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a Diachronic Overview of its Conjectured Emendations**

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Regular Article

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Ἰουδαίαν in Acts 2:9: a Diachronic Overview of its Conjectured Emendations

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Abstract: The appearance of Ἰουδαίαν in the table of nations (Acts 2:9–11) has troubled interpreters for centuries. Several scholars have proposed to emendate the text. The argumentations for such conjectures vary in elaboration and support. This article gives a diachronic overview of the conjectured emendations. It concludes with an evaluation of the discussion from a phenomenological perspective and a summary of the used argumentation, thereby providing input for a reversed engineering approach to the issue.

Keywords: table of nations, palaeographic confusion, conjectural criticism, spatial analysis

1 Introduction

In the context of the Pentecost story (Acts 2:1–13), the author mentions a list of nations, the inhabitants of which miraculously hear the apostles speak in their own language. Over the centuries, this list gave rise to a vast amount of discussion.¹ Especially, Ἰουδαίαν in 2:9 has been regarded as intrinsically difficult on the basis of three observations: (1) the reference to Judea and hence Jews hearing the apostles speak in their native tongue seems awkward,² (2) the reference to Judea (v. 9) does not fit very well in the geographical arrangement³ between Mesopotamia in the east and Cappadocia in the north⁴ (Figure 1), and (3) Ἰουδαίαν should be regarded as an adjective.

The difficulties are not equally weighed⁵ by interpreters, and diverse solutions have been offered. Literary connections with Old Testament table of nation traditions (esp. Gen 10),⁶ Old Testament

¹ The commentaries of Pervo and Keener could be consulted for a fuller discussion of the issues, cf. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, 66–68; Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary—Introduction and 1:1–2:47*, 1:846–47.

² Metzger, “Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9–11,” 123–33; Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*; Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*.

³ Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles: In Two Volumes. Vol. 1: Preliminary Introduction and Commentary on Acts I–XIV*.

⁴ Bishop, “Professor Burkitt and the Geographical Catalogue,” 1952; Metzger, “Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9–11”; Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*.

⁵ “Per cellit utique, in exterarum gentium recensu legere et Iudaeos... Verum in fluxu orationis prolata haec sunt adeoque non ad vivum rescanda.” [In any case it is strange to read also the Jews in the survey of the foreign peoples... But they are mentioned in the flow of the discourse and should not be taken in too strict a sense.], cf. Heinrichs, *Novum Testamentum Graece perpetua annotatione illustratum. Editionis Koppianae vol. III. part. I. complectens Acta Apostolorum Cap. I–XII*, 108.

⁶ Scott, “Luke’s Geographical Horizon,” 483–544.

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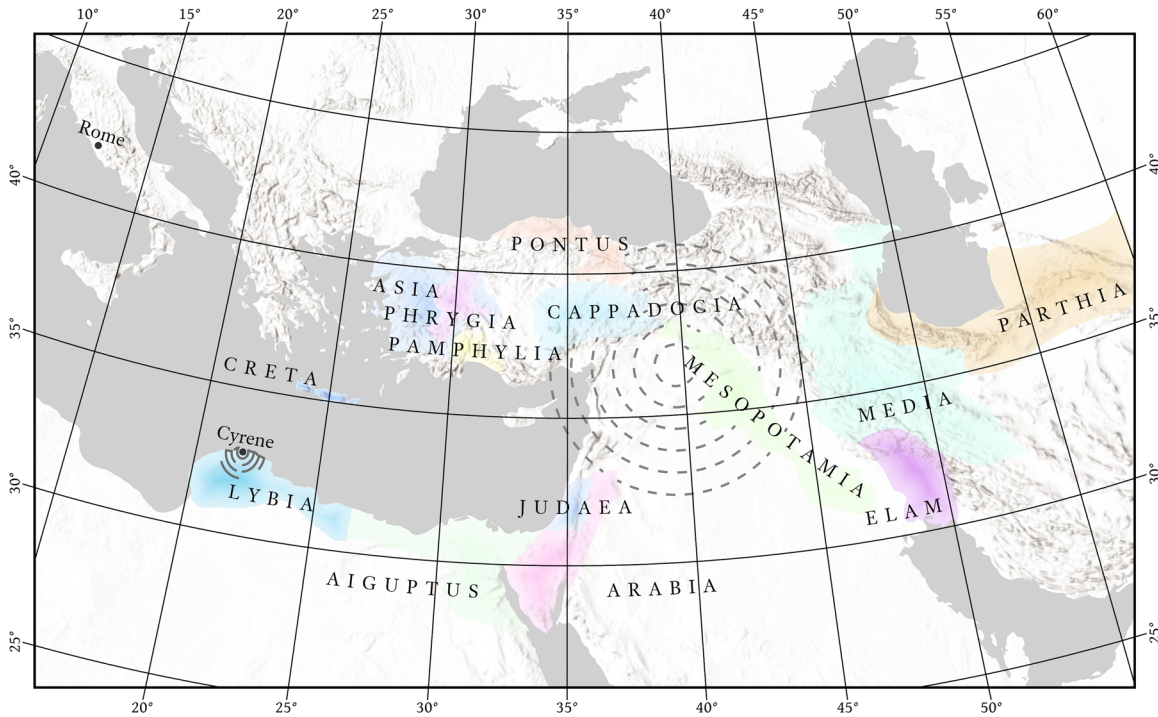


Figure 1: The geographical structure of the list of nations in Acts 2:9–11.

prophecies like Isa 11:11, contemporary Jewish⁷ and astrological⁸ geographical lists have been suggested and debated. Furthermore, a background in contemporary classical geography (i.e. Strabo)⁹ has been discussed as well as the influence of the geographic viewpoint on Luke’s programmatic perspective.¹⁰ Wendt’s suggestion that the Pentecost miracle presupposes a “new language” solves the problem but is as ingenious as it is speculative.¹¹

Other interpreters tried to solve the difficulty by assuming a very early corruption in the transmission of the text. The next step to speculate about an alternative location in exchange for Judea was easily made, and a plethora of toponyms have been offered to emend the text. A partial overview of this discussion has been provided by Clemen,¹² Hatch,¹³ and Metzger,¹⁴ but the emendations proposed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have not been discussed systematically.

This article presents the discussion to date by providing an overview of the proposed conjectures, including the corresponding considerations, argumentation, and reception history in Section 2. Section 3 concludes this article with an evaluation of the discussion from a phenomenological perspective and a summary of the used argumentation.

⁷ von Dobschütz, “Zu der Völkerliste Act. 2, 9–11,” 407–410; Barrett, *Acts I*.

⁸ Weinstock, “The Geographical Catalogue in Acts II, 9–11,” 43–46; Bishop, “Burkitt.”

⁹ Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Church,” 415–80. Van Houwelingen adopts this view in his commentary, cf. van Houwelingen, *Apostelen: dragers van een spraakmakend evangelie*, 23.

¹⁰ Kilpatrick, “Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament,” 349–60; Gilbert, “The List of Nations in Acts 2: Roman Propaganda and the Lukan Response,” 497.

¹¹ Wendt, *Kritisch exegetisches Handbuch über die Apostelgeschichte*, 85.

¹² Clemen, “Die Zusammensetzung von Apg. 1–5,” 318–19.

¹³ Hatch, “Zur Apostelgeschichte 2, 9,” 255–56.

¹⁴ Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, a Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies’ Greek New Testament*, 254.

2 A history of conjectures on Ἰουδαίαν in Acts 2:9

The way interpreters have tried to emend the text of Acts 2:9 can be distinguished in three categories: (1) a change in grammatical function, (2) a correction to an assumed corruption of the text, and (3) by conjecture of a different toponym.

The information provided here mainly follows what is incorporated in the Amsterdam Database of New Testament Conjectural Emendation (ADNTCE).¹⁵ Contrary to the ADNTCE, the data are classified according to the above-mentioned categories and subsequently presented in chronological order, thereby making the discussion and the interrelations between conjectures more explicit. For some cases, more information has been added to complement the data available in the ADNTCE.

2.1 Ἰουδαίαν as an adjective

It has been proposed to interpret the grammatical function of Ἰουδαίαν as an adjective. This proposal poses the question to which toponym it should be attached. In 1858, Heinrich Ewald, a German orientalist, Protestant theologian, and Biblical exegete, evaluates Ἰουδαίαν as “völlig unpassend” in the geographic arrangement, since he expects “das große Syrien” in the enumeration. He suggests Συρίαν might have been omitted during textual transmission.¹⁶ According to Ewald, the text should be restored to Ἰουδαίαν Συρίαν. He reaffirmed his position in 1872, now adding the error is Luke’s who was unable to finish his work.¹⁷ Both Meyer¹⁸ and Wendt¹⁹ rejected this conjecture. However, a similar case is made by Martin Hengel who interprets Ἰουδαίαν as Greater Judea, i.e. Syria.²⁰

Adolf Hilgenfeld (1895) also took Ἰουδαίαν as an adjective.²¹ He attached it however to Μεσοποταμίαν Ἰουδαίαν. Sahlin supported this proposal but wrongly attributed it to Von Harnack.²² Metzger rebutted the idea since it is not clear to him “why Mesopotamia should deserve to be called ‘Judean.’”²³

2.2 When in doubt, leave it out

Of the many solutions to the interpretive problem of Ἰουδαίαν in Acts 2:9, the remedy to regard it as a later inclusion²⁴ or a very early corruption²⁵ of the text for which we are not able to identify the original has been widely discussed. The idea to regard it as a corruption was introduced by the English theologian, historian, and mathematician William Whiston²⁶ (1746), although an early citation in

¹⁵ Krans and Lietaert Peerbolte, “The Amsterdam Database of New Testament Conjectural Emendation.”

¹⁶ Ewald, *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalem’s*, 120.

¹⁷ Ewald, *Die drei ersten Evangelien und die Apostelgeschichte übersetzt und erklärt. Zweite, vollständige Ausgabe. Zweite Hälfte*, 67–8.

¹⁸ Meyer, *Kritisch-exegetisches Handbuch über die Apostelgeschichte*, 59.

¹⁹ Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, 66.

²⁰ Hengel, “Ioudaia in the Geographical List of Acts 2:9–11 and Syria as Greater Judea,” 161–80.

²¹ Hilgenfeld, “Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihren Quellenschriften untersucht,” 94–5.

²² Sahlin, “Emendationsvorschläge zum griechischen Text des Neuen Testaments II,” 181.

²³ Metzger, “Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9–11,” 123.

²⁴ Cf. Rovers: “Onzes inziens is het niet onwaarschijnlijk, dat Cappadocië oorspronkelijk op Mesopotamië volgde en Ἰουδαίαν in den tekst gevoegd werd door iemand, die zich ergerde, dat onder al de opgenoemde volken de bewoners van Judea vergeten waren.” Marinus Anne Nicolaas Rovers, *Submission to “Prijsvraag G 94: een verhandeling over de toepassing van de conjecturaal-kritiek op den tekst van de schriften des Nieuwen Testaments (1877)”*, 200.

²⁵ Baljon, *Novum Testamentum Graece. Praesertim in usum studiosorum recognovit et brevibus annotationibus instruxit*, 323; Schmiedel, “Pfungsterzählung und Pfungstereignis,” 73–86.

²⁶ Whiston, *The Sacred History from the Beginning of the World ’till the Days of Constantine; Part the Second. Or, the Times of the New Testament. Containing, a General Ecclesiastical History, from the Nativity of Our Blessed Saviour, to the First Establishment of Christianity by Human Laws, under the Emperor Constantine the Great. Including the Interval of 317 Years*, V:290.

Theophylact²⁷ (1097) might hint in its direction. This line of reasoning stems from the observation that a certain geographical clustering can be perceived in the enumeration of countries and peoples if Ἰουδαίαν is left out.²⁸ The view has been reinvented twice²⁹ and has been equally opposed³⁰ as advocated.³¹ Among its advocates, it finds Richard Pervo.³²

Pervo's other option, to mark the spot with a blank space, indicating that the original cannot be identified with reasonable certainty, resonates with the opinion of Johannes Marinus Simon Baljon (1898), who was familiar with the readings Συρίαν, Ἀρμενίαν, Βιθυνίαν, Ἰδουμαίαν, and Πόντον τε καὶ Ἀσίαν and their originators. Ultimately, Baljon regarded Ἰουδαίαν as a corruption. He did not adopt any of the offered emendations.³³

2.3 Conjectured emendations

One of the earliest proposals to substitute Ἰουδαίαν with another toponym might be found in a writing of Aurelius Augustine (397).³⁴ He quoted Acts 2:9 with Ἀρμενίαν, but there is no accompanying remark. Although Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 7.4) cited the proposal, Augustine's solution did not convince many.³⁵

Some 15 years later, in 410, Jerome³⁶ cited Acts 2:7–11 in his commentary on Isaiah 4:11. In his citation, Ἰουδαίαν was substituted with Συρίαν. There is no discussion of the reading and therefore

²⁷ Theophylact of Ohrid, "Ex S. Joannis Chrysostomi exegeticis et nonnullorum patrum expositiones in Acta Apostolorum concise ac breviter collectae a...."

²⁸ Bloomfield, *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη. The Greek Testament, with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical*, 1:447.

²⁹ Bloomfield, *Greek Testament 1*, 1:447; Weinstock, "Catalogue," 46. In his second edition Bloomfield supports the conjecture Ἰδουμαίαν, cf. Bloomfield, *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη. The Greek Testament, with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical. Second Edition, Corrected, Greatly Enlarged, and Considerably Improved*, 1:497.

³⁰ Kuinoel, *Commentarius in libros Novi Testamenti historicos. Volumen IV. Acta apostolorum*, 60–61; Olshausen, *Biblischer Commentar über sämtliche Schriften des Neuen Testaments zunächst für Prediger und Studirende. Zweiter Band. Das Evangelium des Johannes, die Leidensgeschichte und die Apostelgeschichte enthaltend*, 583–84; Penn, *Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant: With an Expository Preface*, 295; von Dobschütz, "Act. 2, 9–11," 407–10; Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, 85; Gustav Hoennicke, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 30; Ropes, *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles. Vol. III. The Text of Acts*, 14; Bishop, "Burkitt," 84–85; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 293.

³¹ Bowyer, *Conjectures on the New Testament, Collected from Various Authors, as Well in Regard to Words as Pointing: With the Reasons on Which Both Are Founded*, 129; Michelsen, in *Submission to "Prijsvraag G 94: een verhandeling over de toepassing van de conjecturaal-kritiek op den tekst van de schriften des Nieuwen Testaments (1877)*, II–14; Rovers, *Submission to "Prijsvraag G 94: een verhandeling over de toepassing van de conjecturaal-kritiek op den tekst van de schriften des Nieuwen Testaments (1877)*, 200; von Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, vol. 3 of *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 65–66; Preuschen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 12; Wellhausen, *Kritische Analyse der Apostelgeschichte*, 4; Loisy, *Les Actes des apôtres*, 190–91; Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 65; Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte. Neu übersetzt und erklärt. 7., durchgesehene und verbesserte Auflage dieser Neuauslegung*, 173; Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, 67.

³² Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, 67.

³³ Baljon, *NTG*.

³⁴ Augustine, "Contra epistolam quam vocant fundamenti," 204.

³⁵ Stephen Weston is the only known example in favour, cf. Bowyer and Nichols, *Critical Conjectures and Observations on the New Testament, Collected from Various Authors, as Well in Regard to Words as Pointing: With the Reasons on Which Both Are Founded... The Fourth Edition, Enlarged and Corrected*, 339. Pervo regards "Armenia" the strongest conjectural alternative, though he prefers omission or corruption of the text, cf. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, 67. It is being rejected by many others, though without much argumentation, cf. Bengel, *Gnomon Novi Testamenti, in quo ex nativa verborum vi simplicitas, profunditas, concinnitas, salubritas sensuum coelestium indicatur*, 417b–18; Heringa, *Vertoog over het vereischt gebruik, en hedendaegsch misbruik der kritiek, in de behandelinge der heilige Schriften*, 471; Heinrichs, *NTG 3.1*, 108; Kuinoel, *Commentarius in libros Novi Testamenti historicos. Volumen IV. Acta apostolorum*, 60; Olshausen, *Commentar 2*, 583–84; Meyer, *Apostelgeschichte*, 59; Michelsen p. II-14; Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, 66; van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek toegepast op den tekst van de Schriften des Nieuwen Testaments*, 231; Baljon, *NTG*, 323; Hatch, "Apostelgeschichte 2, 9," 255; Preuschen, *Apostelgeschichte*, 12; Hoennicke, *Apostelgeschichte*, 30; Zahn, *Die Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas*, 134–35; Theodor Zahn, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas*, KNT 5.1 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1919), 87–89; Ropes, *Beginnings*, 14; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 293.

³⁶ Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I–XI*, 155.

it is debatable whether it should be regarded as a proper conjecture. Baljon³⁷ and Blass³⁸ lend some support to it but do not seem very confident. Opponents simply advocate omission³⁹ or prefer different conjectures.⁴⁰

The German philologist and writer, Caspar Barthius, proposed Ἰδουμαίαν in 1624. Since the narrative is located in Judaea, it seems redundant to explicitly mention Jews in the enumeration of countries.

He therefore proposes to read Ἰδουμαίαν. Support for this conjecture can be found in Josephus and Pliny who distinguish Ἰδουμαία as a separate region from Palestine. Further support might be found in Stephanus who calls the Idumeans Εβραίων ἔθνος.⁴¹

This suggestion was reinvented in 1720 by Richard Bentley⁴² and once again by Otto Lagercrantz⁴³ in 1910. A few scholars⁴⁴ were in favour of this conjecture. Both Bloomfield⁴⁵ and Penn⁴⁶ argue for palaeographical confusion and they also provide manuscript support. Bloomfield claims support for this confounding from Josephus, and Penn refers to textual variants on Mk 3:7. Furthermore, understanding Ἰδουμαίαν as “that tract of country situated on the other side of Jordan, and south-east of Judaea, which was sometimes called Arabia Petraea,”⁴⁷ “exactly fits the geographical order.”⁴⁸ Others⁴⁹ were at least familiar with the proposal. However, quite a number of opponents can be found for this conjecture.⁵⁰

³⁷ Baljon, *NTG*, 52.

³⁸ Blass, *Acta apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter. Editio philologica apparatu critico, commentario perpetuo, indice verborum illustrata*, 52.

³⁹ Preuschen, *Apostelgeschichte*, 12.

⁴⁰ Hatch, “Apostelgeschichte 2, 9,” 255; Hoennicke, *Apostelgeschichte*, 30; Zahn, *Urausgabe*, 134–35. Also opposed are Michelsen p. II–14; Ropes, *Beginnings*, 14; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 293. Van Manen and Baljon only mention the conjecture, cf. van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, 231; Baljon, *NTG*, 323.

⁴¹ Caspar Barthius, *Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX quibus ex universa antiquitatis serie, omnis generis, ad vicies octies centum, auctorum, plus centum quinquaginta millibus, loci, tam gentilium quam christianorum, theologorum, iureconsultorum, medicorum, philosophorum, philologorum, oratorum, rhetorum etc. obscuri, dubii, maculati, illustrantur, constituuntur, emendantur, cum rituum, morum, legum, sanctionum, sacrorum, ceremoniarum, pacis bellique artium, formularum, locutionum denique, observatione et eludicatione tam locuplete et varia, ut simile ab uno homine nihil umquam in litteras missum videri possit. Eduntur praeterea ex vetustatis monumentis praeclara hoc opere non pauca, nec visa hactenus, nec videri sperata. Cum undecim indicibus, VII auctorum, IV rerum et verborum.*

⁴² Bentley, *Bentleii Critica Sacra: Notes on the Greek and Latin Text of the New Testament, Extracted from the Bentley Mss. in Trinity College Library.*

⁴³ Lagercrantz, “Zu Act. Ap. 2: 9,” 58–60.

⁴⁴ Spitta, *Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Wert* Bloomfield, *Greek Testament 1*; Hoennicke, *Apostelgeschichte*; Penn, *Annotations*.

⁴⁵ Bloomfield, *Greek Testament 1*, 1:497.

⁴⁶ Penn, *Annotations*, 295–296.

⁴⁷ Bloomfield, *Greek Testament 1*.

⁴⁸ Penn, *Annotations*.

⁴⁹ Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum recensuit et lectionis varietatem adiecit D. Io. Iac. Griesbach. Volumen II. Acta et epistolas apostolorum cum Apocalypsi complectens. Editio secunda emendatior multoque locupletior*; Baljon, *NTG*; Knapp, “Sylloge notabiliorum aut celebratorum coniecturarum de mutanda lectione in II. N. T.,” 767–84; van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*; van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Over de toepassing van de conjecturaal-kritiek op den tekst des Nieuwen Testaments*; Wilhelm Schmiedel, “Spiritual Gifts,” 4755–76.

⁵⁰ Spitzel, *Sacra bibliothecarum illustrium arcana resecta, sive mss. theologicorum, in praecipuis Europa bibliothecis extantium designatio, cum praeliminari dissertatione, specimine novae bibliothecae universalis, et coronide philologica*; Wolf, *Curae philologicae et criticae in IV. SS. Evangelia et Actus apostolicos, quibus integritati contextus Graeci consulitur, sensus verborum ex praesidiis philolog. illustratur, diversae interpretum sententiae summam enarrantur, et modesto examini subiectae vel approbantur vel repelluntur* Pearce, *A Commentary, with Notes, on the Four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles; Together with a New Translation of St. Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians, with a Paraphrase and Notes. To Which Are Added Other Theological Pieces*; Heringa, *Vertoog*; Schulthess, *De charismatibus spiritus sancti. Pars prima. De vi et natura, ratione et utilitate dotis linguarum, in primos discipulos Christi collatae atque in posteros omnes deinceps ad finem usque seculi perennantis. Quam prolusionem muneris ineundi dedit ...*; Kuinoel, *Commentarius in libros Novi Testamenti historicos. Volumen IV. Acta apostolorum*; Meyer, *Apostelgeschichte*; Michelsen; Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*; Hatch, “Apostelgeschichte 2, 9”; Zahn, *Urausgabe*; Zahn, *Apostelgeschichte 1*; Ropes, *Beginnings*; Metzger, “Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9–11.”

The intrinsic difficulty of native Jews hearing their native language seems to have led another German, Erasmus Schmidius⁵¹, mathematician and philologist, to propose Ἰνδίαν in 1634.⁵² The logic behind this conjecture assumes a clustering according to the four cardinal directions on the compass. Exchanging Ἰουδαία for Ἰνδία would create a geographical cluster of Persia, Media, Parthia, Mesopotamia, and India in the East, before proceeding to the geographical clusters in the North, South, and West. Interestingly, there is a passage in John Chrysostom (403) which seems to offer support for this conjecture.⁵³ Although Schmidius' proposal was considered by some⁵⁴ in the early twentieth century, the overarching opinion was against it.⁵⁵ One of the reasons to discard the suggestions was the misfit of the geographical order.

In 1703, Joannes Georgius Graevius, a German-Dutch classical philologist and professor in Duisburg, Deventer, and Utrecht, proposed Γορδουαίαν or Γορδαίαν, some region of Armenia.⁵⁶ The conjecture was reinvented by Francis Crawford Burkitt, Norris Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge.⁵⁷ Burkitt discards Ἰουδαίαν based on the geographical arrangement and discusses Tertullian's Ἀρμενίαν. Although both Γορδουαία and Ἀρμενία appear to be ideal candidates from a geographical point of view, ultimately Burkitt prefers Γορδουαία on palaeographic grounds. His argumentation gained some support⁵⁸ but was mainly rejected.⁵⁹

In 1720, the English classical scholar, critic, and theologian, Richard Bentley, preferred Λυδίαν over Ἰδουμαίαν. His emendation did not receive much support. Although it was sometimes only mentioned,⁶⁰ it was already rejected by Heringa in 1793,⁶¹ followed by many others in subsequent years.⁶² A variation to this suggestion can be found in the proposal Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Λυδίαν by Jacob Bryant⁶³ (1767) who substitutes and transposes the word order. Not much is known about its reception. It is mentioned by Van Manen⁶⁴ and criticized by Michelsen.⁶⁵

Gustav Georg Zeltner (†1738), a Lutheran theologian from Germany, introduced Ἰδαίαν or Ἰδαίαν. His view is only known to us from Schulthess who acknowledges a phonetical resemblance but discards the toponym due to its geographical insignificance.⁶⁶

51 Knapp, "Sylloge," abbreviates Erasmus Schmidius to *Erasm*. He thereby creates an ambiguity which led later scholars to assume Desiderius Erasmus as the originator of the conjecture Ἰνδίαν, e.g. van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, 231; Hatch, "Apostelgeschichte 2, 9," 255; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 254.

52 His formulation ("sunt ... aliqui") might attribute the conjecture to others, although it could also imply his own authorship. Erasmus Schmidius, *Versio Novi Testamenti nova, ad Graecam veritatem emendata, et notae ac animadversiones in idem: quibus partim mutatae alicubi Versionis redditur ratio, partim alia necessaria monentur. Accedit sacer contextus Graecus, cum Versione veteri: nec non Index Rerum et Verborum locupletissimus*, 751.

53 Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum*. See also the remark in the ADNTCE: "Chrysostom cannot be adduced as a witness to the reading Ἰνδίαν instead of Ἰουδαίαν, though it is remarkable that he mentions India as part of the climactic structure of his sentence (which contrasts Plato and Peter). Since he includes Ἰουδαίαν when he cites the text (in the same homily, *Hom. Act.* 4.1 [c. 44 l. 4], and *Hom. Heb.* 17 [PG 63, c. 127]), ἐν Ἰνδία should be seen as no more than homiletical expansion," cf. Krans and Lietaert Peerbolte, "ADNTCE", s11070.

54 Hoenicke, *Apostelgeschichte*. Theodor Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Erster Band*.

55 Spitzel, *Arcana*; Wolf, *Curae 1*; Pearce, *Commentary 2*; Heringa, *Vertoog*; Heinrichs, *NTG 3.1*; Kuinoel, *Commentarius in libros Novi Testamenti historicos. Volumen IV. Acta apostolorum*; Olshausen, *Commentar 2*; Meyer, *Apostelgeschichte*; Michelsen; Zahn, *Urausgabe*; Zahn, *Apostelgeschichte 1*; Ropes, *Beginnings*; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*.

56 Verschuur, *Opuscula in quibus de variis S. Literarum locis, et argumentis exinde desumtis, critice et libere disseritur*, 380–1.

57 Burkitt, "Text and Versions,"

58 Bishop, "Burkitt," 84–5.

59 Hatch, "Apostelgeschichte 2, 9," 255; Ropes, *Beginnings*, 14; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 293.

60 Griesbach, *NTG 2*, 8; Knapp, "Sylloge," 771; van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, 231.

61 Heringa, *Vertoog*, 471.

62 Heinrichs, *NTG 3.1*, 108; Schulthess, *De charismatibus*, 143; Michelsen, II–13; Hatch, "Apostelgeschichte 2, 9," 231; Zahn, *Urausgabe*, 135; Zahn, *Apostelgeschichte 1*, 89; Ropes, *Beginnings*, 14; Metzger, "Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9–11"; Güting, "Der geographische Horizont der sogenannten Völkerliste des Lukas (Acts 2 9–11)," 149–169.

63 Bryant, *Observations and Inquiries Relating to Various Parts of Ancient History; Containing Dissertations on the Wind Euroclydon, and on the Island Melite, Together with an Account of Egypt in Its Most Early State, and of the Shepherd King*, 310–11.

64 van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, II–13.

65 Michelsen, 231.

66 Schulthess, *De charismatibus*, 143.

In 1742, Thomas Mangey, an English clergyman and scholar, known for his edition of Philo, proposed to restore Κιλικίαν in the text.⁶⁷ Some support can be found in geographical lists in Philo as well as in Acts 6:9. However, Mangey himself already observed Jas 1:1 and 1 Pet 1:1 seem to contradict his proposal. Although his suggestion suits the geographical arrangement, it did not find acclaim.⁶⁸

The Dutch theologian and philologist Tiberius Hemsterhuis, Greek professor in Franeker and Delft, proposed Βιθυνίαν in 1766. A few scholars⁶⁹ followed. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen⁷⁰ and Valckenaer⁷¹ were most explicit in their support, and from these resources we can reconstruct the line of reasoning, which is based on geographic and palaeographic arguments and supported from the co-occurrence in enumerations of geographical areas in classical sources.⁷² The conjecture was widely discussed, though some scholars did not take a stance⁷³ but recognized a possible allusion to 1 Pet 1:1.⁷⁴ Others however rebutted this proposal, mainly because they favoured other emendations.⁷⁵

Several other proposals, although less widely and rigorously debated, have been offered: in 1818, Johannes Schulthess, a Swiss, reformed theologian, assumed that the original reading Ἰουναίαν is a half-correct rendering of a Semitic name near Ararat.⁷⁶

As an alternative to the option to omit Ἰουδαίαν, Jan Hendrik Adolf Michelsen, an Evangelical-Lutheran minister and modest adept of the Dutch radical critics, suggested Ἀραμαίαν (1879).⁷⁷ This position has also been put forward independently by Hatch in 1908.⁷⁸

Professor of New Testament and religious history at the University of Bonn, Carl Clemen (1895) ascribed the conjecture *Jaudi* to Gunkel.⁷⁹ This proposal was supported by Eissfeldt⁸⁰ but

⁶⁷ Mangey, ed., *Φιλωνος του Ιουδαιου τα ευρισκομενα απαντα. Philonis Judaei opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia. Textum cum MSS. contulit, quamplurima etiam e Codd. Vaticano, Mediceo, et Bodleiano, Scriptoribus item vetustis, necnon Catenis Graecis ineditis, adiecit, Interpretationemque emendavit, universa Notis et Observationibus illustravit...*, 587.

⁶⁸ Griesbach, Knapp and Van Manen mention the suggestion, cf. Griesbach, *NTG* 2, 8; Knapp, “Sylloge,” 771; van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, 231. Others rebuked it, cf. Pearce, *Commentary* 2, II:12; Heinrichs, *NTG* 3.1, 108; Schulthess, *De charismatibus*, 143; Michelsen p. II–13; Hatch, “Apostelgeschichte 2, 9,” 255; Ropes, *Beginnings*, 14; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 293.

⁶⁹ Although Verschuur remains undecided, he regards the conjecture brilliant: “Speciosa est Hemsterhusii coniectura”, cf. Verschuur, *Opuscula*, 380–81. Pallis, *Notes on St Luke and the Acts*, 12. Christoph Döderlein, “Review of Tiberius Hemsterhuis, Ti. Hemsterhusii orationes, quarum prima est de Paulo apostolo. L.C. Valckenari tres orationes, quibus subiectum est schediasma, specimen exhibens adnotationum criticarum in loco quaedam librorum sacrorum Novi Foederis. Praefiguntur duae orationes Ioannis Chrysostomi in laudem Pauli apostoli, cum veteri versione Latina Aniani, ex cod. MS. hic illic emendata ed. Lodewijk Casper Valckenaer; Leiden: Luchtmans & Honkoop, 1784,” 275–76.

⁷⁰ van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, 206.

⁷¹ Valckenaer, “Schediasma, specimen exhibens adnotationum criticarum in loco quaedam librorum sacrorum novi foederis in Ti. Hemsterhusii orationes, quarum prima est de Paulo apostolo. L.C. Valckenari tres orationes, quibus subiectum est schediasma, specimen exhibens adnotationum criticarum in loco quaedam librorum sacrorum Novi Foederis. Praefiguntur duae orationes Ioannis Chrysostomi in laudem Pauli apostoli, cum veteri versione Latina Aniani, ex cod. MS. hic illic emendata,” 371–72.

⁷² Consult the citation of Valckenaer in the ADNTCE for the references to Lucian, Cicero, Ctesias and Herodot, cf. <https://ntvnr.uni-muenster.de/nt-conjectures?histID=s13442>

⁷³ Griesbach, *NTG* 2, 8; van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, 231; Baljon, *NTG*, 323.

⁷⁴ Knapp, “Sylloge”; Knapp, “Sylloge notabiliorum aut celebratorum coniecturarum de mutanda lectione in ll. N. T.,” 767–91.

⁷⁵ Pearce, *Commentary* 2, II:12; Friedrich Hülsemann, “Dritte Fortsetzung der allgemeinen Bemerkungen über das Bibelstudium u. s. w. Ueber die Anwendung der Conjecturalkritik auf das N. T.,” *NThBl* 3 (1800): 331; Heinrichs, *NTG* 3.1, 108; Kuinoel, *Commentarius in libros Novi Testamenti historicos. Volumen IV. Acta apostolorum*, 61; Schulthess, *De charismatibus*, 143–44; Olshausen, *Commentar* 2, 583–84; Meyer, *Apostelgeschichte*, 38; Michelsen p. II–13; Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, 66; Hatch, “Apostelgeschichte 2, 9,” 255; Ropes, *Beginnings*, 14; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 293.

⁷⁶ Schulthess, *De charismatibus*, 147–48.

⁷⁷ Michelsen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, II–13–II–14.

⁷⁸ Hatch, “Apostelgeschichte 2, 9.”

⁷⁹ Clemen, “Apg. 1–5,” 318. In the same article, Clemen refers “nur der Kuriosität halber” to the conjecture Ayodhya, which was proposed by Edward Scott. Scott argues that Ἰουδαία was a synonym for Ayodhya with a similar sounding. His evidence stems from the Middle Ages, but he extrapolates this without any hesitation to the first century. “To put the problem in a nutshell, as Judaea = Ayodhya throughout the Middle Ages, so Ayodhya = Ἰουδαία = Judea in the first century after Christ”, cf. Scott, “ACTS II. 9,” 180.

⁸⁰ Eissfeldt, “Juda’ in 2. Könige 14, 28 und ‘Judäa’ in Apostelgeschichte 2, 9,” 234–35.

opposed by Hatch.⁸¹ The conjecture, however, appears to be based on erroneous transcription of Hebrew words.⁸²

Thomas Kelly Cheyne, Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, suggested Ἰωνίαν in 1901. Cheyne was inspired by a similar conjecture on 1 Macc 8:8 (which substitutes Ionia for India), and he argues that place names are easily confounded. He agrees with Blass that Judea is “intolerable” in the geographical arrangement in Acts 2:9–11.⁸³ However, Hatch preferred Ἀραμαίαν against it.⁸⁴

The eminent German biblical scholar, textual critic, orientalist, and editor of *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Eberhard Nestle, proposed Ἀδιαβαίαν in 1908.⁸⁵ His suggestion was implicitly contested by Samuel Krauss⁸⁶ who deduced from Rabbinic sources that “Erez Israel” could be used for (a part of) Mesopotamia, which in consequence might explain the occurrence of Ἰουδαίαν in Acts 2:9. Hoennicke simply preferred Ἰνδίαν or Ἰδουμαίαν over Ἀδιαβαίαν.⁸⁷

Although the German scholar Theodor Zahn previously expressed sympathy for Ἰνδίαν,⁸⁸ in 1916 he argued for Ἰουδαῖοι.⁸⁹ He appealed to an Old Latin translation to support his position.⁹⁰ Weinstock referred to this solution⁹¹ but suggests to either omit Ἰουδαίαν or, preferably, read Ἀρμενίαν.⁹² Ropes contested Zahn’s claim to support from an ancient Latin manuscript.⁹³

Γαλατίαν or Γαλλίαν (both indicating the same area in Asia Minor)⁹⁴ was suggested in 1941 by Martin Dibelius, professor of New Testament in Heidelberg. He remarked “Judea may have been substituted by an unthinking copyist, especially since Judea is always close to the mind of a Bible reader.”⁹⁵ Dibelius admitted there is no specific palaeographic reason, but thought his proposal fitted the geographical arrangement well. Metzger⁹⁶ referred in his rebuttal to Weinstock’s argument about a geographic arrangement according to the zodiac circle,⁹⁷ but he seems neither convinced by that view.⁹⁸

After having evaluated several other conjectures, with special attention for Λυδίαν, Eberhard Güting (1975) suggested Λυκίαν, which he regarded “im hohem Maß als passend” due to its importance in Roman times.⁹⁹

Based on the geographical arrangement, John MacDonald Ross (1985) expected “a territory somewhere between Syria and the Caucasus Mountains”. In his opinion, Ἰβερίαν (an ancient name for modern Georgia) fits this requirement.¹⁰⁰

81 Hatch, “Apostelgeschichte 2, 9,” 255.

82 Instead of assuming some sort of corruption, the creative suggestion is to presuppose a Hebrew source from which the word יאדי (y’dy) could be rendered Judea equally well as Jaudi. However, since the Hebrew root for Judea is יהודה and not יאדי this suggestion can be safely rejected.

83 Cheyne, “India”.

84 Hatch, “Apostelgeschichte 2, 9,” 255.

85 Nestle, “Ein eilfter Einfall zu Apostelgeschichte 2, 9,” 254.

86 Krauss, “Erez Israel’ im weiteren Sinne,” 225.

87 Hoennicke, *Apostelgeschichte*, 30.

88 Zahn, *Einleitung 1*, 43.

89 Zahn, *Urausgabe*, 337–38.

90 Zahn, *Apostelgeschichte 1*, 89.

91 Weinstock, “Catalogue,” 46.

92 This last suggestion suits Weinstock’s argumentation for an astrological background of the list as a whole.

93 Ropes, *Beginnings*, 14.

94 This toponym also occurs in a textual variant of 2 Tim 4:10, cf. κ C 81. 104. 326 vgst.wv sa bopt; Epiph, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 649. The articles by van Altena, Bakker, and Stoter, “Advancing New Testament Interpretation through Spatio-Temporal Analysis: Demonstrated by Case Studies,” and van Altena et al., “Spatial Analysis of New Testament Textual Emendations Utilizing Confusion Distances,” 44–65. confuse Γαλλία (Asia Minor) for Γαλλία (Gaul).

95 Dibelius, “The Text of Acts: An Urgent Critical Task,” 429.

96 Metzger, “‘Methodological Weakness,’” 95.

97 Weinstock, “Catalogue.”

98 Metzger, “Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9–11.”

99 Güting, “Der geographische Horizont der sogenannten Völkerliste des Lukas (Acts 2 9–11),” 163, 169.

100 Scott, “‘Judaea’ in Acts 2 9,” 217a.

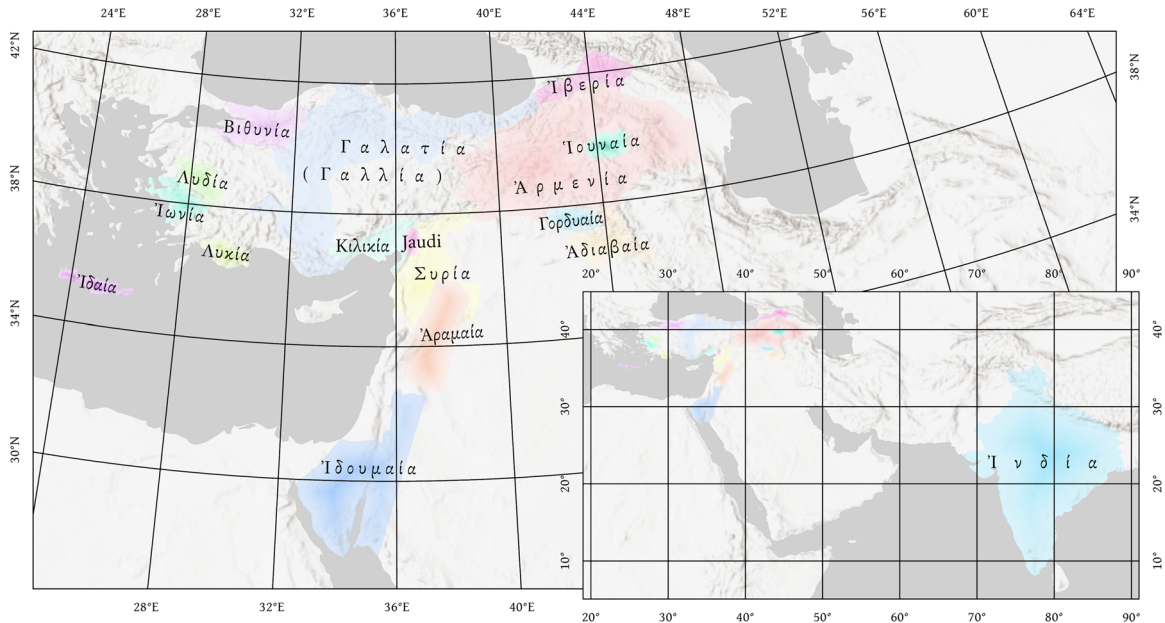


Figure 2: Locations of the conjectural emendations to Ἰουδαία which can be found in the Amsterdam Database of New Testament Conjectural Emendation (ADNTCE).

3 Conclusion

The survey in the preceding section demonstrates the challenge posed by the text of Acts 2:9. Although interpreters detected serious internal difficulties with the reading Ἰουδαίων, the supporting external manuscript evidence for this reading has been regarded as overwhelming.¹⁰¹

Simultaneously, the internal difficulties are not easily solved. Therefore, conjectural emendations abound: Cilicia, Armenia, Ida, Iounaia, Ionia, Jaudi, Iberia, Bithynia, Adiabene, Aramea, Idumea, Lydia, Gorduaia, Lycia, Galatia, Gallia, India, and Syria have all been suggested during the past centuries, cf. Figure 2.

When evaluating the historical overview from a phenomenological perspective, we observe that the issues with the originality of Ἰουδαίων have been considered that serious, and each proposed conjectured emendation that unconvincing that numerous new attempts to solve the issue were attracted. Furthermore, confusion was created by imprecise formulation (see the case of *Indian*, note 51) or by attributing a conjecture erroneously ascribed to an honoured scholar (the case of *Jaudi*, see notes 79 and 82).

The overview is also illustrative in showing the diversity of considerations to opt for a certain candidate. In some cases, the fittingness in the geographical arrangement seems to have been the main motivation, while others sought to solve the issues in three different ways: by positing a scribal interpolation, by taking Ἰουδαίων as an adverb (thus, interpreting a different grammatical function) to a different toponym, or by presuming palaeographical confusion.

In the end, “no one conjecture has proved generally acceptable.”¹⁰² The unease remains and the discussion is undecided. In the second part of this article series, the issue will be revisited by addressing the

¹⁰¹ “Despite internal difficulties, the Committee was impressed by the overwhelming preponderance of external evidence supporting Ἰουδαίων, and therefore retained it in the text.” cf. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 254.

¹⁰² Kilpatrick, “Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament,” 351. In his evaluation of conjectural emendation to solve the issue in Acts 2:9, Kilpatrick arrives at a remarkable conclusion: “that emendation may destroy valuable evidence for the history of the list” (p. 353). In our opinion, this remark must be regarded as a *non sequitur*, since it is not clear to us how this

question whether it might be possible to identify an acceptable alternative toponym assuming palaeographical confusion. It will use a computer algorithm to gauge the probability that Ἰουδαίων could have been the result of a misreading of the original toponym due to letter confusion of majuscule script.

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conclusion can be logically derived from the previous statements or could be used to advocate against conjectural emendation in general. The diversity in proposed emendations demonstrates the difficulty to find conclusive evidence for a single emendation since the requirements, i.e. paleographically explainable, geographically fitting, and supposed familiarity to the author, allow multiple solutions.

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