerary. Following Acts 16, Paul moves beyond the borderlines established by the list in Acts 2. That is to say, as Alexander precisely points out, Paul's movements around the Aegean Sea present "a breaking out of the known world, a new step."[874] Certainly, Paul extends the boundaries of the mental map of Acts 2 and goes to the Greek peninsula which is omitted in the story of Pentecost.[875] Even more, with respect to geographic conceptions, Luke's list does not include the edges of the known earth—India, Scythia, Spain, and Ethiopia.[876]

Second, it is noteworthy that Jerusalem seems to lose its own centrality following Acts 8. In terms of the centrality of Jerusalem emphatically discussed in this section, the city is not the absolute geographical concept in the entire book of Acts. On the whole, it can be seen not so much as a central place as that of an orientation for a centrifugal mission as well.[877] Indeed, the Sprit-impelled witnesses are required to proclaim the Way toward the ends of the world. Consequently, Luke expands the scene

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[874] Alexander, "Journeying Often," 31.
[875] Pervo, *Acts*, 66.
[876] Bauckham, "Jerusalem Church," 422.
[877] Green, *Luke*, 857; Carroll, *Luke*, 493. Nevertheless, the geographic centrality of Jerusalem does not lose much of its meaning because Luke arranges the Acts narrative with repeated delineation of Jerusalem as the essential centripetal and centrifugal core. Luke illustrates the movement of the Apostles by drawing outward in concentric circles. In doing so, Jerusalem continuously sustains its geographic importance. Even if the apostles' movements move outwardly, it repeatedly makes return to Jerusalem (12:25; 15:2; 18:22; 19:21; 20:16; 21:13; 25:1).

of the whole of the world. In particular, he reports that after Stephen's speech to the Council, in which Stephen refutes the exclusive position of the Jerusalem Temple (7:48), a severe persecution began against the Church in Jerusalem, so that the Apostles were scattered throughout the countryside of Judea and Samaria (8:1).[878] After the dispersion of the Apostles, Jerusalem seems to hand over the central importance of the world mission to the Syrian Antioch (cf. 11:26).[879] So Jerusalem, as an eschatological centre, rather than as a geographic centre, becomes a place from which the whole mission of the Apostles spreads outward in concentric circles.[880]

However, the represented world in Acts 2 is not an accurate cartographic portrayal of the world. Rather, this image is relevant to Luke's own mental image, based on the concept of the inhabited world. And Luke's primary focus is the restoration of the inhabited world, as it really was. Therefore, the cardinal point in Acts 2 is Luke's endeavour to suggest that the origin of the inhabited world rests in the long history of that rooted in Jewish traditions. This explication expounds on why it should be restored and thus validates Jesus' commandment toward his followers in 1:8. The worldview in Acts 2 functions as a prototype for Luke's whole conception of the *oikoumene*. Considering the close connection between 1:8 and 2:5–21, one can argue that the latter is a prototype to signify the universal world implied in the former. The list of nations corresponds to provinces in which to compose the imaginative world in Luke's mental map against the Roman *oikoumene* which is the main territorial background in Acts.

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[878] Through the apostles' ministry, as Walton claims, the whole of the inhabited world becomes "sacred space" beyond the Jerusalem Temple. Walton, "Mission in Acts," 542.

[879] In a certain sense, for Luke's informed readers who acknowledge the collapse of the Jerusalem Temple in CE 70, it might be reasonably considered the displacement of the mission centre toward the Gentiles. However, Levine claims that in the larger context of Acts, Jerusalem is less holy and significant than readers might expect. Amy-Jill Levine, "Luke and the Jewish Religion," *Int* 68 (2014): 394-5.

[880] There is another point to explain the centrality of Jerusalem as an eschatological centre. Jerusalem contains eschatological centrality as well. Luke is fully aware of Jerusalem as the centre of Jewish eschatological hope and the restoration of Israel. Annette Weissenrieder, "Searching for the Middle Ground from the End of the Earth: The Embodiment of Space in Acts 8:26-40," *Neot* 48 (2014): 149-50; Bauckham, "Jerusalem Church," 425-6. In particular, Parsons notes that "At the end times, Jerusalem will be (re)established or once again recognized as the centre of the world" Parsons, "Place of Jerusalem," 166; "Jerusalem is associated with the end only in the sense that it stands at the beginning of the end, the beachhead for the Gentile mission." Parsons, *Acts*, 40.

Furthermore, as for the centrality of Jerusalem, the city indicates the route to which the centripetal movement happens in terms of the eschatological people of God and to where they must return.[881] Simultaneously, it displays the centrifugal expansion to the ends of the world as well. This city will be the place where the movement emanates from the sacred centre, reflecting the continuing symbolic power of the city.[882] Just as the city of Rome is figured as representing the Roman *oikoumene*, so does Jerusalem (and the house) represent the features of an alternative *oikoumene* within it, against the Roman *imperium*. In this sense, the centrality of Jerusalem in Acts should be understood as a metonymic centre summing up the inhabited world in Luke's mind (a mental map) rather than its geographical aspect. Consequently, Luke depicts that peoples from every nation gather in the city but also that the Spirit-impelled witnesses will expand the realm of the Kingdom to the ends of the world. In terms of a horizontal structure between the centre and the ends, 1:8 shows a centrifugal aspect (from Jerusalem to every nation) and 2:9–11 displays a centripetal side (from every nation into Jerusalem).[883] Namely, Jerusalem is described as both a centrifugal and centripetal centre. After this event, Jerusalem becomes the hub for the outreach to the Roman Empire and for the mission to the Gentiles. While all stories of Jesus begun at Jerusalem converge in the same city in the Gospel of Luke, in Acts, the Way radiates out from the city toward the inhabited world.

As for the centripetal-and-centrifugal worldviews, Jonathan Smith provides a helpful clue to understand the world in Acts 2. He sees two aspects of the world, that of the 'locative' and the 'utopian.' He focuses on "the dichotomy between a *locative* vision of the world (which emphasizes place) and a *utopian* vision of the world (the value of

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[881] Scott, *Geography*, 68.
[882] Edwards, *Religion & Power*, 88.
[883] As for the centrality of Jerusalem, Scott observes both centrifugal and centripetal movements: "For Luke, Jerusalem was more than merely the center from which the centrifugal movement of the gospel went out to the ends of the earth; rather, Jerusalem was the center to which, in corresponding centripetal movement, the eschatological people of God must return." Scott, *Geography*, 68.

being in no place)."[884] Likewise, he compares the centripetal-closed-locative view and the centrifugal-open-utopian view.[885] The utopian space is an open space, not restricted in the centre. In this light, one can claim that Luke develops the Jerusalem-centred world into the centrifugal-open-utopian perspective.

To this point, the Jerusalem-centred *oikoumene*, one of two superimposed *oikoumenai* in Luke's mental map have been explored. Luke attempts to portray that the world where his audiences live at that moment is, in essence, the inhabited world by God's offspring and in which Jerusalem plays a pivotal function as an authentic *Omphalos*, based on Jewish traditions. In a sense, this was the manner by which Greeks and Romans conceptualized the *oikoumene*. Moreover, it demonstrates an eschatological expectation as well. In this sense, it is mainly a theological portrayal rather than a cartographic image. And, in the ensuing narrative, Luke illustrates an expansion of early Christianity from its *own* centre toward the heart of a Rome-centred *oikoumene*. Luke views the *real* world, the so-called the Roman *oikoumene*, as it really is, within this mental image from own location.

4.3. Rome and the Ends of the World

The Pentecost event explicates Luke's image of the inhabited world. But, simultaneously, it provides a clue to explore Luke's view of the Roman *oikoumene*. An imperial-critical reading for this event regards the list of nations as an alternative Kingdom against the Roman Empire.[886] Such an approach can be strengthened through exploration of Luke's insertion of Rome onto the list.

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[884] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 101, 186-7; idem, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 121-42.
[885] Smith, *Map Is Not Territory*,101.
[886] Gilbert compares the list in Acts 2 with the subjugated nations by Rome. Gilbert, "The List of Nations in Acts 2." Reid interprets this account as resistance discourse against an imperial ideological framework. Robert G. Reid, "Spirit-Empowerment as Resistance Discourse," in *Trajectories in the Book of Acts:*

In 2:9-11, Luke adds two noticeable nations: Rome and Parthia. Each one stands respectively for the westernmost and the easternmost places. Martin Hengel claims that, for Luke, both of them "in their role as the present political 'lords of the world,' may well point to the ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς in the prophecy of the resurrected one in Acts 1:8."[887] In particular, among them, Luke sheds light on the presence of people from Rome,[888] referring to them as "visitors from Rome" (οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι) (v. 10). The substantive participle of "visitors" draws attention to these people composed of both Jews and proselytes to Judaism (Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι). The visitors from Rome serve as a clue to define the Jewish Christian community in Rome (28:15).[889] Unlike "residents" to designate other peoples, what is striking is that Luke singles out these people by signifying them as visitors; in doing so, Luke attracts his audiences' attention to Rome. Considering the location of the places in vv. 9–11, Rome is the most westerly place in Luke's mental map. Put another way, Luke's localized Jerusalem-centred view regards Rome as the edge of the represented world in Acts 2.[890] If so, can one say that Luke has a specific purpose in mind? The question warrants considerable discussion.

Luke's informed audiences might recognize that there were two central cities: Jerusalem and Rome. These two cities were respectively considered as central places in the Roman and Jewish worlds. And the two worlds are overlapped in Acts. For Luke, those two cities stand in tension rather than peaceful juxtaposition.[891] But Luke

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Essays in Honor of John Wesley Wyckoff (eds. Paul Alexander, et al.; Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2010).

[887] Hengel, "Greater Judea," 164.

[888] Hengel points out that Luke pictures only the west, neglecting the east Ibid., 164.

[889] Schnabel, *Acts*, 119.

[890] In order to describe Jerusalem as a higher city than Rome, Luke only uses ἀναβαίνω for the phrases to depict the way into Jerusalem (21:12, 15; 24:11; 25:1, 9). Even Festus, a Roman governor of Judea, *went up* from Caesarea to Jerusalem (25:1). Such a term which signifies a vertical structure also shows Luke's view of the Jerusalem-Rome axis in its own right.

[891] Michael Bachmann, "Jerusalem and Rome in Luke-Acts: Observations on the Structure and the Intended Message," in *Luke-Acts and Empire*, 72-73.

switches the relationship of power.[892] Subsequently, Luke places Rome at the periphery, highlighting another sacred centre.

Luke's manner of displaying the city of Rome in Acts is quite ambiguous. Of course, since the city of Rome was the place where the Roman emperor resides, the centre of power would remain fixed geographically, politically, and spiritually in Rome, itself.[893] The city, the home of the emperor, was perceived as the place of the highest power for the conquered.[894] However, Luke does not display the feature of the emperors at any stage of Luke-Acts but the emperor "remains out of sight, wielding his power and protection at a distance."[895] Furthermore, Luke does not refer to the city of Rome in Luke-Acts until Paul comes to the city (28:14). Luke makes Rome as having "presence in its absence. …It may have seemed better to divert the text's gaze from the centre of imperial power and to keep Rome as a vanishing point outside the frame of the narrative," as Saundra Schwartz points out.[896] Indeed, with respect to the entire structure of Acts, Luke seems to implicitly induce his audiences to perceive this point. Indeed, Luke places this central city at the end of Acts (28:14-31), and because Acts begins in Jerusalem and ends in Rome, one can assume that Rome is the destination and ending place Luke intends. The ending scene seems to be an open-ended narrative but

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[892] This switch might not be unfamiliar to Luke's informed audiences because it implicitly appears from the Gospel of Luke. Such an inclination of Luke appears in chapters one to three. Interestingly, whenever each chapter begins with the Roman Empire, there is an episode related to Jerusalem, following it. It is the author's literary device for the reader to face the two subjects—Rome and Jerusalem—in turn. The prologue begins by introducing the "most excellent (κράτιστος) Theophilus" (Luke 1:3), normally reserved for Roman political officials as an honorary title, but Luke cleverly changes the scene to Jerusalem, in which Zechariah learns of the birth of a son, which continues to Jesus' birth, when he offers incense in the Temple (1:9). Contrary to the "most excellent," the appearance of the "simple" priest in the Jerusalem Temple implicitly shows Jerusalem as a place distinct from Rome. And the infant Jesus is brought up to Jerusalem (2:22). As for the meaning of "simple" priest, see Bovon, *Luke 1*, 33.

[893] Nicolet, *Space*, 192. Stewart claims that the emperor himself was a geographic centre because the emperor was often located in a geographic place to which people would come. Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 173.

[894] Luke implicitly displays a presence of the city through the names of the emperors: Augustus (Luke 2:1), Tiberius (3:1), and Claudius (Acts 11:28): whenever Luke comments on the emperor's reign over the world, he employs the term, *oikoumene*, to indicate the Roman world. But, in the case of Tiberius, Luke does not refer to the world (Luke 3:1).

[895] Robbins, "Mixed Population," 205.

[896] Saundra Schwartz, "The Trial Scene in the Greek Novels and in Acts," in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse* (eds. Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele; SBLSymS 20; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 132.

Luke not put any other places beyond the ending point, Rome. This fact leads his readers to have the illusion that the end in 1:8 may indicate Rome. If so, is Rome really the end of the world?

In fact, there is limited supportive evidence to prove that ancient peoples conceived Rome as the place at the end of the earth. Nonetheless, there are several texts to tempt the reader to consider Rome as the end. Ann Vasaly argues that in terms of a traditional mythology, there was the Greek-derived myth of Rome's founding which put the city on the fringes of the world.[897] This idea is rooted in the fact that the journey to the "far west" was generally thought to have taken the hero to Italy in Greek mythic poetry more often than in scientific descriptions (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.2.3–40).[898] Besides that, Rome is described as a place situated at the edge of the earth in other texts (Pss. Sol. 8:15; 17:4; 1 Clem. 5.6–7).[899] However, by the first century CE, Rome hardly qualifies as one of the traditional ends of the earth—India, Scythia, Spain, and Ethiopia. In particular, van Unnik claims that Pss. Sol. 8:15[900] cannot be used as evidence to prove Rome as the end of the earth, because Pompey, as a Roman general, who had commanded troops in Spain came into the East in 67 BCE not from Rome but from Spain where he conducted warfare for many years.[901] Such a view is refuted by many scholars.[902] When Paul arrives in Rome in Acts 28, there is already a Christian community in the city (28:15). In other words, Rome had already been evangelized by

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[897] Vasaly, *Representations*, 133. Virgil sees the importance of Rome's founding to follow the Greek victory at Troy. Rome was founded by the Trojan Aeneas.

[898] Ibid., 133 n. 6.

[899] Loveday C. A. Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles* (LNTS 298; New York: T & T Clark, 2005), 213.

[900] Psalms of Solomon 8:15: "He brought someone from the end of the earth, one who attacks in strength; he declared war against Jerusalem, and her land" (ἤγαγεν τὸν ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς τὸν παίοντα κραταιῶς ἔκρινεν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς). The Psalms of Solomon allude the fact that Pompey came from the end, Rome.

[901] Accordingly, the end of the earth in Pss. Sol 8:15 could be a reference to Spain. van Unnik, *Sparsa Collecta*, 399-400.

[902] Marshall, *Acts*, 77; Davies, *Gospel and Land*, 280-5. Also, Tannehill's claim can be probable that Rome is less than a "stopping point before the whole of the inhabited world" Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (vol. 2: The Acts of the Apostles; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 17.

other Christians.[903] If Rome is identified with the end, how can one explain this scene—the end where the gospel had already been proclaimed?

Nevertheless, attention needs to be paid to the fact that Rome appears in Acts 2 and in the final stage in Luke's two-volume work. Luke does not intend to depict other places beyond Rome in his mental map in Acts 2:5–11, and more broadly within the entire Acts narrative. If so, what is Luke's intention in placing the centre of the Roman *oikoumene* at the periphery in the mental image of a Jerusalem-centred world and thereafter at the ending scene in the Acts narrative?

4.3.1. Allusion in Acts 1:8

To solve this inquiry, we need to return to the phrase, "the end of the earth" (ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς) (1:8), the technical term for denoting the limits of the earth. The commentators on Luke-Acts have discussed the interpretation of the phrase in defining the end. Their claims can be summarized as follow: Ethiopia,[904] Rome,[905] the ends of Judea,[906] all nations (the entire Gentiles),[907] the extremities of the inhabited world,[908] four corners in the fifteen places in Acts 2,[909] and Spain (the city of Gades).[910]

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[903] Keener, *Acts*, 4:3737; Schnabel, *Mission*, 1:801-816.

[904] Henry J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955), 15; T. C. G. Thornton, "To the End of the Earth: Acts 1, 8," *ExpTim* 89 (1978); Clarice J. Martin, "A Chamberlain's Journey and the Challenge of Interpretation for Liberation," in *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics* (eds. Norman K. Gottwald and Richard A. Horsley; Maryknoll; London: Orbis; SPCK, 1993), 485-504; Christopher R. Matthews, *Philip, Apostle and Evangelist: Configurations of a Tradition* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002).

[905] F.V. Filson, "The Journey Motif in Luke-Acts," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on His 60th Birthday* (eds. Ralph P. Martin and F. F. Bruce; Exeter: Paternoster, 1970); Haenchen, *Acts*, 144; Dunn, *Acts*, 11; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:80.

[906] Daniel R. Schwartz, "The End of the Γἡ (Acts 1:8): Beginning or End of the Christian Vision?," *JBL* 105 (1986).

[907] Stephen G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (SNTSMS 23; London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 94 n.1; Jacques Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Paulist, 1979), 11-33; Scott, *Geography*, 58-61. As for its relevance to Isaiah, see Pao, *Acts*, 93-5.

[908] van Unnik, *Sparsa Collecta*, 399-400. Sleeman claims it "the earth's outermost margins" in Matthew Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts* (SNTSMS 146; Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 71.

[909] Furthermore, based on the list of nations in Acts 2:9-11, Béchard claims that the outer limits of Luke's image of the "inhabited world" can be illustrated by the four corners: Parthia in the East (2:9), Ethiopia in the South (8:27f), Pontus and Bithynia in the North (2:9; 16:7), and Rome in the West (18:2; 19:21; 23:11; 25:11-12; 27:1ff). Béchard, *Paul*, 339.

From these various interpretations, one can assume that this phrase is not limited to a specific place. Keener claims that this geographical expression is relevant to one's context because the context determines the meaning of the phrase.[911] In other words, the expression comes from the *orientation* of the author.[912] Indeed, the phrase "the end of the earth" used to be conceived as a theoretical concept beyond merely geographical categories in the ancient world. The discussion thus should not be narrowed down to only geographic definitions. Green points out that we need not assume that Luke *must* have in mind a purely geographical connotation for the end because ἔσχατος is "polysemous" in Luke's idea.[913] This claim comes from the fact that the end of the earth is imbued with symbolic power.[914] In this sense, the end can be discussed in terms of an ethnic referent[915] and a theological concept.[916] Such diverse aspects require that the reader should approach the end with a more careful stance, beyond localizing its geographic referent.

What is remarkable is that Luke employs the phrase twice in significant stages (1:8; 13:47). My suggestion is to view these two passages together in order to understand Luke's aim to place Rome at the final scene in Acts. Among them, the passage in 13:47, "For so the Lord has commanded us, saying, 'I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, so that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth'," corresponds to a turning point of the Apostles' movements toward the end of the earth, dividing the entire Acts narrative into: 1) the ministry of the Twelve in Jerusalem, Judea,

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[910] E. Earle Ellis, "'The End of the Earth' (Acts 1:8)," *BBR* 1 (1991): 123-32.

[911] Keener, *Acts*, 1:708.

[912] Pervo, *Acts,* 44. Italics are mine.

[913] Green notes that "geographical markers such as 'Judea' and 'Samaria'…are social products that reflect and configure ways of being in the world….At this early juncture in the narrative of Acts, Luke has hardly provided the semantic means by which we might localize its referent." Joel B. Green, "Salvation to the End of the Earth: God as the Saviour in the Acts of the Apostles," in *Witness to the Gospel*, 85 n. 5; idem, *Luke*, 426 n. 99.

[914] Joel B. Green, "Acts of the Apostles," in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament & Its Developments* (eds. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids; Downers Grove, Ill.; Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1997), 15.

[915] Robert L. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (SBLMS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 32-33; Kuecker, *Spirit and Other*, 98-99, esp. 99 n. 6.

[916] Curt Niccum, "One Ethiopian Eunuch Is Not the End of the World: The Narrative Function of Acts 8:26-40," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. Vanderkam* (eds. Eric Farrel Mason and James C. VanderKam; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 889-90.

and Samaria (Chs. 1–12) and 2) Paul's ministry in Asia Minor and Europe (Chs. 13–28). In this way, each passage, as structural junctions, corresponds to the departure of each protagonist—the Twelve (1:8) and Paul (13:47) toward the ends of the earth. In particular, Luke establishes an intriguing structure before and behind Paul's appearance. Interestingly, Luke illustrates impressive stories before 13:47: the Ethiopian eunuch, a court official of Candace, a queen of the Ethiopians (8:26–40) and Cornelius, a Roman centurion (10:1–43). These two episodes, commonly narrate the gospel to the Gentiles within the Judean lands, even though the Gentile missions begin in Acts 11 and are mainly conducted by Paul (13:47). Luke also sandwiches Paul's conversion between these two Gentile baptisms. As for the structure and Luke's intention, this needs further careful investigation.

First, Luke illustrates that Philip meets the Ethiopian eunuch (8:27) before Paul. This episode attracts remarkable attention from Lukan scholars for interpreting 1:8. In fact, since Cadbury,[917] to place Ethiopia at the geographical extremity of the earth in Acts was widely accepted by several scholars.[918] Ethiopia was one of four edges commonly accepted by people in the first century CE. Also, Luke's use of the singular form, ἔσχατος, in the phrase "the end of the earth" rather than a plural form in both 1:8 and 13:47 might indicate Ethiopia, in particular.[919] However, it is refuted by several counter-arguments. Firstly, as Scott notes, the singular, ἔσχατος, is sometimes used in contexts where it clearly denotes all the ends of the earth in the Septuagint (e.g., LXX

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[917] Cadbury notes, "To Homer and to Isaiah the Ethiopians doubtless represented a geographical extreme...." Cadbury, *Acts*, 15.

[918] See Matthews, *Philip*; Scott Shauf, "Locating the Eunuch: Characterization and Narrative Context in Acts 8:26-40," *CBQ* 71 (2009):774-5; Niccum, "One Ethiopian Eunuch"; Weissenrieder, "Middle Ground."

[919] NRSV also reads the phrase into "the ends of the earth." Since ancient peoples thought that "the end" indicated the four corners on the world, its feminine plural form, αἱ ἐσχαταί (e.g. Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.106, 116) or neutral plural form, τὰ ἔσχατα (e.g. Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.1.8), were widely accepted. Either ἐσχαταί or ἔσχατα, the plural form was standard geographic usage. Nevertheless, the use of ἔσχατου in the singular was also telling for the ancient authors when referring to Ethiopia, due to Homer's influence (cf. Homer, *Od.* 1.23; and, Strabo supports Homer in *Geogr.* 17.1.3, 17.2.1). Niccum, "One Ethiopian Eunuch," 889.

Isa 8:9; Jer. 38:8; 1 Macc. 3:9).[920] Second, the location of this episode in the entire Acts

narrative is problematic. This Ethiopian eunuch appears approximately one-third of the

way into the book of Acts. If Jesus' commandment in 1:8 is accomplished in Acts 8,

how can one interpret Paul's movement toward "the end of the earth" (13:47)? Third,

Philip does not actually go to Ethiopia. Rather, an Ethiopian went to Jerusalem and met

Philip at "the road that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza" (8:26). The following

summary statement (9:31) signals that they remain in Palestine by seemingly neglecting

"the ends of the earth."[921] Fourth, it is unlikely that the gospel reaches out to the

Ethiopian land and Africa. There is no evidence for any Ethiopian expansion of the

gospel upon the eunuch's return to his homeland.[922] Fifth, the Apostles' movements are

described as a westward shift. Luke does not show any considerable concern for a

southern area over a north-western area. In this light, this account is no more than

potential and partial fulfilment of 1:8.[923] As Shauf points out, it corresponds to "a

foreshadowing, a foretaste of what is still to come."[924]

Second, Luke depicts Peter's encounter with the Roman centurion (10:1–48)

after Paul's conversion. Vernon Robbins interprets this as Peter entering into the space

of the Roman Empire.[925] Peter saw "the heaven *open*ed" (10:11). The fact that the

heaven opened connotes that the heavenly space intrudes into the earthly space which is

broken *open*. Peter then *enters* the *opened* Roman place (10:25). Likewise, Luke

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[920] Scott, *Geography*, 59.
[921] Luke depicts that Peter went "here and there" (9:32) but still stays within the boundaries of Judea—Joppa (9:36) and Caesarea (10:1). In this sense, Luke places this Ethiopian story in the realm of "Judea and Samaria" rather than "the end of the earth" in terms of a geographic framework in 1:8.
[922] Shauf, "Locating the Eunuch," 770 .
[923] It is unlikely that "the end" in 1:8 directly points to Ethiopia. Rather, it is probable, as Witherington notes, Jesus' command in 1:8 *potentially* would reach the ends of the earth, as the eunuch went on his way back to Ethiopia. Witherington, *Acts*, 290. Martin claims that the Ethiopian's return home represents a symbolic (and partial) fulfilment of Acts 1:8. Martin, "A Chamberlain's Journey," 493.
[924] Shauf, "Locating the Eunuch," 770. Also, Tannehill portrays it as a "stepping-stone between the conversion of the Samaritans and the Gentiles." Tannehill, *Acts*, 107.
[925] Vernon Robbins compares this passage with Luke 7:1-10. In the story, Jesus heals the servant of a centurion from a distance. Because of the healing of the slave of the Roman centurion, "the social and political framework for the power of God to flow into the domain of Roman leaders and through Roman leaders to Rome itself" takes place as Robbins observes. By doing so, Robbins claims that the power of God enters into the realm of the Roman Empire. Robbins, "Mixed Population," 209.

describes the divine power that flows from heaven to earth, especially toward the imperial authorities. It culminates in the scene in which Cornelius' relatives and close friends receive the Holy Spirit (10:24, 44–48). Particularly, Luke portrays that *all* of them gather in Cornelius' house (οἶκος), underlining πᾶς twice (νῦν οὖν <u>πάντες</u> ἡμεῖς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ πάρεσμεν ἀκοῦσαι <u>πάντα</u> τὰ προστεταγμένα σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου) (v. 33). This scene echoes the house where those from all nations gather and receive the Spirit in Acts 2:1–11, thereby resolving their mission to the end of the world. In this way, it alludes to the Roman space which will be transformed by the gospel. Another noteworthy scene is that of the Roman officer who bows to Peter (10:25). Cornelius' first act when Peter enters his space is that of "falling at his feet." It has significant meaning, because Cornelius is a "God-fearing man" (10:2, 23). Then, toward the *God-fearing Roman authority*, Peter proclaims "peace by Jesus Christ—he is Lord of all" (10:36). It can be seen as some kind of momentum toward the mission to the Gentiles.[926]

In this manner, Philip and Peter become witnesses to the southern Ethiopian and the north-western Roman. Back to the narrative map of Acts 2:5-11, the Holy Spirit comes to the Jews from every nation (2:5) but also to the Gentiles in the Judean land, especially those who come from the distant edges of the world. Thus, here the Judean land becomes a microcosmic world to show that the Apostles reach the ends of the world. Furthermore, by juxtaposing those two peoples from distant places, Luke diverts the readers' gaze from southern Ethiopia to north-western Rome.

The Apostles' ministry should not be limited to the Judean lands but should be expanded beyond them. Following the Ethiopian eunuch story, Saul appears and undergoes conversion (9:1–13). After the Roman's baptism, Luke's Paul proclaims that he should go to ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς (13:47). Whereas 1:8, spoken by Jesus, is focused on

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[926] Schnabel, *Mission*, 1:706-18.

Judea and Samaria directed toward the southern end, 13:47 spoken by Paul is directed from Jerusalem toward the north-western end. By doing so, Luke highlights another end, Rome, in his mental map from the geographical end of Ethiopia. It can be summarized as follows:

A. The Ends of the Earth (1:8)

   B. Ethiopian (8:26-40)

      C. Paul's Conversion (9:1-31)

   B′. Roman (10:1-43)

A′. The Ends of the Earth (13:47)

This chiastic structure leads us to expect another passage, that of 13:47. While the passage in 1:8 informs the first half of Acts up to 13:47, this verse sets up a new movement established by Paul who directly received this commandment from the heavenly Jesus.[927] And it makes Luke's readers anticipate that Paul's itinerary will be to journey toward Rome.

4.3.2. Toward the End: Paul's Journey to Rome

From 13:47, Luke ornately depicts that Paul goes towards the end of the earth, located in Rome. After crossing over the Aegean Sea, Luke's Paul finally resolves on going to Rome (19:21). This verse signals Luke's narrative strategy on which Paul is going to experience the climax of his mission. On the way to Rome, Paul undergoes an ecstatic experience (22:17–21).[928] Unlike the vision in which a man of Macedonia pleads with Paul (16:9), Paul listens to the voice of Jesus, when he falls into a trance

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[927] Paul emphasizes that it is the commandment of Jesus. As for the commandment, Luke employs again ἐντέλλω which was shown in the context of Jesus' mission statement to the Twelve (1:2). In this light, ἐντέλλω in 13:47 reminds the reader of the commandment of Jesus before the ascension in Acts 1:2. Johnson, *Acts*, 241.
[928] Bachmann, "Jerusalem and Rome," 74.

(22:17). That is, while Paul was asked to go to the Aegean by a Macedonian, he is now

called to go to *Rome* by *Jesus* whose voice verifies Paul's journey to Rome. Moreover,

Jesus narrows down the extent of the mission to the Gentiles with regard to Rome

(13:47; 22:17; 23:11). Through the journey, Rome is repeatedly described as a final

destination of Paul's projected itinerary (19:21; 23:11; 27:24).[929] By identifying Rome

as Paul's final destination, it redefines the geographical horizon of the concluding

chapters of the narrative.[930] As Paul gets to the final destination, Rome's presence

looms ever larger.

To induce his audiences to think that Paul is going to the end of the earth, Luke

elaborately portrays Paul's maritime journey. Luke sheds light on the fact that Paul

takes a ship during which Paul undergoes a dangerous sea-voyage. Alexander points out

the importance of sea-voyages: "decisive stages in Paul's missionary journey are

marked not only by divine guidance but also by the fact that the journey becomes

(however briefly) a sea-voyage."[931] Paul's voyage is recorded in Acts 27 and 28. Yet, it

is not the first travel experience of Paul by ship in the corpus of Acts (cf. 13:4; 14:26;

16:11). However, unlike previous episodes, Luke delineates Paul's voyage to Rome in

detail, which is filled with danger.[932] Through a relatively long delineation of the

episode and emphasis on its danger, Luke markedly implies that Paul's sea-voyage is a

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[929] Among the three occurrences of the δεῖ (19:21; 23:11; 27:24), while the first one refers to Paul's resolution, the latter two occur in revelations by the Lord and an angel of God. Cosgrove, "Divine Δei," 179. By comparing Jesus and Paul as executors of the divine δεῖ, Luke compares these two cities as important locations. Paul's δεῖ reminds audiences of the earthly Jesus in the Gospel of Luke (4:43) so that δεῖ of the heavenly Jesus is re-presented by δεῖ of the earthly Paul. Regarding the parallelism of two δεῖ, see Bachmann, "Jerusalem and Rome," 73-74.

[930] Béchard, *Paul*, 341 n. 308.

[931] Alexander, "Journeying Often," 32. Also, Alexander writes that "Travel can form…a significant scene in its own right." In Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context*, 211 n.16.

[932] In ancient texts, according to Robbins, "almost every good sea voyage account portrays a storm that threatens or actually ends in a shipwreck." Vernon K. Robbins, "By Land and by Sea: The We-Passage and Ancient Sea Voyage," in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; Danville, Va.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1978), 230. Discussing sea-voyage, he interlocks it with we-passages in Acts. Including Homer's *Odyssey*, most ancient texts report a dangerous aspect of sea-voyages. As Stewart points out, "Early Christians were familiar with the idea that the sea was a place of danger, and tales of shipwreck found in Acts and other early Christian literature suggest that they adopted the same view as the Greeks and Romans concerning such travel." Stewart, *Gathered around Jesus*, 159. Also see Dennis R. MacDonald, "The Shipwrecks of Odysseus and Paul," *NTS* 45 (1999): 88-107; Talbert, *Reading Luke-Acts*, 175-96.

journey to an extremity. And, by doing so, Luke induces the readers to think that just as the Greeks and Romans had hard sea-voyages to reach marginal lands, so too, Paul had a dangerous sea-voyage to reach the end of the earth.

In particular, there is a clue to tempt readers to think Paul is near the end of the world. At the final stage of the Acts narrative, Paul encounters barbarians (βάρβαροι). The tough voyage leads Paul to meet barbarians at Malta, close to his destination of Italy. Given that ancient peoples thought that barbarians resided at the extremities of the world, Luke's employing the term, βάρβαροι, connotes that Paul's journey takes him close to the edge of the world.[933] Luke's barbarians are kind and full of hospitality (28:2, 7, 10).[934] Moreover, "the natives"[935] would have been capable of speaking to Paul in Greek.[936] Nevertheless, by naming them barbarians, Luke reminds his readers of a general conception of ἔσχατος.[937] In other words, the author leads his audiences to think that Paul meets βάρβαροι at ἔσχατος.[938] By doing so, Luke subverts the Roman imperial expansionary rhetoric and inverts the Roman centrifugal desire by displaying Paul's sailing from Jerusalem to Rome. Finally, Paul came to Rome (28:14) and he proclaims the kingdom of God and teaches about the Lord Jesus Christ, with complete boldness and without hindrance, although he is placed under house arrest (28:31).

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[933] Ronald H. van der Bergh, "The Use of the Term βάρβαρος in the Acts of the Apostles: A *Problemanzeige*," *Neot* 47 (2013): 69-86.
[934] Joshua W. Jipp, *Divine Visitations and Hospitality to Strangers in Luke-Acts: An Interpretation of the Malta Episode in Acts 28:1-10* (NovTSup 153; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 253-288.
[935] NRSV reads it as "natives" (28:2, 4).
[936] Witherington, *Acts*, 776. On the other hand, Wordelman argues, "Although in the classical Greek period the term [barbarians] typically referred to all non-Greeks, its limited appearance in Acts reflects a usage more akin to the political situation of the early Roman Empire, where many non-Greeks spoke at least a little Greek." Amy L. Wordelman, "Cultural Divides and Dual Realities: A Greco-Roman Context for Acts 14," in *Contextualizing Acts*, 217.
[937] van der Bergh, "Βαβαρος in Acts," 79-80.
[938] Alexander, "Journeying Often," 36.

4.3.3. Rome as the End in Luke's Mental Map

Luke displaces Rome from the ideological centre to the periphery.[939] Strictly speaking, Rome was not the end of the world but rather, the centre of the Roman *oikoumene*. Nonetheless, at least in Luke's mental map, Rome is depicted as the end where Jesus' commandment is accomplished (cf. 1:8). In fact, this translocating can be explained by an unstable centre-periphery axis in the ancient mental map. Per Bilde points out that by the first century, the conception of the centre was not stable.[940] That is to say, three cities—Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem—all around the Mediterranean Sea were respectively considered as the centres for their respective citizens. However, from an objective angle, there was no permanent centre for the inhabited world. For instance, in the classical and Hellenistic period, Athens was the centre and Rome the periphery, but, by the first century CE, the opposite became the case.[941] Likewise, in ancient times, the axis of a centre and periphery did not have absolute designations. As we have seen with the cover of *The New Yorker*, from the angle of a New Yorker, Asia is the land at the periphery; but, in this manner, Asians view New York as the periphery from their own location. Similarly, the centre-peripheral structure and its relations are unstable and also temporary. And this point is the case for Luke also.

In a Roman mental image, Rome's location is seen as the undisputable centre. Contrary to Rome, Jerusalem is located at the most eastern margin of the Roman Empire. But, Luke's mental map signifies that the relationship between the two cities is converted. Subsequently, in the outer circle of the list of nations in Acts 2, Rome is placed at the edge of a Jerusalem-centred world. In doing so, Luke switches the relationship between Jerusalem and Rome in terms of its centre-periphery axis. In this

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[939] Peter-Ben Smit portrays Rome as an ideological and therefore geographical periphery. Smit, "New World View."

[940] Cf. Per Bilde, "Jesus and Paul: A Methodological Essay on Two Cases of Religious Innovation in the Context of Centre-Periphery Relations," in *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (eds. Per Bilde, et al.; Aarhus; Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 1993).

[941] Ibid., 317.

light, one can argue that Luke's switch of the two centres alludes to "reversing the imperial dynamics profoundly subverting the Roman mastery of the *oikoumene*."[942] Doing so anticipates the movement of the Apostles who received the mission commandments of Jesus throughout the entire Acts narrative, and functions as an ideological subversion which also informs that narrative.

4.4. Rome-Centred *Oikoumen*e

Luke portrays the Roman *oikoumene* in Acts, which corresponds to the real world for Luke and his audiences. Luke's portrayal should be distinguished from the 'world' which appears in Acts 2. The latter corresponds to Luke's mental image which God purposes, as an alternative worldview as if God reigns over the whole of the world in which Luke's readers live. However, the Roman *oikoumene* is the world, itself, that Acts assumes, as it really is, in his era. While the passage in Acts 2 displays an aspect of mental expansion from Jerusalem, based on Luke's imaginative worldview, after the Pentecost event, Luke illustrates the physical expansion of Christianity through the apostles' movement across the Roman *oikoumene*. The missionary journey by the apostles is based on geographic knowledge about provinces and cities in the imperial territory. Luke's way to portray the Roman *oikoumene* is not a cartographic method but a verbal map to describe the range of evangelized places through the ministries of the Apostles. The expansion is seen fully after the persecution of the Church (8:1). And, following chapter 8, the locative worldview based on Jerusalem is transferred into a centrifugal-open-utopian view. Luke's world map, sketched through the itinerary of Paul in Acts 14-28, is a distinctly Roman *oikoumene* that implies that Luke was deeply occupied with the concept that the world before Luke's eyes is the Roman *oikoumene*.

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[942] Brigitte Kahl, "Acts of the Apostles: Pro(to)-Imperial Script and Hidden Transcript," in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 150.

4.4.1. Two-Continents: West-East Axis

In fact, it is unlikely that the Acts narrative displays the entire scope of the Roman *oikoumene*. Jesus' commandment in 1:8 seems to offer the author's universal worldview but, unlike the image of Jerusalem-centred world which covers every nation, the Roman *oikoumene* sketched in Acts encompasses only a small portion of the entire inhabited world. In terms of the ancient geographic worldview, the extent of the area illustrated by Luke covers the western area in Asia and the eastern area in Europe. Paul's route remains around the Aegean Sea between Europe and Asia. Also, in terms of the mental image of the Romans, this extent corresponds to only the eastern area. From the view of the Romans, the itinerary of Paul can be characterized as a centripetal invasion toward their own centre from the south-eastern periphery, the Judean lands. Luke's hero departs for his Gentile mission when he focused his itinerary only on the north-western area of the inhabited world. This is relevant to Luke's conceptual image of the *oikoumene*. In terms of the author's birds-eye view as seen in 1:8, Luke portrays the world with his back turned to Eastern Asia and illustrates the area of the Roman *oikoumene* from Judean lands via Asia Minor to Europe. Luke thus neglects the eastern and southern areas from the Judean lands. The part of the *oikoumene* illustrated in Acts looks like a rectangle based on a linear expansion which begins in Jerusalem (East) and ends in Rome (West). And this scaled-down realm represents the Euro-Asian axis.[943] Consequently, Luke's depiction covers the dual structure of Asia and Europe, excluding Africa.[944] With respect to the composition of Acts, it is definitely a narrative of

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[943] "Europe and Africa, divided into two regions by the Mediterranean, together occupy half the globe, Asia the other half by itself. So, if you divide the globe in two parts, the east and the west, Asia is in one, Europe and Africa in another." Salway, "Putting the World," 214.

[944] Of course, this frame might not be unfamiliar to Luke's informed audiences. This is because "Some Greeks and Romans even divided the world into just Europe and Asia, including Africa in Europe." Keener, *Acts*, 3:2340 n. 398. This might be relevant to the viewpoint that Africa is included in Europe. In terms of geographic horizon of the inhabited world, the world in Acts is designed to represent the northern habitable zone of a globe image. As for this inclination, one can raise a question as to why Luke disregards Africa. But, it is better to ask what imaginative world map Luke does intend to suggest to his

geographical expansion, considering the references to the primitive church in Jerusalem (1:1–6:7); Judea and Samaria (6:8–12:34); Asia Minor (12:25–16:5); Europe (16:6–19:20); and Rome (19:21–28:31).[945] This two-tiered structure reflects the layout of Luke's world, including just two continents. If so, what is the rhetorical force of this geographical description in the Acts narrative?

Most of all, it is relevant to the transition of power from Asia to Europe.[946] We should pay attention to the fact that Luke's intended audiences are mostly residents of continental Asia, considered as a huge land from the Bosporus in the west to India in the east (Strabo, *Geogr*. 2.5.26, 31), not "Asia" as one of the Roman provinces in Asia Minor.[947] For instance, from fifteen nations who gather in Jerusalem in 2:9–11, eleven nations belong to Asia. Subsequently, the main ministry area evangelised by the Apostles in the Jerusalem church is Asia, including Asia Minor. However, Paul's journey, unlike that of the Apostles, is established in Asia Minor and Europe.[948] In doing so, the stage of the narrative is taken to Europe where Rome is centrally located. In other words, it is an expansion of Christianity toward the core of a Euro-centric world, namely the Roman *oikoumene*.

Luke's mental mapping of two major continents can be explicated by the axis of West and East.[949] In this axis, Luke's map signals that the East is the land of the

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readers.

[945] Besides the centrality of Jerusalem, there is an emphasis on Jewish land. In 1:8, there are three toponomies: Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria. Within the entire Acts narrative, Luke assigns one-third of the depiction of the world to "Judea and Samaria." Judean land occupies a disproportionate amount of the world map of Luke. Conzelman divides the expansion as Jerusalem/Judea (Chs. 1-7); Samaria (Chs. 8-9); and end (Chs. 10-28).

[946] Balch claims that "the Christian missionaries from the East subverted Western, European, Roman values." David L. Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ-Jesus as Founder of the Church in Luke-Acts: Form and Function " in *Contextualizing Acts*, 187.

[947] Luke dose not employ the term, Asia, as a continent but just uses it to signify the Roman province (19:10, 26-7; 27:2). Hemer, *Acts*, 203-4; Trebilco, "Asia," 301. Consequently, there can be no doubt that the Judean land belonged to Asia. Craig S. Keener, "Between Asia and Europe: Postcolonial Mission in Acts 16:8-10," *AJPS* 11 (2008): 12.

[948] As for a transitional point between Asia and Europe, Luke introduces the city of Troas in 16:9. Keener points out the importance and location of Troas in term of post-colonialism. Keener, *Acts*, 3:2334-2342. Troas becomes a bridge between Europe and Asia. Convinced by the calling of God, Paul crosses over to Macedonia (16:10).

[949] As for the East-West axis, it was a fundamental tendency for classical scholars to observe the

beginning of the gospel, and, the West is the land of the destination of the gospel.

Namely, it signals the apostles' movements from the East to Western Europe. Luke has

a tendency to move his eyes from the East to the West. This perspective is also shown

in Luke's list in Acts 2, where the narrative begins in the East (Parthians) and then goes

to the West (Rome).[950] For Luke, Paul's moving to the West can be discussed as a

march into the unknown and unexplored territory from their familiar and well-known

land, Judea.[951] For instance, after leaving Asia and moving into Macedonia, which is

foreign territory for Paul, he encounters foreign scenes such as the demon-possessed

slave-girl with "a spirit of divination" (16:16).[952] Just as there was the geographical

expansion conducted by Alexander the Great and the Roman emperors who encroached

into unfamiliar Asia, so does Luke's hero move into unfamiliar Europe. In a sense, this

is a directional reversal compared to the eastward expansion observed in Roman

geographical texts. Given that the meaning of the *oikoumene* has been formulated by the

travellers' concern of the unknown/unexplored world from Greek and Roman central

locations, it is true that Paul's progression to the unknown land, such as that of the

Aegean, in chapter 16 to 17, corresponds to the missionary expedition toward new

territory.

　　　After crossing the Aegean Sea, Paul goes into the heart of the Roman

oikoumene. Paul's itinerary is relevant to Luke's summary statements for the expansion

of Christianity.[953] Luke provides three occasions for summarizing Paul's work (16:5;

19:20; 28:30–31). In particular, two statements (16:5; 19:20) correspond to Paul's

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oikoumene as being around the Mediterranean. See Bowersock, "East-West Orientation."

[950] Then, Luke adds both Jews and proselytes from Cretans and Arabs.

[951] "By describing Paul's entrance into Macedonia as 'Christianity entering Europe,' Western empire-building nations of the last five centuries have found an apostolic, divinely-ordained model ready at hand to justify colonizing and 'winning for the Saviour' hitherto 'unknown' and 'unexplored' continents." Jeffrey L. Staley, "Changing Woman: Toward a Postcolonial Postfeminist Interpretation of Acts 16.6-40," in *Feminist Companion to Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine; London; New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 179; also see Alexander, "Journeying Often," 30.

[952] Staley notes that the designation of the demon-possessed girl as 'pythonic' evokes the Greek Delphi, the *Omphalos* of the ancient Greek world. Staley, "Changing Woman," 185.

[953] Acts 6:7; 9:31; 12:24; 16:5; 19:20; 28:30-31.

moving to Rome. Here Luke emphasizes Paul's mighty spiritual power: both στερεόω

(16:5) and ἰσχύω (19:20) mean "prevailed/strengthened." It is unlike the pre-Paul

statements of stressing the church's expansion, stability, and growth (cf. 6:7; 9:31;

12:24). It implies that Luke's hero is going toward the powerful Roman centre with

strong resolve. Paul's mission in the Greek East ends with a summary statement: "So

the word of the Lord grew mightily and prevailed" (19:20). This verse indicates the

word of God is shown to have superior power.[954] In this manner, the axis of West-East

implies a reversal of power in this two-continent structure. It is "an Asian movement's

(spiritual) 'conquest' in the reverse direction."[955] Also, it refutes the superior (West)-

inferior (East) axis. Thus, the primary reason for Luke to narrow the inhabited world

into these two continents is to signify a transfer of power.[956]

4.4.2. Represented *Oikoumene* by Paul's Journey

Luke's portrayal of the Roman *oikoumene* is based on two significant

frameworks by which Romans conceptualized their *own oikoumene*: itinerary and

provinces. For Luke, these two perspectives are harmonized together. The *oikoumene* is

delineated as an itinerary which combines diverse cities in provinces. Basically, Luke

offers *provincia* which are an important frame to embody the Roman *oikoumene*. Luke

employs ἐπαρχεία, a common Greek equivalent for the Latin *provinica* (province)

(23:34; 25:1), which means a Roman administrative area ruled by a prefect (in Greek

ἔπαρχος).[957]

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[954] Witherington, *Acts*, 583.
[955] Keener, "Asia and Europe," 12.
[956] "the visions provide the divine authorization for a transfer of power." Staley, "Changing Woman," 184.
[957] Each province provides them with an ethnic identity. Romans had a tendency to identify people by their provinces. The Empire was generally described by the Greek historians as the *oikoumene* which consisted of ἔθνη instead of ἐπαρχεία. This is due to the fact that there was a growing feeling of nationalism in the provinces. Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, 438. The term, ἔθνος, has the sense of provincial community. Mitchell, "Ethnicity," 125 -126.

Also, Luke is aware that cities were the crucial organizing principle and thus the network of the cities was central to Roman governance and the administration of Rome's provinces.[958] Subsequently, Luke weaves the cities into his picture of an imperial world. Here, Luke employs Paul's itinerary by which the cities are woven into the Roman *oikoumene*.[959] Indeed, the Roman *oikoumene* is represented through the itinerary suggested by the Roman road network on which the Romans built and maintained their empire. The Roman route network played an important role in the spread of the gospel.[960] Subsequently, Luke shapes Paul's travels "by the horizontal, linear movement of itineraries over land and sea"[961] from Jerusalem and all Judea via Asia to Rome. It results in building up a list of cities where the gospel is proclaimed. In this light, Richard Talbert's assertion is noteworthy: "Ironically, the growing spread and authority of Christianity served in turn to reinforce the same worldview, because Christians developed their church organization on the existing basis of Roman provinces rather than attempting to create any alternative."[962]

The Apostles created their own pathways within the Roman space into which they moved, and, the pathways created divine space. Luke highlights the Greek term, ἡ ὁδός, "the Way." Paul spoke out boldly of the Way (Acts 18:25, 26; 19:9, 23; 24:14) and it caused disturbances within the Roman *oikoumene* (cf. 17:6; 24:5). Paul proclaims the Christian Way through the way (road) toward Rome. And, through this process, emergent Christianity inhabits the Roman *oikoumene*.[963] By doing so, the *oikoumene*, the *inhabited* world politically conceptualized by the Romans, is transformed as the new

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[958] Jonathan Edmondson, "Cities and Urban Life in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, 20 BCE-250 CE," in *A Companion to the Roman Empire* (ed. David S. Potter; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 253-54.

[959] As for a toponymy of the places, see Loveday C. A. Alexander, "Narrative Maps: Reflections on the Toponymy of Acts," in *The Bible in Human Society: Essays in Honour of John Rogerson* (eds. M. Daniel Carroll R, et al.; JSOTSup 200; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 46ff and Map 7.

[960] Albu, "Christian Empire," 207.

[961] This expression is taken from Whittaker, "Mental Maps," 87. Alexander also depicts that for "mapping geographical space in linear form." Alexander, "Mapping," 171.

[962] Talbert, "Roman Worldview," 264.

[963] Umurhan and Penner, "Luke and Juvenal," 191.

world where Christians *inhabit*. Paul's movement exhibits 'collecting' the Mediterranean cities for the Christian Way.[964] Regarding this point, Nasrallah claims that in Acts, "Paul's travels produce a kind of pan-Christian league echoed in the Panhellenion."[965] And, for the pan-Christian league, she points out that Paul makes his own way between cities, "moving throughout the *oikoumene* and producing a kind of Christian empire parallel to Roman rule."[966] In a sense, it can be characterized as a universal Christian geography. In doing so, Christianity displays the feature of "an interlocking web."[967] Indeed, Luke draws a mental image of the whole world through a nexus of linear paths from place to place, instead of through cartographic maps.

Paul's linear movement is relevant to his maritime journey as well. Luke portrays Paul's *periplus*. In a sense, this stormy Mediterranean Sea might signify a Roman area. Warren Carter suggests that this story be seen as an aquatic display of the dangerous sea. According to him, this stormy sea is an imperial sea under Roman power so that Paul's sea-journey is established within "Rome's domain, geographically and personally subject to Rome's sovereignty."[968] Carter's point is supported by Knut Backhaus who draws attention to the Dioscuri (Διόσκουροι) which is depicted as a figurehead in the ship Paul takes to go to Rome (28:11).[969] It is used to be rendered as the Twin Brothers. The Dioscuri was deified as a saviour in sailing by Greeks and Romans.[970] Thus, Knut Backhaus claims that "the nautical detail marks a theological transformation: the Mediterranean becomes the *mare nostrum* of Christians...the gospel

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[964] Melanie Johnson-DeBaufre and Laura S. Nasrallah, "Beyond the Heroic Paul: Toward a Feminist and Decolonizing Approach to the Letters of Paul" in *The Colonized Apostle: Paul through Postcolonial Eyes* (ed. Christopher D. Stanley; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 171.

[965] Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 118. Also see, 96-101.

[966] Ibid., 88.

[967] Alexander, "Mapping," 170.

[968] Warren Carter, "Aquatic Display: Navigating the Roman Imperial World in Acts 27," *NTS* 62 (2016): 92.

[969] Knut Backhaus, "Paulus Und Die Dioskuren (Apg 28.11): Über Zwei Denkwürdige Schutzpatrone Des Evangeliums," *NTS* 61 (2015): 165-82.

[970] Keener, *Acts*, 4:3697-8.

reveals itself as good news of victory claiming the world."[971] Considering these two interpretations, the sea could be considered not as a neutral space but as the area under Roman imperial power. In this light, Luke illustrates Paul's maritime journey as a symbolic movement against Roman hegemony, as he travels towards his final destination.

Through the travelling body, Luke describes the distribution of power over the Roman *oikoumene*. Paul becomes a carrier of power. In ancient texts, such as *Chariton*, travel means a kind of distribution of power across the *oikoumene*.[972] The distribution of a religious tradition across the *oikoumene* played an important role in the perception of the power that a tradition wielded.[973] In this sense, the Apostles, as divine power brokers, operate throughout the *oikoumene*, displaying and mediating the power of the divine before imperial, regional, and local authorities on the imperial territoriality. Consequently, the temporal geographic movement can provide deliberate spatial encounters between divine power and imperial power, ending up conquering the core locus of the empire, Rome. The movement can be characterized as a process of making space by encroaching into a new place. The movement of the main characters is redressed as the spatial expansion, especially, divine space. In terms of geographic expansion, the Christian movement, emanated from Judaism's sacred centre, spread throughout the *oikoumene*.[974] By doing so, Luke portrays that Christians came to confirm their place within the Roman *oikoumene*. Ancient peoples believed that, by occupying a territory already inhabited by *other* human beings and consecrating it, they can make it anew and declare it, *our world*.[975] By occupying the unknown territory and by settling in it, they could transform it into *our world*. This is the case for Luke. He

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[971] Backhaus, "Paulus Und Die Dioskuren," 165.
[972] Edwards, *Religion & Power*, 80-81.
[973] Ibid., 73.
[974] Ibid., 88.
[975] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1959), 31-32.

"remaps the Roman Empire with the ubiquitous presence of Christians and Christianity."[976]

4.4.3. Rome as the Roman *Oikoumene*

There can be no doubt that the city of Rome is the absolute centre of the Roman *oikoumene*. But, until Paul arrives in Rome, the city is out of the sight of the reader. It appears in the final scene of Acts. Luke finalizes his narrative in the city because Rome is representative of the whole *oikoumene*.[977] To be sure, the city of Rome represents the entire *oikoumene* in its own right. Edwards and Woolf note:

> The city, then, could be figured as dominating the world but also as representing or summing up the world—in terms of synecdoche constituting its head (*caput mundi*), in terms of metonymy standing for its totality (every region is represented within it), in terms of epitome gathering together its most precious contents. In this sense, at least from the perspective of those within the city, Rome had not merely taken over the world but eclipsed it completely…The world as it is represented within the city displaces the actual world beyond it.[978]

Likewise, the Romans managed the *oikoumene* as if it were one *polis*.[979] Thus, to take the centre means to take the whole world. It is for that reason that Paul comes to the city by all means, overcoming all difficulties. Paul's bold behaviour in the city completes his ministry achieved by the linear movement of itineraries over land and sea of the *oikoumene*. In this sense, Paul's last statement in Acts can be paraphrased as follows: "this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles" and thus the whole of the *oikoumene* (cf. 28:28). Furthermore, by arriving at the triumphal imperial capital, Paul could reach out to the ends of the world.

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[976] Umurhan and Penner, "Luke and Juvenal," 184.

[977] Barrett claims that we need to view Rome "not so as end in itself but as representative of the whole world." Barrett, *Acts*, 1:80.

[978] Edwards and Woolf, "Cosmopolis: Rome as World City," 5.

[979] Ibid., 3.

4.5. Summary

The *oikoumene* represented in Acts can be categorized in two senses: a Jerusalem-centred world and a Rome-centred *oikoumene*. For embodying each one, Luke displays two microcosms: Jerusalem and Rome. Each city functions as representative of the world, respectively, for the Jews and the Romans. Luke superimposes these two contrasting microcosms in Acts. The relation between them is filled with tension. Yet Luke resolves the conceptual tension throughout the Acts narrative.

Firstly, Luke suggests his own worldview in the Pentecost event in which he projects the image of the inhabited world. This brief account exhibits different characteristics from the Roman *oikoumene*. For Luke the world in Acts 2 is a genuine world created and ruled by God. Consequently, Luke affirms that he will view the *oikoumene* through the ideal worldview, illustrated by Jerusalem. Also, based on this perspective, he unfolds the missionary journey of the Spirit-powered Apostles to fulfil Jesus' salvation plan toward τά ἔθνη.

Luke's bird's-eye view in 1:8 is directed toward the western Roman world. Indeed, the entire Acts narrative suggests this. Then, in order to portray the Roman *oikoumene*, he exploits a geographic framework by which the Romans conceptualized the *oikoumene*. Luke altered the Roman perspective of the inhabited world (*oikoumene*) within the Roman framework and beyond it; his alternative worldview developed within the context of notions cultivated by Roman intellectuals who had envisioned *oikoumene* increasingly equated with the Roman Empire.[980] Yet, Luke adapted this Roman universalizing concept of the world to a Christian way of thinking. Here, Luke creates his own depictions of the inhabited world to present God's creation and to show where the Apostles would take the message of Jesus. Luke reproduces a map of the *oikoumene*

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[980] Albu, "Christian Empire," 202.

unlike any that Rome had imagined, though inspired by Roman concepts, thereby constructing a two-tiered shape of the *oikoumene*, based on a West-East axis. Consequently, the Roman *oikoumene* is countered by Christianity which is initiated in the East and then moves into the West. In particular, Paul's journey presents the reader with a dynamic picture of how the static Rome-centred *oikoumene* is in the process of being supplanted by a new world, originated in the Pentecost event of Acts 2.[981]

By using imperial space and time, the Acts narrative conflates the Roman *imperium* and the newly restored world to present an alternative *oikoumene*, which is implied in Acts 2. Thus, the Christian *oikoumene* is not a distinct world from the Roman *oikoumene* but one which the Way firmly inhabits. The *oikoumene* is the Roman world in which the whole Jesus event begins to engage (Luke 2:1). God's act of salvation takes place in the *oikoumene* through Jesus' ministry in the Gospel of Luke. And Luke then depicts the process by which the Roman *oikoumene* is immersed into the world that Luke envisages, more specifically, that which God purposes in Acts 2. In this way, the significance of the Pentecost account is more than the origin of the Jerusalem Church. By placing the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost at the beginning of Acts, Luke offers a fundamental view of the world which should be retrieved by the Jesus-followers. While Luke begins Acts with the Apostles' inquiry about the restoration of the kingdom of God (1:6), he finalizes Acts with restoration of the *oikoumene*. And, just as Greek geographers entitled the known world as the *oikoumene* and then Roman historians entitled the conquered world the *oikoumene*, so does Luke entitle the newly-restored world, the *oikoumene*.

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[981] Scott, *Geography*, 61.

Conclusion

The present study has demonstrated that one of the ways Luke redefines the idea of the world is by exploring the *oikoumene*, the inhabited world.

Summary

Ancient peoples had considerable concerns about the inhabited world so that the concern inspired them to create the concept of the *oikoumene*. The term, *oikoumene*, was originally coined by Greeks to signal the inhabitable world in the classical period. In order to define the scope and shape of the *oikoumene*, Greek geographers explored unknown areas and, thereafter, produced valuable geographic texts. As a result, this term became a representative concept to signify the world in the Mediterranean World. Since then the term *oikoumene* was embraced by other cultures which needed a concept to portray the world, such as that of the Romans and the Jews. Each culture adopted the term but distinctively adapted it within its own context. In doing so, the term included various meanings—political, cultural, and religious—by the first century CE. For the Romans, the *oikoumene* meant the Roman Empire, itself. Romans identified the *oikoumene* with *imperium*. They utilized the concept of the *oikoumene* in terms of political ideology to propagate their triumphal military achievements and to define their realm. For them, the *oikoumene* was not so much the inhabitable world as the areas conquered by the Romans. The Jews also adopted the term but reinterpreted the *oikoumene* within their own theoretical and theological framework. Within their monotheistic belief rooted in the Hebrew Bible, they reshaped a worldview into their own narratives, thereby claiming a *oikoumene* reigned over by God. In Jewish literature, the *oikoumene* is characterized as a Jerusalem-centred world against the *Omphalos*, or the city of Rome, and its peoples can be characterized as the Table of Nations, as descendants of Noah.

Both Romans and Jews exploited this concept for specific purposes. Each *oikoumene* contains a rhetorical goal. The *oikoumene* was employed to meet their political and religious purposes. These contextual interpretations reflect that each culture establishes its own subjective worldview, namely a self-centred way of thinking. In particular, each one established the mental image of the world, centred on its own alternative *Omphalos*, such as that of Rome and Jerusalem. While the Greeks drew an image of the *oikoumene* centred on Delphi, the Romans projected the picture of the *oikoumene* centred on the city of Rome, while the Jews developed it into the *oikoumene* centred on Jerusalem from which God's rule radiated out toward the entire world. Since there was no standard image of the world, widely accepted by all peoples, each society could formulate its own worldview grounded in self-centredness. Mapping was intertwined with one's ideology, namely a kind of illusion that constructed the mental map before the actual map. In the shape and deployment of maps are embedded social, cultural, political, and religious prejudices of ancient peoples. Similarly, in essence, the world map for portraying the *oikoumene* stemmed from a geographic curiosity, and eventually it became a tool to express a specific desire embedded onto their respective mental map.

However, such self-absorbed worldviews could not avoid conceptual conflicts with each other, because each worldview was based on their respective centrality over the world. Consequently, as Romans expanded their rule into the Mediterranean world and then the Judean lands, it was inevitable for the Jews to undergo conceptual tension between the *oikoumene* as the creation of God and the *oikoumene* as a ruled world under Roman hegemony. The reign of the Roman Empire gave rise not only to confusion for the kingship across the world but also for confusion of a worldview. That confusion appears clearly in Josephus. Yet, this would not just have been a perplexity illustrated by Josephus. Rather, this might also have been the case for Diaspora Jews and perhaps

even more for peoples in the Judean lands and that of the biblical authors, too. Subsequently, within the context of various worldviews, it was necessary for the biblical authors to clarify how audiences would perceive the *oikoumene* they inhabited. Namely, it was significant to elucidate the genuine Lord of the *oikoumene* and thus the centre of the *oikoumene*. In this light, Luke-Acts is an ideal text to answer and explicate these inquires.

Luke employs the *oikoumene* eight times in his two-volume book. The *oikoumene* appears in diverse contexts from Jesus' birth via the Roman Empire to the eschatological event. Luke's usage of the *oikoumene* can be classified into five facets of the term. First, the *oikoumene* represents the Roman world in terms of its political setting (Luke 2:1; Acts 11:28; 17:6; 19:27). Second, the *oikoumene* also portrays the world full of idolatrous worship (Luke 21:26; Acts 11:28; 17:31; 19:27). Third, the *oikoumene* thus should be retrieved by Jesus (Luke 4:5). Fourth, the *oikoumene* is the realm where the Diaspora Jews dwell (Acts 17:6; 24:5). Finally, the *oikoumene* is a world subverted by Christianity (Acts 17:6; 19:27). His usages of the term reflect various political, cultural, and religious conceptions of the *oikoumene* in his time. This fact implies that he was living in the circumstance in which various meaning of the *oikoumene* coexisted. Luke's overall perceptions of the *oikoumene* can be encapsulated into two aspects: the Roman *oikoumene* and the Jewish world. However, through these five facets of the *oikoumene*, Luke's understanding of the concept can be summarized as follows: the *oikoumene* is the world ruled by the Roman hegemony in terms of politics and the pagan cult in terms of religion, but the *oikoumene* should be restored by Jesus and then his followers within their eschatological hope. Additionally, the divine program is in progress in relation to the *oikoumene*. It is remarkable that these views converge within the Acts narrative, thereby drawing an image of the inhabited world.

Luke superimposes the two contrasting worlds in Acts. As a way of embodying each one, Luke displays two microcosms: Jerusalem and Rome. Firstly, Luke portrays the inhabited world which he proposes. Luke distinguishes the real world (Roman *oikoumene*) from his own conceptual world which is depicted in the Pentecost account. This is Luke's own worldview influenced by Jewish traditions. Luke exploits the prominent discourse of the Greeks about the inhabited world but within this he resorts to the Jewish ancestral theme to describe the inhabited world, thereby providing a schematic picture of that inhabited world created by God in terms of geographic features and ethnic origin. That is the world where God designed all nations (God's offspring) to inhabit the world and allotted the boundaries of the places where the inhabitants would live (Acts 17:26). In doing so, Luke clarifies that the *oikoumene* in which his audiences inhabit is, in essence, the world ruled by God and centred in Jerusalem in Acts 2:1-11. Furthermore, Luke illuminates how his audiences should sustain their own attitude toward the *oikoumene*, subjected to the Roman Empire. By placing the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost at the beginning part of Acts, Luke offers a fundamental view of the *oikoumene* which should be retrieved by Jesus-followers. Accordingly, Luke attempts to depict the world before his eyes which is, absolutely, the Roman *oikoumene*. Luke's bird's-eye view in 1:8 is directed toward the western Roman world. Given that Luke places Rome at the westerly end in Acts 2, the city of Rome corresponds to the geographical end of the world for Luke. So, Luke implies that the world portrayed in Acts 2 is established according to the Roman *oikoumene*, thereby creating a newly constructed *oikoumene*. Acts is a narrative in which the Roman *oikoumene* is retrieved into the world that Luke envisages in Acts 2. For Luke, the ideal *oikoumene* is the newly-restored world upon the Roman world. Thus, Luke's worldview can be concluded to be the (newly) restored world.

Implications for Acts studies

The results of this study provide several significant implications for ongoing studies of Acts.

First, the *oikoumene* opens a way to approach Luke's view on the Roman Empire with respect to the research on the Roman territoriality. Basically, Luke's worldview in terms of the *oikoumene* displays a counter-imperial stance. As discussed in Luke 2:1, Luke strikingly associated the *oikoumene* with Jesus. The *oikoumene* is the Roman world in which the whole Jesus event is inaugurated, and it is subverted by the Kingdom of God through Jesus, and thereafter, the Spirit-impelled apostles' ministry (Acts 17:6). In particular, Luke displaces the city of Rome from the centre into distant places, namely the extremities of the Christian *oikoumene*. In doing so, through the reverse direction of Paul's itinerary, Luke connotes a transfer of power. Consequently, Rome is eclipsed by the emergent power of Christianity.

Second, this study claims the importance of Jewish literature in interpreting Luke's worldview. That is, Jewish literature functions as a significant background from which to discover his worldview. Its influence is seen in shaping and representing the inhabited world, particularly in Acts 2. As Luke unfolds his narrative, he continuously engages in dialogue with the Hebrew Bible and also the Second Temple literature. Strictly speaking, Luke's *own* worldview is deeply indebted to those sources, rather than its original notions.

Third, Luke's accommodation of the Jewish literature leads into the theme of the status of Jews in Acts. As seen in the Pentecost account, Luke formulates the world composed of Jews. In Luke's image of the world, Jews play a role as a prototype to represent all inhabitants, including the Gentiles. Even if there are the Jews who reject the gospel, Luke firmly acknowledges their ethnic identity as the seed of salvation. Furthermore, as for the Gentiles, this study has shown that Luke redefines all of them as

an offspring of God. Luke clarifies that both Israel and non-Israel share one root and, therefore, exhibits an inclusive attitude toward the Gentiles.

Fourth, with respect to methodological considerations, this research project has relied on ethno-geographic studies. In fact, ethnic reasoning and a geographic approach in Lukan scholarship have been important fields. But this study has shown that Luke's worldview with the *oikoumene* can be a thread to epitomize those various studies. Luke acknowledged a dominant geographic framework in his time as well as ethnic discourses. Subsequently, he instilled those themes into Luke-Acts narrative, thereby inventing the image of the *oikoumene*.

Fifth, Luke's worldview offers a clue to discuss Luke's audiences and purpose. Luke's audiences discovered through this study are predominantly people who need to be conscious where they are dwelling. They were living in the Roman *oikoumene*. But, considering the delay of the Parousia, it must be an urgent issue for them to solve conceptual conflicts between the eschatological Kingdom and the real world. Consequently, Luke encourages them to believe that the *oikoumene* should be restored into an alternative Christian *oikoumene*. Luke's worldview might be an important lesson regarding how Christians live under two contrasting worldviews.

This thesis has discussed Luke's worldview in terms of the *oikoumene*. One's worldview contains an overview of his/her culture, politics, religion, and ideology. To explore one's worldview is to understand one's identity. In this sense, to explore Luke's worldview is to wholly understand Luke himself, and his two-volume book.

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