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5 Genealogies

5.1 Introduction

Ethnic groups, nations or peoples often have myths of origin about their founders or ancestors.¹ The idea of a common descent, which is often found in such myths, is as a rule fictitious, yet it can be a unifying factor, giving people a sense of kinship. Often, peoples also have myths of origins about foreign nations and their founders or ancestors.² These ancestors or founders of nations are sometimes joined to each other by genealogies. These genealogies, seemingly describing relation between heroes of primeval times, in reality describe relations between nations or peoples. The use of such genealogies in Greek and biblical historiography is discussed in this chapter. Main subject of study is the *Table of Nations* (Genesis 10), which will be compared with Greek genealogies. The study of these texts will help us to gain a better understanding of the character of Greek and biblical historiography, and to get a picture of the similarities and differences between these historiographical traditions. Studying these texts will also help us in answering the question whether biblical historical and genealogical texts are dependent on or influenced by Greek historiography or mythography, as has been suggested or claimed by biblical scholars such as Van Seters, Wesselius, Gmirkin and Lemche.

Biblical authors sometimes use genealogies to describe relations between nations. Such genealogies consist of eponymous heroes, men who were thought to have lent their names to the nations whose founders they were believed to be. Such genealogies are especially found in Genesis, but also in Chronicles.³ Examples are the genealogy of the sons of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. 25), representing a number of nations from the Syrian and Arabian desert, and the genealogy of Esau's sons, the eponymous heroes of the Edomite tribes (Gen. 36), but the greatest number of eponymous heroes is found in the genealogy of Noah and his sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, which is better known as the *Table of Nations* (Gen. 10). Noah's sons are not

¹ See chapter one (introduction), page 9.

² See chapter seven.

³ On genealogies in the Hebrew Bible, see: Wilson 1977; Hasel 1978; Hieke 2003; Levin 2003; Levin 2004; Malamat 2004: 41-53; Miano 2010.

eponymous heroes themselves, but most of their sons and grandsons are, and they represent more than seventy nations from Africa, the Aegean, and the Near East.

The *Table of Nations* has been described by Von Rad as something ‘unique and without parallel inside or outside the Old Testament’.⁴ But Van Seters has argued that the *Table of Nations* and some other parts of the primeval history (Gen. 1-11) are dependent on Greek examples, particularly on the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.⁵ According to Van Seters, the Jahwist (one of the authors of Genesis) ‘has combined this western genealogical tradition and the tradition of the heroes with the eastern tradition of the flood story’.⁶ Some scholars agree with Van Seters, others, such as Blenkinsopp, have denied the possibility, or at least the likelihood, of Greek influence in Genesis.⁷ Of course, this discussion can be seen as part of a wider discussion on the character and origin of biblical historiography and its relation to Greek historiography. Scholars such as Wesselius, Gmirkin and Lemche believe that biblical historiography arose as a response to Greek literature, especially Herodotos’ *Historiae*.⁸ Others, for example Albertz, Becking and Blum, maintain that biblical historiography has its own specific character, rooted in Ancient Near Eastern culture, and is largely independent of Greek models.⁹ In this chapter, the discussion will be limited to genealogies.

Greek literature is rich in genealogies, but most Greek genealogies that have been handed down to us are predominantly composed of Greek heroes, ancestors of royal houses and founders of Greek cities. An extensive genealogy of eponymous heroes of foreign nations, comparable to the biblical *Table of Nations*, is not found in Greek literature. On a smaller scale, family relations between eponymous heroes are often used to denote relations between peoples: Lydos, Kar and Mysos, three brothers, are the eponymous heroes of the closely related nations of the Lydians, Carians and

⁴ Von Rad 1973: 258; cf Westermann 1974: 670, 704-705.

⁵ Van Seters 1992: 89-90, 176-177; Van Seters 2004: 117-119; cf Sparks 1998: 54.

⁶ Van Seters 1992: 177.

⁷ Blenkinsopp 1992: 74-75.

⁸ Lemche 2001; Wesselius 2002; Gmirkin 2006.

⁹ Albertz 2001; Becking 2007: 1-22; Blum 2008.

Mysians (Hdt. 1.171); Phoinix and Kilix, sometimes brothers, sometimes father and son, are the eponymous heroes of Phoenicians and Cilicians (section 5.3); and Perses and his grandfather Kepheus are the eponymous heroes of the Persians and the mysterious Kephenians (Hdt. 7.61). These smaller genealogies appear like fragments of a Greek *Table of Nations*, but there is no reason to think they were ever considered as part of an extensive genealogy of the nations of the earth.¹⁰ Among these Greek genealogies, there is one that contains a number of eponymous heroes and founders of foreign nations: the genealogy of Io. Among Io's descendants, we find the eponymous heroes of the Egyptians, Phoenicians and Cilicians, together with Greek heroes like Kadmos and Danaos, and two heroines, Libye and Europe, after whom two of the three continents known to the Greeks were named.

In the following sections, the *Table of Nations* and Io's genealogy will be studied. An analysis is made of the differences and similarities between these Greek and biblical genealogies, and finally the question is discussed if an historical connection is likely. But first, some remarks will be made on the form and function of genealogies in general, as *prolegomena* to the study of these Greek and biblical genealogies. Based on structural criteria, genealogies are often divided into two types. The first one is called linear. A linear genealogy shows no segmentation, but 'expresses only one line of descent from a given ancestor'.¹¹ Linear genealogies are often used by persons of rank in societies with a centralised form of government. They typically serve to legitimise someone's political, religious or social position, for they 'connect the last-named person in the genealogy with an earlier ancestor in whom the person grounded his claims to power, status or possessions'.¹² Obvious examples are the king lists that are known from Mesopotamia, in which ideally each king is succeeded by his son.¹³ Another example is the genealogy of Darius (520-486) in the

¹⁰ It is possible to construct an extensive genealogy from Herodotos' *Histories*, which includes many barbarian (eponymous) heroes, using smaller genealogies that are scattered over the *Histories*, as Bichler (2001: 404) does, but there are no indications that Herodotos meant these smaller genealogies to be connected.

¹¹ Wilson 1977: 9.

¹² Wilson 1977: 163-164; cf *ibid.* 40-42, 46.

¹³ E.g. the *Assyrian king list* (Poebel 1942-1943; *ANET* 564-566; *COS I* 463-465). Of course, not all king lists have an explicit genealogical character. Some are mere lists.

Behistun inscription, in which he calls himself ‘the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teïspes, the son of Achaimenes’.¹⁴ Through this genealogy, which is perhaps partly fictional, Darius connects himself with Achaimenes, the mythical ancestor of the Persian royal house, and strengthens his claim to the throne, although he was not a son of the preceding king. Linear genealogies are also found in the Hebrew Bible and in Greek literature. For example, the genealogy from Adam to Noah in Genesis 5 is linear, mentioning only the eldest sons. Aischylos’ genealogy connecting Io with Danaos is also almost entirely linear (see section 2.3). Only at the end it gets segmented. It clearly has a legitimising function, giving Danaos and his daughters right of asylum in Argos. Of course, not all linear genealogies have this function, and some that once had this function acquire new, secondary functions, but legitimation seems in most cases to have been the oldest function of linear genealogies.

The second type of genealogy is called segmented. A segmented genealogy shows branching or segmentation.¹⁵ In this type of genealogy not only the eldest or most important son, the successor of his father, is mentioned, but all sons are enumerated, and sometimes even daughters, and after that their children and grandchildren. Of course, a segmented genealogy swiftly becomes very complicated, and is therefore as a rule not more than five generations deep, especially in societies that do not know writing. Segmented genealogies are often used to express domestic, religious, or political relationships between persons or groups in a society. Of course, not all segmented genealogies have this function, and some that once had this function acquire new, secondary functions. Both the *Table of Nations* and Io’s genealogy, as it was presented in the *Ehoiai*, the *Historiae* of Pherekydes and Apollodoros’ *Bibliothēke*, are segmented genealogies, but it is not at first sight clear whether they still had a political or social function at the moment they were written down.

Of course, segmented genealogies are not the only way to enumerate the nations, or peoples, or countries of the world, or of a part of the world. Often, they are just

¹⁴ DB §2 (Kuhrt 2010: 141); cf Hdt. 7.11, where a longer pedigree is recited.

¹⁵ Wilson 1977: 9.

listed, for example in the Persian *dahyāwa* lists, in which Darius lists the peoples, or countries – the meaning ofopers. *dahyu-* is contested¹⁶ – which have to obey him.¹⁷ Such lists of countries or peoples are also found in the Hebrew Bible, for example in Ezekiel 27, but they are outside the scope of this study. This chapter is confined to the discussion of genealogies and it contains three sections. The *Table of Nations* is analysed in section 5.2, and Io’s genealogy is the subject of section 5.3. In the last section, the *Table of Nations* will be compared with Greek genealogies, especially that of Io. The claims of Van Seters, Wesselius, and Gmirkin about Greek or Western influence on Genesis and especially the *Table of Nations* are discussed.

¹⁶ Jacobs 2003: 303.

¹⁷ The list of peoples is found in DB § 6 (Kuhrt 2010: 141) and DSab (Kuhrt 2010: 479). The relation of these list to Hdt. 3.89-97 is not clear (Jacobs 2003; Kuhrt 2010: 675).

5.2 The Table of Nations

In the *Table of Nations* (Genesis 10) the development of mankind is represented by genealogies, consisting of individuals from whom the peoples of the earth were believed to have descended. In modern terminology these men, who bear the names of the peoples whose ancestors they were believed to be, are called eponymous heroes. They represent more than seventy nations from Africa, the Aegean, and the Near East, among whom the Assyrians and the Babylonians, but not the Israelites and the Judeans. Whether the authors of the *Table of Nations* thought of these men as real persons, or only as constructs, is difficult to decide. Japheth, Canaan and Nimrod were probably thought of as real individuals, but it is unlikely that someone really believed that there were ever men of flesh and blood called *Ludim* 'Lydians' or *Caphtorim* 'Cretans'. In this section the *Table of Nations* will be analysed. It contains a translation of the *Table of Nations* with annotations, a discussion of its sources, a discussion of the nations that are mentioned (the geographical horizon of the Table of Nations), of the way they are divided into groups (*principium divisionis*), and of its time of origin.

Translation with Annotations¹⁸

¹These are the descendants of Noah's sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth; children were born to them after the flood.

²The descendants of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. ³The descendants of Gomer: Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. ⁴The descendants of Javan: Elishah,^A Tarshish,^B Kittim, and Dodanim.^C ⁵From these the coastland peoples spread. These are the descendants of Japheth in their lands, with their own language, by their families, in their nations.

⁶The descendants of Ham: Cush, Misraim, Put,^E and Canaan. ⁷The descendants of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabteca. The descendants of Raamah: Sheba and Dedan. ⁸Cush became the father of Nimrod [...]. ¹³Egypt became the

¹⁸ The translation is from the NRSV – with some small changes.

father of Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, ¹⁴Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim, from which the Philistines come.¹ ¹⁵Canaan became the father of Sidon his firstborn, and Heth, ¹⁶and the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, ¹⁷the Hivites, the Arkites, the Sinites, ¹⁸the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites.^F Afterward the families of the Canaanites spread abroad. ¹⁹And the territory of the Canaanites extended from Sidon, in the direction of Gerar, as far as Gaza, and in the direction of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, as far as Lasha. ²⁰These are the descendants of Ham, by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations.

²¹To Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth, children were born. ²²The descendants of Shem: Elam, Ashur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram. ²³The descendants of Aram: Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. ²⁴Arpachshad became the father of Shelah; and Shelah became the father of Eber. ²⁵To Eber were born two sons: the name of the one was Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided, and his brother's name was Joktan. ²⁶Joktan became the father of Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, ²⁷Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, ²⁸Obal, Abimael, Sheba, ²⁹Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab; all these were the descendants of Joktan. ³⁰The territory in which they lived extended from Mesha in the direction of Sephar, the hill country of the east. ³¹These are the descendants of Shem, by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations.

³² 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.

Annotations

^A It is often thought that Elishah (אלישא) is identical to Babylonian *Alaši(y)a* (Amarna letters). In Minoan Greek the ethnic adjectiv *a-li-si-jo* exists.¹⁹ Later, this name went out of use. In the neo-Assyrian period, Cyprus is called *Iadnāna*. Classical Greek has no name resembling Elishah either. According to Lipiński, this explanation of Elishah is untenable. He considers אֱלִישָׁא as the Hebrew form of the name Ὀυλίξης,

¹⁹ Palaima 2005: 14.

the Cretan form of Ὀδυσσεύς.²⁰ Tsirkin also refuses to accept the identification of Elisha with Cyprus, because it would mean that Cyprus was mentioned twice, once as Elisha, and the second time as Kittim.²¹ This objection does not convince, because some other nations are also mentioned twice (Lydians in v13 and v22, Libyans in v6 and v13), nor does Lipiński's theory, which is too complicated and seems a bit far fetched. The identification of Elishah with Cyprus is the most likely.²² It is remarkable that this name from the Bronze Age lived on in Hebrew, while it went out of use in Akkadian, but the same is true of Shinar for Babylonia (see chapter two).

^B Tarshish is identical with *KUR.Tar-si-si*, pronounced *Taršiš(i)*, which is mentioned in Assyrian sources.²³ Sometimes Tarshish is identified with Tarsus in Cilicia, but this view has to be rejected on phonological grounds, as Tarsus is called תרז *tarz* in Aramaic and *Tarzi* in Assyrian.²⁴ The city of Tartessos is more likely, as has recently been argued by López-Ruiz and Day.²⁵

^C NSRV: 'Rodanim'. Instead of Dodanim (דדנִים *dodānīm*), which is unexplained, some scholars read Rodanim 'Rhodians' (רודנִים *rodānīm*, as in 1Chr. 1:7 and LXX Ῥόδιοι). Of course, confusion between ר and ד is common in Hebrew manuscripts.²⁶ Another possibility is to read Donanim or Dananim (Phoen. דננים *dnnm*), a people in Cilicia.²⁷ It has been suggested that there is a connection between Donanim and Gr. Δαναοί,²⁸ and even between Donanim and the tribe of Dan (Hebr. דן *dan*).²⁹

²⁰ Lipiński 1990: 51.

²¹ Tsirkin 1991: 121.

²² Hellbing 1979; Rollinger 2007: 270 n47.

²³ Rollinger 2001: 243 n68; Rollinger 2008: 3-7.

²⁴ Tsirkin 1986; *pace* Lemaire 2000.

²⁵ López-Ruiz 2010; Day 2012.

²⁶ Tov 2012: 12-13.

²⁷ Garbini 1965; Hawkins 2000: 39-40; 'Danunians' in COS II 147, 149.

²⁸ Hamilton 1991: 334.

²⁹ Astour 1967; Bray 2006: 16-19.

^D Put is sometimes identified with Punt, a country on the Somalian coast, which was known to the Egyptians. Expeditions to Punt are recorded from the reigns of several Egyptian rulers, among whom the female pharaoh Hatchepsut.³⁰ But it is more likely that Put is Libya, as is suggested by OPers. *pūtāya* ‘Libyans’, by the Septuagint, which sometimes translates *pūt* as *Λίβυες* (Ezk. 27:10; 38:5),³¹ and perhaps by Akkad. *pūtu-yāman*, possibly Cyrene.³² In the Bible, inhabitants of Put are sometimes mentioned as mercenaries, together with Ethiopians and Lydians (Jr. 46: 9; Ezk. 27: 10; 30: 5; 38: 5; Nah. 3: 9). This is a strong argument for Put being Libya, because it is more likely that Libyans fought as mercenaries in the Mediterranean than Somalians. Of course, equating Put with Libya implies Libya being mentioned twice (Lehabim and Put), but this objection does not carry much weight: the Lydians and some Arabian nations are also mentioned more than once (the Lydians in v13 and v22). Therefore, Put probably is the eponymous hero of the Libyans.

^E The gloss ‘from which the Philistines come’, which in the Hebrew text comes after Casluhim, originally almost certainly came after Caphtorim (cf. Jr. 47:4; Am. 9:7).

^F The names that are mentioned in v16-18a – the Jebusites, the Amorites, and the others – are names of peoples, not personal names, like Sidon and Heth, which points to another source. Similar lists of Canaanite nations are found elsewhere (Gen. 15:21; Deut. 7:1; Jos. 3:10).³³ Of most of these peoples little is known.

Sources – A Very Short Introduction

The Table of Nations is part of Genesis. According to the Documentary Hypothesis, from Wellhausen’s days until the 1970’s the prevailing paradigm in Pentateuch research, the Pentateuch was created by combining four sources: the Jahwist (J), the Elohist (E), the Deuteronomist (D) and the Priestly writer (P).³⁴ In recent decades,

³⁰ Tyldesley 1998: 145-153.

³¹ Lecoq 1997: 143.

³² Langdon 1912: 206-207 = VAB 4, Nbk. 48, line 16; Wiseman 1985: 40-41.

³³ See: Ishida 1999: 8-36. A recent attempt to identify some of these nations: Lemaire 2006.

³⁴ Zenger 2004: 74-123; Ska 2006: 102-126; of course, the classical documentary hypothesis still has many adherents (e.g. Ruppert 1992: 5-21).

the Documentary Hypothesis, especially in its classical form, has increasingly lost ground. First, the belief in the historicity of the Elohist disappeared. Later, the Jahwist became subject of debate.³⁵ Only, the Deuteronomist and the Priestly writer seem to hold their ground. The Deuteronomist does not play a significant role in Genesis, and in recent years Genesis is often divided into P and not-P, without much consensus about the origin and nature of the non-Priestly texts.

In the classical point of view, the most important source of Genesis, in addition to the Priestly writer, is the Jahwist. The Jahwist has a chequered history in biblical research. In the works of Wellhausen and his immediate successors, the Jahwist remains more or less a man without specific qualities. A few decades later, Hermann Gunkel regards the Jahwist mainly as a collector of oral traditions. It is Gerhard von Rad who gives the Jahwist a unique, personal character. According to Von Rad, the Jahwist lived in the tenth century, during Salomon's reign, and he was the first theologian and historian, the author of a history of Israel from the creation until the conquest of Canaan, and the first to combine the originally separate traditions of the patriarchs and of the exodus from Egypt. This perception of the Jahwist as an author, theologian and historian is still defended, for example by Ruppert, who places the Jahwist in the reign of Solomon,³⁶ but also by Van Seters and Levin, who think that he lived and wrote in the exilic or post-exilic period.³⁷ With this change in period of origin, the character of the Jahwist has also changed considerably. Von Rad's optimistic author, representant of a 'Solomonic Renaissance', has become a redactor (Levin³⁸) or an exilic historian with a more subdued vision of the past (Van Seters). An attempt of Wright to date the Jahwist on linguistic grounds in the pre-exilic period³⁹ must be considered failed.⁴⁰ Although it is true that the Jahwistic

³⁵ The titles of these books speak for themselves: *Abschied vom Jahwisten* (Gertz, Schmid and Witte 2002) and *A Farewell to the Yahwist?* (Dozeman and Schmid 2006). A clear overview of the most important positions can be found in Van Seters 1992: 8-23.

³⁶ Ruppert 1992: 5-21.

³⁷ Van Seters 1992; Levin 1993: 34-35.

³⁸ Levin 1993; Levin 2007.

³⁹ Wright 2005.

⁴⁰ Levin 2006. Person (2010: 23-30) believes that the difference between SBH and LBH cannot be used for dating biblical books at all, because SBH remained in use as a literary dialect,

source is written in Standard Biblical Hebrew (Early Biblical Hebrew), and not in Late Biblical Hebrew, this does not help us to ascertain its time of origin, because it is not clear when SBH has given way to LBH.

Criticism of the idea of the Jahwist as an author, defended with gusto by Van Rad and Van Seters, is not new, but it has gained momentum by the work of Rolf Rendtorff.⁴¹ Rendtorff studied, as did Gunkel, the question when, where and why the separate traditions of patriarchs, exodus from Egypt, journey through the desert (Sinai) and conquest of Canaan were combined. The legends of the patriarchs and the exodus tradition are in his eyes rival views of the origins of Israel, which for a long time remained independent, and were finally loosely connected in Genesis. Of course, this view undermines the idea of the Jahwist as the first historian and theologian. The non-Priestly texts from the Pentateuch become in this paradigm a loose collection of fragments of separate origins. Especially, the non-Priestly parts of Genesis 1-11, the so-called *Urgeschichte*, are often regarded as a distinct collection, having a separate origin from the remainder of what traditionally was called J,⁴² and these texts, including the Nimrod legend, are then often dated late: exilic or even post-exilic.

The developments that were outlined in the last paragraph are found on one side of the theological spectrum. On the other side, there are also scholars who regard the Pentateuch or even the primary history as the work of one author. According to Wesselius, the primary history, from Genesis to 2 Kings, is a unified work from the Persian period and is strongly influenced by Herodotos.⁴³ According to this view, contradictions and repetitions, which for other scholars constitute proof that the Pentateuch has been composed from a number of sources, are stylistic devices to highlight important elements in the text. Gmirkin also supposes that Greek historiography has played an important role in the creation of the Pentateuch. He

especially for texts with an elevated character, even in the period when it was not spoken anymore.

⁴¹ Rendtorff 1977.

⁴² Crüsemann 1981; Blenkinsopp 2002.

⁴³ Wesselius 2002.

sees the Pentateuch as a Jewish reaction to Greek historiography, written in the third century in Alexandria, after the examples of Berossos and Manetho.⁴⁴ Berossos and Manetho aim to correct the Greek image of Mesopotamia and Egypt and to replace it with reliable histories of their countries. The authors of the Pentateuch have, according to Gmirkin, tried to do the same for their country.

Scholars such as Wesselius and Gmirkin, who argue for the unity of the Pentateuch, have convinced only a few of their colleagues. The documentary hypothesis in its classical or in an adapted version is the mainstream opinion. Both the view that the Jahwist was an author, an early historian and theologian, and the view that what is often called the Jahwist is in reality a loose collection of separate traditions have their followers. In the next section, the documentary hypothesis will be applied to the Table of Nations.

Sources of the Table of Nations

The source division of the Table of Nations is fairly well established. Most scholars who have written about Gen. 10, both the authors who adhere to the Documentary Hypothesis in one form or another and some who do not, accept the source division as it is presented in this section.⁴⁵ The backbone of this chapter, the genealogy of Noah and his sons, is usually attributed to P:

¹These are the descendants of Noah's sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth; children were born to them after the flood.

²The descendants of Japheth⁴⁶: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. ³The descendants of Gomer: Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. ⁴The descendants of Javan: Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodanim. ⁵From these the

⁴⁴ Gmirkin 2006.

⁴⁵ Skinner 1980: 188; Van Seters 1992: 174; Ruppert 1992: 239-441; Kochanek 1998; Blenkinsopp 2002: 49-52; Arneith 2007: 92-93; De Pury 2007: 116.

⁴⁶ The formula 'the descendants of' (Hebrew בני *b'ne* 'sons of') is used as a marker of P, while use of the verb ילד *yld* 'to give birth, to beget' is seen as a marker of J.

coastland peoples spread. These are the descendants of Japheth in their lands, with their own language, by their families, in their nations.

⁶The descendants of Ham: Cush, Misraim, Put, and Canaan. ⁷The descendants of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabteca. The descendants of Raamah: Sheba and Dedan. [¹⁵Canaan became the father of Sidon his firstborn, and Heth.] ²⁰These are the descendants of Ham, by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations.

²²The descendants of Shem: Elam, Ashur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram. ²³The descendants of Aram: Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. ³¹These are the descendants of Shem, by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations.

³²These 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.

To this basic genealogy, which enumerates the most important peoples from the Ancient Near East, later authors (redactors) have added the Nimrod Legend, three lists – the sons of Misraim, the sons of Canaan, and the sons of Joktan – and the linear genealogy extending from Shem to Eber and his descendants, among whom we find Abram (Genesis 11).⁴⁷ There is no indication that these additions have the same origin, let alone that they have ever been part of a separate Jahwistic Table of Nations, which listed all the known peoples of the world. Many scholars, for example Van Seters,⁴⁸ maintain that once there must have been a Jahwistic Table of Nations. The story of Noah's drunkenness (Gen. 9:20-27), which is usually attributed to the Jahwist, suggests otherwise: 'May God make space for Japheth, and let him live in the tents of Shem, and let Canaan be his slave' (27). These verses do not have an eye on the world as a whole, but only on the land of Canaan, which will be owned by Shem. Japheth does not have his own share of the land, but lives in the tents of Shem, while Canaan will be totally dispossessed. Even v18 'The sons of Noah [. . .]

⁴⁷ Schüle (2006: 368, especially n915) believes that P already had incorporated most of these 'additions' in his text, but this is a minority position.

⁴⁸ Van Seters 1988: 12; Van Seters 1992: 176.

were Shem, Ham, and Japheth [. . .] and from these the whole earth was peopled' – if it is really from J and not a redactional hinge – does not prove or even suggest that J really listed the nations of the earth.

An at first sight radically different analysis is made by Levin. He attributes the basic genealogy (without v1 and 32, plus v15) not to P, but to a *Vorjahwistische Quelle* (J^Q).⁴⁹ Levin then distinguishes *Vorjahwistische Erweiterungen, redaktionelle Ergänzungen des Jahwisten* (J^R) and later additions (J^S, R^S, R). The rift between Levin and the other authors is not as wide as it seems. The backbone of Genesis 10 is almost the same in the classical analysis and Levin's analysis. The attribution of this core Table of Nations to P is based only on the *tōl'dot* ('descendants, generations') formula which frames it (v1 and 32).⁵⁰ What is left, if this frame is removed, is a mere list of names, which gives very little clues to determine its author: P, J or someone else. It is easily imaginable that P found this core Table of Nations in an older source and framed it with the first and the last verse to fit it in with his work. Of course, a consequence of attributing this core table of nations to P is that it must be dated in the Persian era,⁵¹ while attributing it to an older source makes it necessary to date it in an earlier period. Probably, it is better to reverse the order, and to try to date the (core) Table of Nations first, using its *imago mundi*, before attributing it to a source.

The Nations of the Earth

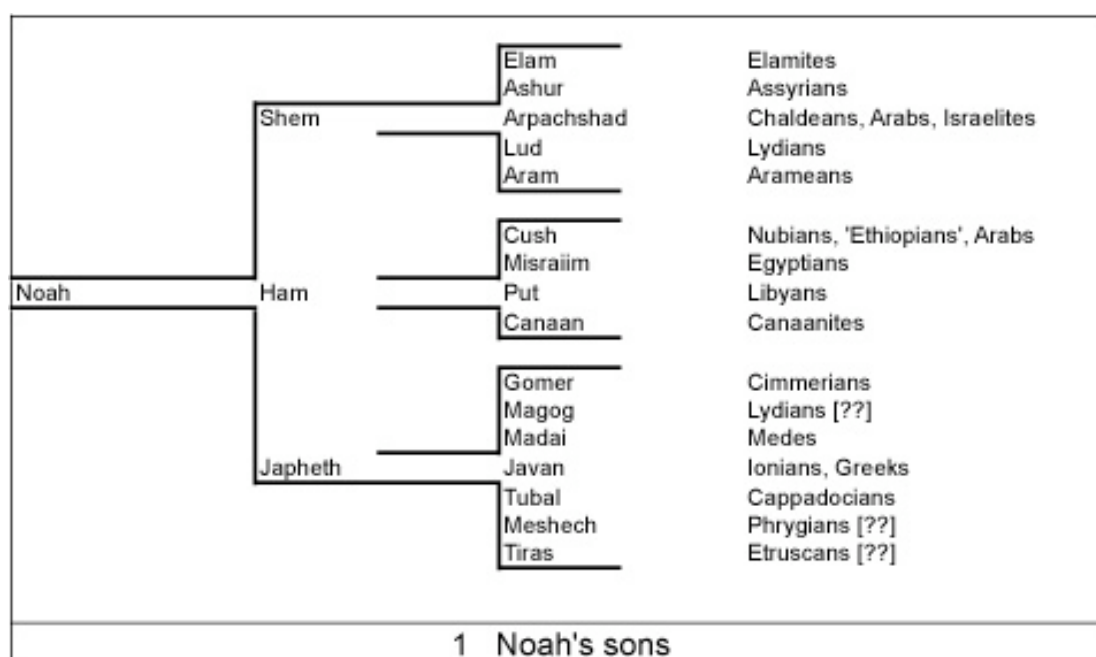
The Table of Nations contains more than seventy names of sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, and further descendants of Noah. At first, this list of names is confusing, but at a closer look many of Noah's descendants are easily identified as eponymous heroes. Other names remain difficult to explain. The need to explain the names in the Table of Nations was already felt in antiquity, for example in the first century AD by Flavius Josephus, who had to explain these names to his Greek and Roman

⁴⁹ Levin 1993: 55, 123-126.

⁵⁰ Much has been written about the *Toledot* formula (Ska 2006: 19-22). It is often considered 'to be the structuring element of the book of Genesis' (19) and a marker of P. But Van Seters (1988: 11; 1993: 175) argues, following Tengström (1982), that the way in which it is used in Gen. 10 differs from how it is used in other texts, and attributes Gen. 10:1 to J, in line with his endeavour to attribute as much as possible to J.

⁵¹ De Pury 2007: 116-117.

readers. Some of his identifications still hold, while others now seem arbitrary or misguided. Material from ancient Near Eastern sources, especially from Assyria, has made it possible to identify some of the formerly enigmatic names with more certainty than was possible in Josephus' days, but many of them still remain unexplained. However, enough names can be identified to discuss the structure of the Table of Nations, the way the Nations of the earth are distributed among the sons of Noah, and the geographical horizon of its author.



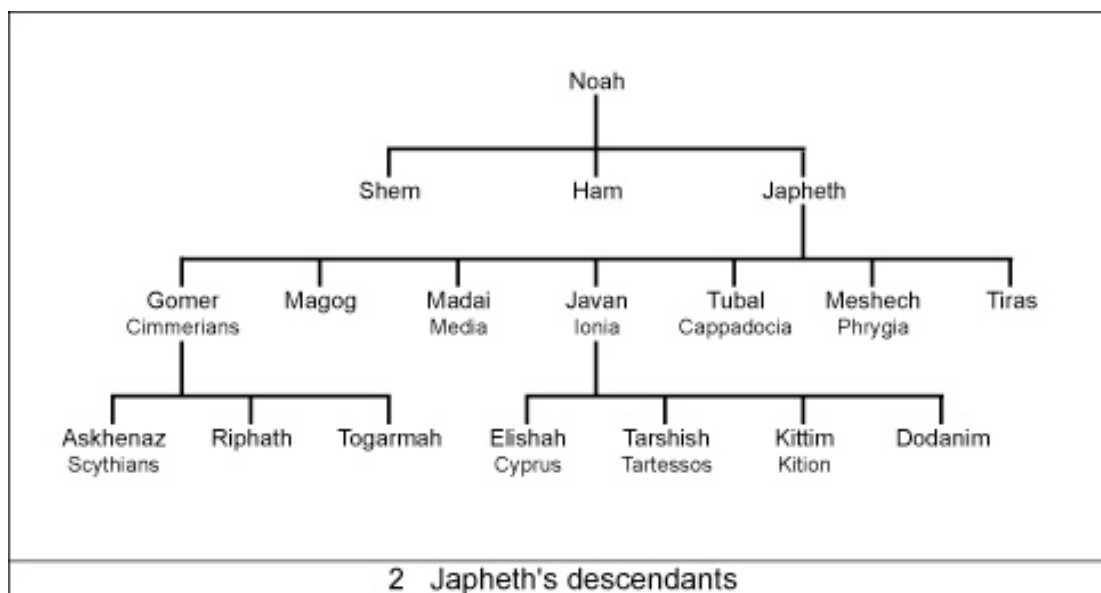
First the descendants of Japheth, Noah's youngest son, are enumerated. Some of them are clearly eponymous heroes:⁵² Gomer, of the Cimmerians; Ashkenaz, of the Scythians;⁵³ Madai, of the Medes; Javan, of the Ionians; Tubal and Meshech, of two nations called *Tabalu* and *Mušku* by the Assyrians, both in Central Anatolia,⁵⁴ Elishah of Cyprus and Tarshish of Tartessos. Other identifications that have been proposed are open to doubt: Magog with Lydia, the land of king Gyges (Hebrew *Gōg*, Assyrian

⁵² On the identification of the sons of Japheth, see: Lipiński 1990; Tsirkin 1991.

⁵³ Hebrew אשכנז *'aškānāz* is often explained as a mistake for אשכוז *'aškūz*. Another explanation is that the name contained a double z and that zz was dissimilated to nz (Lipiński 1990: 48).

⁵⁴ The identification of the *Mušku* and the Phrygians is accepted by Lipiński (1990: 46-47), but rejected by Röllig (in *RLA sv Muški*), Wittke (2004) and Fiedler (2005). It is possible that Phrygians and *Mušku* were at some point in time ruled by one man, Midas of Phrygia (Greek sources) – Mita of *Mušku* (Assyrian sources).

Gugu, Greek Γύγης); Kittim, of the city of Kition on Cyprus;⁵⁵ Dodanim with the *Danunians* from Cilicia or the inhabitants of Rhodos (*vide supra*); and Tiras with the Etruscans. Although much is uncertain, this enumeration still shows that the descendants of Japheth lived north and west of Israel: in the Aegean (Javan), in Asia Minor (Tubal, Meshech), on Cyprus (Elishah), further to the west (Tarshish), further to the north (Ashkenaz), and finally in north-western Iran (Madai).



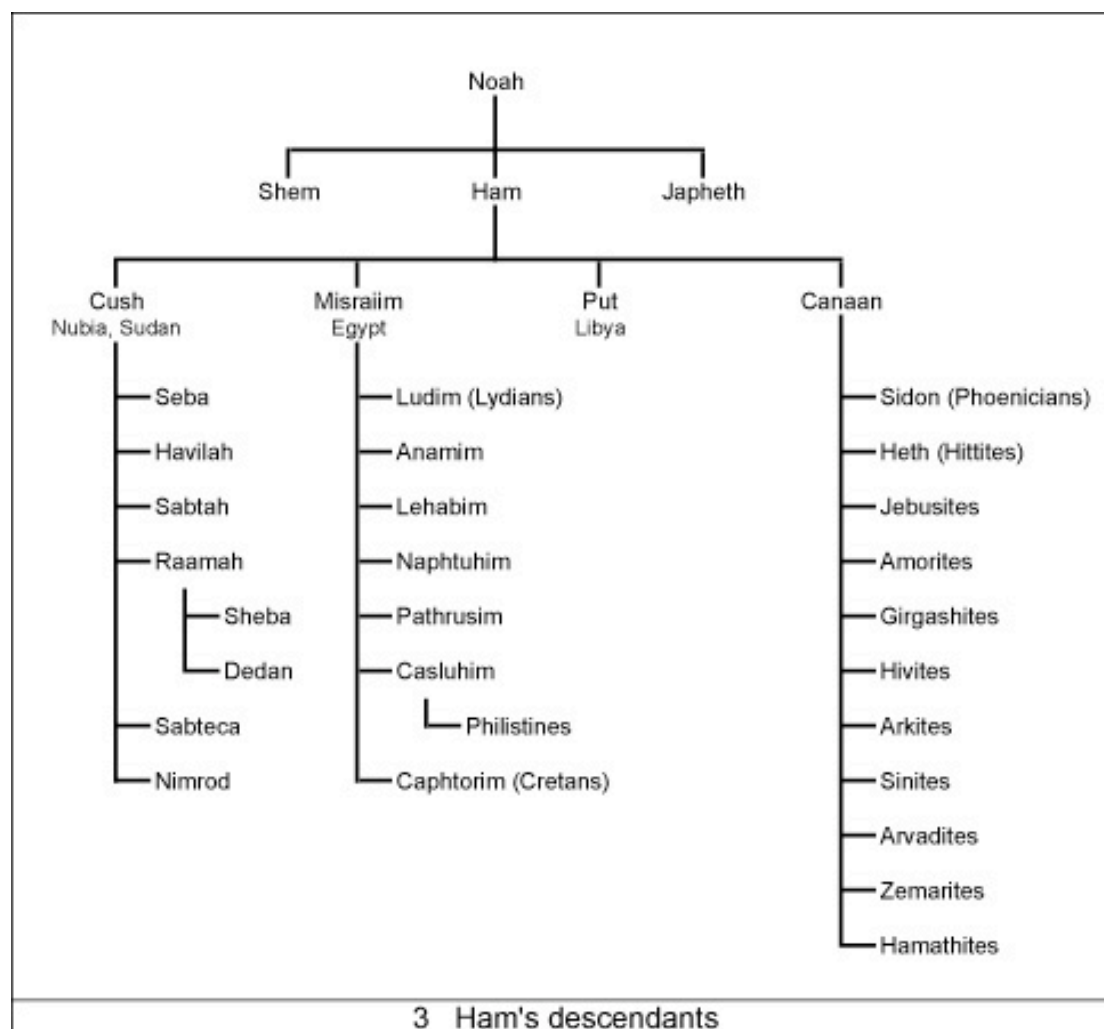
Next the descendants of Ham are enumerated.⁵⁶ Cush is the eponymous hero of the כּוּשִׁים *kūšim*, the inhabitants of Nubia; Misraim is the eponymous hero of Egypt, called מצרים *mišrayim* in Hebrew; Put (פּוּט *pūt*) represents the Libyans; and of course, Canaan is the ancestor of the Canaanites. Only a few of the descendants of Ham of the second generation are identifiable. Most of the sons of Cush and Misraim are obscure, but the Caphtorim are the Cretans; Sidon is the eponymous hero of the Phoenicians, who are called Sidonians a number of times in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. 1K. 16:31, where the king of Tyrus is called 'king of the Sidonians');⁵⁷ and Heth is the ancestor of the Hittites; and Nimrod is connected with Mesopotamia (see chapter

⁵⁵ Del Medico 1960: 448. Judean kings sometimes hired *Kittim* as mercenaries (Hagedorn 2005: 81-83). *Kittim* is sometimes used to refer to Macedonians or Romans.

⁵⁶ On the identification of the sons of Ham, see: Lipiński 1992; Malamat 2004; Sadler 2005.

⁵⁷ Sidonians as a designation of the Phoenicians is not only found in the Bible, but also in Homer. For a discussion, see Helm 1980: 219-220.

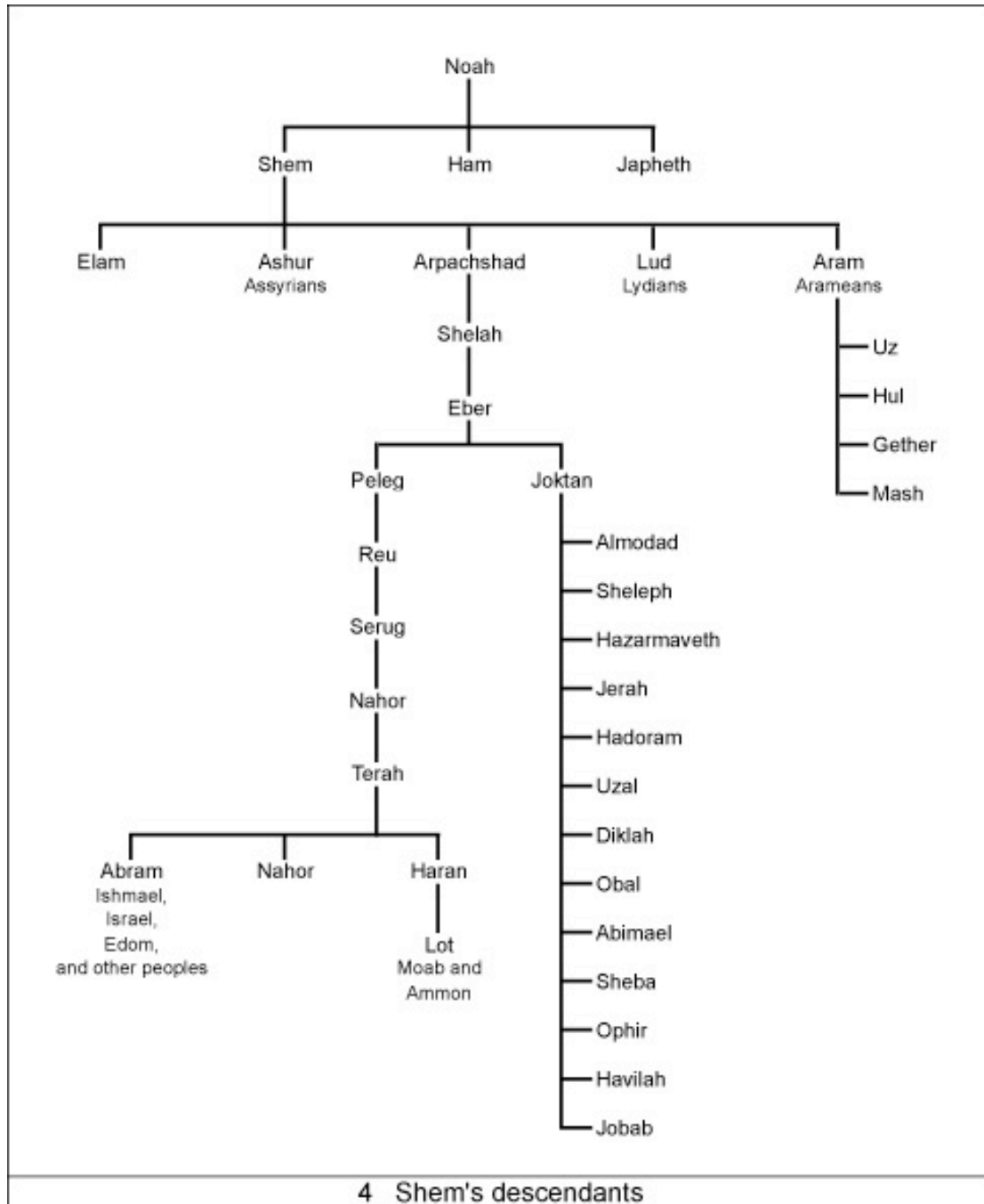
seven). This list of Ham's descendants is confusing. Some of Ham's sons are connected with Africa, but the Caphtorim are Greeks, and Nimrod is at home in Mesopotamia, while many of Ham's descendants cannot be identified with any degree of certainty.



Among the descendants of Shem, Noah's eldest son, we find the eponymous heroes of the Elamites, Assyrians, Arameans and Lydians.⁵⁸ However, Arpachshad, Shem's third son, is an enigma. It has been suggested that his name has to be divided in two and that *כשד* *kešed*, the last part of his name, is the eponymous hero of the *כשדים*

⁵⁸ On the identification of the sons of Shem, see Lipiński 1993. The identification of לוד *lūd* with the town of Lod (Lydda), e.g. in Retsö 2003: 214, is not convincing. Lod is a town, not a nation, like Elam, Aram or Assyria, while Lydia seems geographically misplaced, but it is at least an important nation.

kaśdīm, the Chaldeans.⁵⁹ This explains the absence of the Babylonians, in the Hebrew Bible called Chaldeans, from the Table of Nations, and it is in accordance with the fact that Arpachshad's descendant Abraham originates from Ur of the Chaldeans.⁶⁰



⁵⁹ Note the contrast between *ś* and *š*. Chesed is also mentioned in Gen 22:22, in this text as one of the sons of Nahor, Abraham's brother.

⁶⁰ Another explanation derives Arpachshad from the Hurrian city of Arrapḫa (Blenkinsopp 1992: 90, Retsö 2003: 214), but this idea is not convincing. The descendants of Arpachshad live in Babylonia and North Arabia, while Arrapḫa is more to the north, near Nineveh.

Admittedly, this leaves us with the task of explaining the first part of the name Arpachshad. According to Lipiński, ארף represent the Arabs.⁶¹ He explains the orthography ארף, instead of ארב ^arab, from the neo-Assyrian pronunciation. This interpretation has its phonological difficulties, but it explains Arpachshad being the ancestor of a number of Arabians nations, the sons of Joktan (v26-29). Whatever the origin of his name is, it is clear that Arpachshad represents the Babylonians and a number of Arabian tribes. Finally, the Moabites, Edomites, Israelites, and some other peoples that are not mentioned in the Table of Nations are also descendants of Shem, because they were descended from Abraham, or Nahor, or Lot. Therefore, most of the descendants of Shem live in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, except the Lydians, who seem out of place here.

Broadly speaking, the picture that emerges is that the sons of Japheth live in the north, the sons of Ham in the south, and the sons of Shem in the middle, or the east. However, there are exceptions. The Israelites are sons of Shem, and the Canaanites sons of Ham, although they both dwell in Canaan. The Assyrians and Chaldeans are sons of Shem, but Nimrod, the founder of the most important Assyrian cities, is a son of Ham. The Lydians appear as sons of Ham, but also of Shem, and perhaps even of Japheth, where one would expect them. Therefore, it seems that classification by geography cannot fully explain the distribution of the nations among the sons of Noah. This was already felt in Antiquity. In the book of *Jubilees* (second century BC), it is explicitly said that, when the earth was divided among Noah's sons, the region north of the river Don was Japheth's inheritance, the region south of the river Nile was Ham's inheritance, and the region between these rivers was Shem's inheritance (Jub. 8:1-10).⁶² Shem was Noah's favorite son and received the best part: '[Japheth's lot] is cold, while the land of Ham is hot. Now Shem's land is neither cold nor hot, but it is a mixture of cold and heat' (Jub. 8:30). But Canaan, Ham's youngest son, took possession of the region from the Lebanon to the stream of Egypt, which by

⁶¹ Lipiński 1993: 193, 195-197.

⁶² A fuller discussion of Jub. 8-10 in VanderKam 1994.

right belonged to Shem's patrimony (Jub. 10:29-34). When the Israelites much later invaded Canaan, they retook their rightful inheritance.

Genesis does not explain how the earth was divided among the sons of Noah. It is clear that other factors than geography played a role. Israel (descendant of Shem) and Canaan (son of Ham) must belong to different branches. Although it is not said explicitly so, evil nations are sons of Ham. The depiction of Egypt in the Pentateuch is as a rule negative⁶³ and that of Canaan even more so, and both are sons of Ham. But there is still another explanation, upheld by Oded, that says that the division is based on socio-cultural criteria, explaining why Israel and Canaan are separated and why Nimrod is a grandson of Ham.⁶⁴ An important indication that a socio-cultural criterion is used is found in v21, in which Shem is called אבי כל־בני־עבר *ʾbī kəl-bʿnē-ʿeber* 'the father of all the sons of Eber'. At first sight this is an enigmatic statement, but its meaning becomes clear if we assume that בני־עבר means nomads, people who live in tents and tend livestock.⁶⁵ On the opposite, Ham is apparently the ancestor of those who live in towns and practice agriculture. For that reason Egypt, Canaan and Nimrod were seen as sons of Ham. The Israelites, at the other hand, thought of themselves as descendants of nomads, and are sons of Shem. The same holds for the Assyrians, as is shown by the Assyrian king list, which starts with seventeen kings living in tents.⁶⁶ Therefore, a socio-cultural principle of division seems to have given the Table of Nations its final shape, still according to Oded.

Perhaps Oded's theory needs some modification, because the core Table of Nations is easily explained from a geographical *principium divisionis* alone, but the additions, such as the Nimrod legend, often do not fit in the geographical division. The clause about the 'sons of Eber', which plays an important role in Oded's argumentation, is also a later addition. Apparently, the author of the first version of the Table of

⁶³ Greifenhagen 2002.

⁶⁴ Oded 1986; Van der Toorn and Van der Horst 1990; Hamilton 1991-1995.

⁶⁵ Oded 1986: 20; Wiseman 1994: 262. An alternative explanation is that Eber is the *heros eponymos* of the *ʿibrīm* (VanderKam 1994). Of course, the origin of עבר and עברי *ʿibrī* and their relation with the *ḥabiru* or *ḥapiru* are contested.

⁶⁶ ANET 564; COS I 463; Sparks 1998: 49.

Nations divided the nations using a geographical principle, while the author(s) who added the other parts and bits often used a socio-cultural principle, and therefore counted Nimrod among the sons of Cush and added v21 to explain the character of Shem's sons. This socio-cultural principle perhaps has a theological dimension: in some prophetic books, nomads, their way of life, and Israel's sojourn in the desert are seen in a more favourable light than farmers, agriculture and life in the city.

Although the Table of Nations speaks about 'the nations spread[ing] abroad on the earth', its geographical horizon is limited. It encompasses Libya, Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor, the Aegean, and Cyprus. Iran is scantily represented and from the Western Mediterranean only Tarshish is mentioned. The world we find in the Table of Nations seems almost totally confined to north-east Africa and the Ancient Near East. Jewish and Christian authors from the Hellenistic Roman and Byzantine periods often extend the boundaries of the Table of Nations to accommodate it to the geographical horizon of their days. This can be done by identifying some of the more obscure names in the Table of Nations with nations living further away. Flavius Josephus located the sons of Juktas (Joktan) in an area extending from India to Seria, which is probably China (*Ant. Jud.* 1.146). Often, new nations are simply added. In the War Scroll from Qumran (*1QM* and related texts), which closely follows Genesis, albeit in reverse order, we find the Persians added after the Assyrians (*1QM* 2:12).⁶⁷ In some Byzantine chronicles this reinterpreting and adding of nations reaches its pinnacle. In Synkellos and the *Chronicon Paschale* we find a hugely expanded Table of Nations, in which, for example, the Celts are included, as descendants of Gomer, the Britons, as descendants of Madai, and many other nations that lay far beyond the geographical horizon of the Table of Nations in Genesis.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Vermes 1998: 165; Martínez and Tigchelaar 2000: 117. On the Table of Nations in Josephus and Qumran, see: VanderKam 1994; Eshel 2007; Schultz 2009: 183-2004.

⁶⁸ Synkellos ed. Mosshammer 1984: 48-56; Chron. Pasch. in PG 92: 115-132.

Time of origin

If the framework of the Table of Nations was written by P, and the others parts were added afterwards, the first version of the Table of Nations must have been composed during the (early) Persian period, because that is the almost generally accepted time of origin of P.⁶⁹ But a better way to establish the time of origin of the Table of Nations is to look at its geographical horizon. It is not certain that the framework of Genesis 10 was part of P – Levin is of another opinion – and even if it was part of P, it is possible that the Priestly author did not compose it himself, but took it from an older source. A number of arguments based on geographical and historical grounds have been put forward, some convincing, others less so.

In the Table of Nations we find the Cimmerians (Gomer), who are not mentioned in Ancient Near Eastern sources before 714, and the Scythes (Ashkenaz), who are mentioned for the first time in Assyrian sources during the reign of Esarhaddon (680-669).⁷⁰ As it is not likely that the Israelites knew about the Cimmerians and the Scythes before the Assyrians, the Table of Nations, both in its final form and in the form in which it existed in P, must have been written after 680.

A *terminus ante quem* is more difficult to establish. At first sight, it seems unlikely that the Table of Nations in its present form was composed after the conquest of Babylon by the Persians (539), because it does not mention the Persians. Although the author of the Table of Nations did not try to enumerate all nations known to him, it seems unlikely that he would leave out the dominant power of his own days. Therefore, it is likely that, if the Table of Nations would have been from the Persian or later, the Persians probably would have been included. Unfortunately, this argument does not convince everyone.⁷¹ It has been suggested that Elam or Madai

⁶⁹ Zenger 2004: 166-167; De Pury 2007: 116.

⁷⁰ Lipiński 1990: 41, 48.

⁷¹ Von Rad 1987: 109. However, Liverani (2007: 240-241) does accept this argument. At the other hand, Schüle (2006: 373) regards not mentioning the Persians as a 'Vorbehalt gegen Formen imperialer Hegemonie'. Schüle's interpretation is not in any way supported by the text of Genesis and seems a bit far fetched.

represents the Persians, in accordance with Babylonian and Greek usage.⁷² It is not easy to obtain clarity about the use of Elam, Madai and Paras in the Hebrew Bible, because they are mentioned in a number of prophetic texts of which the interpretation is contested and the date of origin is difficult to establish (Is. 13-14; 21; 22; Jr. 21; 25; 49: 34-39; 50-51; Ezk. 27; 32; 38-39). It is very unlikely that *Madai* represents the Persians in the Table of Nations, because he is one of Japheth's sons, and they are at home in the north and west, while the Persians lived in the east, near Elam, one of Shem's sons. But Elam representing the Persians remains possible. Therefore, the Persians not being mentioned does not make it certain that the time of origin of the Table of Nations lies before the Persian period.

According to Sadler, the order of Ham's sons gives an indication of the time of origin of the Table of Nations.⁷³ Cush appears as the eldest and most important of Ham's sons, which supports the idea that the Table of Nations was composed during or after the reign of the 25th Cushite dynasty over Egypt (mid-eighth to mid-seventh centuries), and probably not long after the mid-seventh century.

Tsirkin prefers a date between 687 and 640.⁷⁴ He thinks that the Table of Nations, especially when enumerating Japheth's progeny, betrays Phoenician influence, which was strong during the reigns of the Judean kings Manasseh (687-642) and Amon (642-640). Tsirkin's view does not really convince: if the Phoenicians, who were great seafarers, had been the source of the geographical knowledge of the Table of Nations, one would expect nations from a wider geographical area being mentioned, especially more peoples from the western Mediterranean than only Tarshish (Tartessos) and perhaps Tiras (?Etruria).

Lipiński argues that the Table of Nations must have been created in the first quarter of the sixth century.⁷⁵ He connects the juxtaposition of Magog, representing the

⁷² Crüsemann 2002: 64-65; Gerstenberger 2005: 318-319.

⁷³ Sadler 2005: 29.

⁷⁴ Tsirkin 1991: 132. Cf. Albright's earlier suggestion (1959: 344) that the Table of Nations has been modelled after a Phoenician prototype.

⁷⁵ Lipiński 1990: 45.

Lydians, and Madai, representing the Medes, with the period of 590-585, when the Lydians and Medes fought over eastern Asia Minor, but this argument does not carry much weight, because the identification of Magog is uncertain.

According to Liverani, the Table of Nations describes the world after the fall of the Assyrian Empire, when the Egyptians (sons of Ham), Babylonians (sons of Shem) and Medes (sons of Japheth) competed for the hegemony in the Ancient Near East.⁷⁶ The fact that many of the lesser nations from the Table of Nations are also mentioned in Ezekiel, which also dates to the early sixth century, seems to support this date.

According to Blenkinsopp, the dominant position of Sidon among the sons of Canaan, and not of Tyrus, could point to a time of origin after the siege of Tyrus by Nebuchadrezzar (date uncertain; see also the discussion of Ezk. 27 in chapter six).⁷⁷ But this argument does not convince, because already in Homer, long before the siege of Tyrus, the Phoenicians were called Sidonians.

According to De Pury, the Table of Nations was written in the early Persian period, and 'Shem seems to encompass the regions included in Cyrus' emergent Achaemenid empire: from Elam in the East, over Babylon in the centre [. . .] to Lydia in western Anatolia [. . .] and the inner part of the Fertile Crescent'.⁷⁸ This idea nicely explains why we find the Lydians among the sons of Shem, but it fails to explain why so many nations that were also part of Cyrus' empire, in particular the Medians, were sons of Japheth. Moreover, the empire of the Persians stretched far more to the East than the Table of Nations, as a comparison with the Persian *dahyāwa* lists clearly shows.⁷⁹ Of course these lists are from Darius' time, but most of these eastern parts (except India) were already conquered in Cyrus' time.

⁷⁶ Liverani 2007: 240-242.

⁷⁷ Blenkinsopp 2002: 57. Dating the siege of Tyre is difficult, because it is not mentioned in the Babylonian chronicles; see Wiseman 1985: 27-29; Kuhrt 1997: 591.

⁷⁸ De Pury 2007: 116.

⁷⁹ DB §6 (Kuhrt 2010: 141) and DSab (Kuhrt 2010: 479).

According to Gmirkin, “the genealogical information from the P source” reflects the “political boundaries of the Eastern Mediterranean of 273-272 BCE”.⁸⁰ In this period, the Ptolemies ruled over Egypt and Southern Syria and the Seleucids reigned over Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and Lydia. Shem’s realm corresponds roughly with the empire of the Seleucids, Ham’s realm with the empire of the Ptolemies, and Japheth’s realm contains the remaining nations.⁸¹

Establishing the time of origin of the Table of Nations turns out to be difficult. There are two factors to explain this. First, many nations, especially the ones that are mentioned only in Genesis 10, cannot be identified. The Table of Nations is a mere list of names and does not supply arguments for the identification of the peoples that are mentioned.⁸² Second, the use of names changes in time. Originally, Kittim is a city on Cyprus, but in some late texts it denotes the Macedonians or Romans. Elam is originally the nation with Elam as its capital, but it is possible that it sometimes denotes Persia. A prophecy sometimes gives indications which interpretation is meant, a list does not. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the first version of the Table of Nations dates from the late seventh or early sixth century, as Lipiński and Liverani have argued on different grounds. Admittedly, there are no absolutely decisive arguments, but the Table of Nations seems to describe the world before the emergence of the Persian Empire.

Conclusion

The Table of Nations, which consists predominantly of eponymous heroes of peoples from the world around Israel, can be divided in a core Table of Nations and a number of additions. Almost all OT scholars accept this division. Usually, the core is attributed to the Priestly writer, who lived in the Persian era, while the additions are often attributed to the Jahwist or to a source (or perhaps: a collection of traditions) only found in the primeval history. While the division of the text is

⁸⁰ Gmirkin 2006: 141.

⁸¹ Gmirkin 2006: 146, 163.

⁸² Ezk. 27:12-25 would probably prove a better starting point for identifying many of these more obscure nations, because it mentions the most important merchandise of each nation, which could help its identification.

almost certainly to be accepted, the attribution of the first version to P is not. The leading principle has to be that the Table of Nations is dated on account of its *imago mundi*, and not on account of its attribution to one of the sources of the Pentateuch. It is more likely that the Table of Nations dates from the late seventh or early sixth century than from the Persian period and that P has found it in an earlier source and framed with an introduction (v1) and ending (v32). The geographical horizon of the Table of Nations is, in accordance with its period of origin, limited to North Africa and the Ancient Near East, bounded in the northwest by the Aegean, in the northeast by the land of the Medes, and in the south by Arabia and Nubia (with the exception of Tarshish in Spain). This area is divided into three zones: a northern zone, inhabited by the sons of Japheth, a central or eastern zone, inhabited by the sons of Shem, and a southern zone, inhabited by the sons of Ham.

To this core Table of Nations, a number of lists and fragments have been added. The redactors who have added these fragments sometimes abandon the geographical principle of division in favour of a socio-cultural *principium divisionis*, making Ham the ancestor of all nations subsisting from agriculture and living in cities and Shem the ancestor of the nomads and pastoralists. As a consequence, Mesopotamia has a 'mixed' population. Among the descendants of Shem are Ashur, the eponymous hero of the Assyrians, and Keshed, the ancestor of the Chaldeans. Among the descendants of Ham is Nimrod, first king of the most important Babylonian cities and founder of Nineveh and Kalah. Dating these additions is almost impossible. Most of them are lists that do not give any clue to their time of origin, except, perhaps, the Nimrod legend, which is the subject of the seventh chapter.

5.3 Kadmos and Danaos

Now we will turn to the genealogy of Io, which could be seen, in a certain sense, as a Greek counterpart of the Table of Nations. In the genealogy of Io we find a number of eponymous heroes and ancestors of foreign nations alongside Greek heroes and primeval kings. Among the descendants of Io, we find the eponymous heroes of the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Cilicians, and Arabs, together with Greek heroes like Kadmos and Danaos. In this genealogy we also find two eponymous heroines, Libye and Europe, after whom two of the three continents known to the Greeks were named. Therefore we will study Io's genealogy in detail in this section and describe its development from the archaic to the Hellenistic period. Of course, Io's genealogy and the myths in which Io, Danaos and Kadmos play a role have been studied in the past under various aspects by Gomme, Astour, Hall, West and others.⁸³ In recent years, studying Greek genealogies and myths of origin has become popular.⁸⁴ In this section, emphasis will lie on the eponymous heroes of foreign nations and the geographical horizon of Io's genealogy. In the fourth section, we will study the role of Kadmos and Danaos as foreign founders, which is comparable to the role of Nimrod and some other characters in Genesis.

Studying Greek genealogies differs from studying the Table of Nations. Most Greek genealogies have come down to us not in one, but in many versions, transmitted in literary works of various genres and periods, sometimes strongly diverging. A single, definitive version of Io's genealogy does not exist. Of course, it is not possible to discuss all works in which genealogies are found. Therefore a selection has to be made. At first sight, it seems logical to discuss only literature before the Hellenistic epoch, because Alexander's conquests were a source of new knowledge of the East. However, as works from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods often draw on older literature, with or without acknowledgement of the original sources, some literature of these latter periods will also be included.

⁸³ Meyer 1892: 67-101; Bonner 1902; Gomme 1913; Megas 1933; Astour 1967: 1-224 (Semitic origins); Hall 1997: 67-107 (Greek ethnicity); West 1999: 438-452; Kipp 2005.

⁸⁴ Gruen 2005; Kipp 2005; Clarke 2008; Patterson 2010.

In the second place, none of the older Greek genealogical works is preserved in its entirety. Of the *Ehoiai*, also known as the *Catalogue of Women*, a large number of fragments are known, but not a complete copy. Of the works of Akusilaos of Argos, Hekataios of Miletos, Pherekydes of Athens (late 6th, early 5th century), Hellanikos of Lesbos (late 5th century), and many other historians and mythographers, only fragments have been handed down to us. Reconstructions of the structure and content of some of these works have been attempted, but these reconstructions are often very hypothetical.⁸⁵ They often rely heavily on the *Bibliothēke* of Apollodoros, a genealogical handbook that was perhaps written in the second century AD. It gives a summary of traditional Greek mythology and is based on earlier mythographical and genealogical works, among which the works attributed to Hesiod, which were given great authority in Antiquity, must have figured prominently. The *Bibliothēke* has one great advantage over many of the older works mentioned: a large part of it is preserved, and of the missing part we have a summary. However, Apollodoros must have had his own aims and ends in selecting his material from older sources.⁸⁶ This means that the *Bibliothēke* must be used with caution when it is used to complete older, fragmentary works.

In the third place, it is not always clear whether a hero who is mentioned in a specific work of literature must be regarded as an eponymous hero, or not, and, if so, of which nation. For example, the Medeios whose name is found in Hesiod's *Theogony* could or could not be the eponymous hero of the Medes.⁸⁷ The Arabos who is mentioned in the *Ehoiai* could be the eponymous hero of the Arabs, but perhaps we should connect his name with an obscure Greek tribe living at the banks of the Euripos, the strait between Boeotia and Euboea.⁸⁸ We can only be absolutely certain that an author regarded someone as an eponymous hero, if he explicitly says so or if he connects the hero in another way with the nation supposedly named after him. However, restricting our investigation to these instances would seriously narrow

⁸⁵ *Ehoiai*: West 1985; *Pherekydes*: Uhl 1963.

⁸⁶ Fletcher 2008.

⁸⁷ *Pro*: West 1966: 430; *Contra*: Dräger 1997: 13.

⁸⁸ *Arabia*: West 1966: 430; Hirschberger 2004: 307; *Greece*: Tümpel in *RE* sv Arabos.

down our research and would probably cause us to miss a number of genuine eponymous heroes.

These characteristics of Greek genealogy make it necessary to study Io's genealogy as it is described in a number of literary works, some fragmentarily preserved, some completely. Genealogical material can be found in works of different periods and genres, such as Hesiod's *Theogony*, the *Ehoiai*, the *Historiae* of Pherekydes of Athens, the tragedies of Aischylos and Euripides, Herodotos' *Historiae* and Apollodoros' *Bibliothēke*. Studying these sources will grant us a glimpse into how the authors of these works perceived foreign nations and their relations to the Greeks.

Hesiod of Askra and his School

Little is known of Hesiod's life. His father was originally an inhabitant of Kyme, a city in Asia Minor, but misfortune in commerce compelled him to settle in Askra in Boeotia, where Hesiod was born, probably in the second half of the eighth century.⁸⁹ After his father had died, Hesiod cultivated the land he had inherited. However, Hesiod was not only a farmer, but also an *aoidos*, a poet composing poems on genealogies and myths of gods and heroes. Three poems that are attributed to Hesiod have come to us: the *Theogony*, a genealogical poem about the origin of gods and men, the *Works and Days*, a didactic poem about the life of a farmer, and the *Shield*, a poem about the battle between Herakles and Kyknos, containing a description of the shield of Herakles, after which the poem is named. Generally, the *Works and Days* and a larger part of the *Theogony* are regarded as authentic, while the *Shield* is not. In antiquity, many other works were known under Hesiod's name, most of them probably not authentic. The most important of these works were the *Ehoiai* or *Catalogue of Women*, and the *Megalai Ehoiai*, both containing myths and genealogies of heroes that were descended from gods and mortal women.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ A short biography of Hesiod can be found in most translations and commentaries, for example Mazon 1928 and Kassies 2002.

⁹⁰ It has been argued that the *Ehoiai* and the *Megalai Ehoiai* are different versions of the same poem. A discussion of the different points of view can be found in Alessio 2005.

Unfortunately, establishing when and by whom the *Catalogue of Women* was written is not an easy task. Opinions on its time of origin range from the seventh to the fifth century.⁹¹ The *Ehoiai* are closely connected to the *Theogony* and are often attributed to the author of the last part of the *Theogony*.⁹² However, this does not help much in dating the *Ehoiai*, because the date and authorship of the last part of the *Theogony* are also contested. Most scholars agree that it was not written by Hesiod. West gives three arguments, one structural, one stylistic and one linguistic, to separate the last part of the *Theogony* (from line 900 onwards) from the first part, and also three arguments, his historical arguments, to prove that the last part was written some time after Hesiod, probably in the sixth century.⁹³ One of his arguments is based on the appearance of Medeios and Latinos, both of them eponymous heroes of foreign nations that according to West were not known around 700 BC in central Greece. However, Medeios and Latinos are not very useful for establishing the date of composition of the *Catalogue*. Most modern scholars regard Medeios as the eponymous hero of the Medes,⁹⁴ but the poet does not connect him with the Medes. It is possible that originally Medeios was not an eponymous hero, but that his name derives from Medea and that at first he was not associated with the Medes at all.⁹⁵ Of course, Latinos is an eponymous hero, but he is as little help in dating the *Catalogue of Women* as Medeios. Relations between Greece and Italy went back to the Mycenaean period, slackened after the fall of the Mycenaeans, but were resumed in the late eighth and seventh centuries.⁹⁶ For someone from the seventh century in central Greece to have heard of Latium or the Etruscans is not as unlikely as West

⁹¹ Clay 2005: 25.

⁹² West 1985: 125-137. There is no unanimity about the point where the original work ended (line 900, 929, 962, or 964). See: West 1966: 398; Hirschberger 2004: 42-51.

⁹³ West 1966: 397-399, 416-417, 429-430, 434. West's arguments are criticized by Dräger (1997: 1-26). Views on the time of origin of the *Catalogue of Women* are summarised by Hirschberger (2004: 42-51).

⁹⁴ West 1966: 430; Athanassakis 1983: 56; Kassies 2002: 154.

⁹⁵ Dräger 1997: 12-13. In general, it is difficult to determine which nations were known to the Greeks of the archaic period. Sources from the archaic period are scarce. The fact that a nation is never mentioned in our sources does not mean that the Greeks of this period did not know them.

⁹⁶ Ridgway 2006.

suggests.⁹⁷ Therefore, these arguments do not help to establish the date when the *Ehoiai* were written. It is not even certain that the *Ehoiai* must have a fixed date of composition. It is generally accepted that the *Theogony* was written by Hesiod and enlarged afterwards. It is possible that the *Ehoiai* also was written in stages, and that some characters, for example Medeios, were added in a later stage. Therefore, the somewhat unsatisfactory conclusion must be that the *Ehoiai* were probably written in the seventh or sixth century.

A large number of eponymous heroes are found in the *Theogony* and the *Ehoiai*. Of course, most of them are Greek, for example Hellen, the eponymous hero of the Greeks (Ἑλληνες), Danaos, of the Δαναοί, a name given to the Greeks in epic poetry, Doros, of the Dorians, and Aiolos, of the Aeolians.⁹⁸ However, we also find eponymous heroes of foreign nations: Medeios, perhaps the eponymous hero of the Medes, Latinos, of the inhabitants of Latium, Arabos, perhaps of the Arabs, and Phoinix, perhaps of the Phoenicians. Of these, Medeios and Latinos are not included in a genealogy. Other eponymous heroes that figure in the *Catalogue of Women* – Danaos, Arabos and Phoinix – were probably part of a larger genealogy, but the fragmentary character of what is left of the *Ehoiai* makes it difficult to reconstruct this genealogy.⁹⁹ We know that Arabos had a daughter (frg. 137), her name remains unknown.¹⁰⁰ It might have been Kassiepeia, as in many other sources, but this is not certain. Danaos is mentioned (frg. 128), but not his father or mother, Kadmos and his children are mentioned in the *Theogony* (937, 940-942, 975-978), but not in the *Ehoiai*, while Aigyptos, who is mentioned in other sources as Danaos' brother, is not found at all in what is left of the works attributed to Hesiod. This leaves us with a genealogy in which we find the eponymous characters Arabos, Phoinix and Europe.

⁹⁷ West's third argument to prove a sixth century date for the last part of the *Theogony* is based on the deification of Herakles. The validity of this argument I find hard to judge: the fact that Homer did not accept or know the deification of Herakles does not imply that it is impossible that Hesiod or another contemporary of his did.

⁹⁸ *Ehoiai* frg. 9 mentions Hellen, Doros, and Aiolos, *Ehoiai* frg. 128 mentions Danaos.

⁹⁹ It is customary to reconstruct the *Ehoiai* by using Apollodoros' *Bibliothēke* (e.g. West 1985), but methodically this is questionable (Fletcher 2008: 61-62, especially n 12), because there is no way to check these reconstructions. Kipp (2005: 430-433) has made clear that in Io's genealogy, there must have been differences between the *Ehoiai* and the *Bibliothēke*.

¹⁰⁰ Translation and discussion of frg. 137 on page 316-317.

Explaining the names of Arabos and his mother Thronie is problematic. Thronie has been explained as the eponymous nymph of the Greek city of Thronion, and Arabos as the eponymous hero of the Boeotian-Euboean *Arabes*.¹⁰¹ However, Arabos could also be interpreted as the eponymous hero of the Arabs, as Strabo already did in antiquity, and some modern scholars still do.¹⁰² If this identification is accepted, it remains to explain who Thronie was. By comparing this passage with Pliny's remark (*NH* 7.196) that medicine was invented 'through the agency of Arabos son of Babylon and Apollo', Tarn has come to the conclusion that Thronie and Babylon are identical.¹⁰³ According to Tarn, Babylon or Thronie must have been the eponymous nymph of the city of Babylon, who was regarded as a daughter of Belos, i.e. the Babylonian Marduk, the supreme god of the city. However, Tarn's conclusion is disputable. Pliny's Arabos is a son of Apollo, which accounts for his inventions of medicine, while Hesiod's Arabos is a son of another deity, Hermaon. Apparently, the fathers are not identical. Therefore, it is not clear why we should regard the mothers as identical. Better arguments are required to identify Thronie.

To sum up, it is clear that a number of eponymous heroes were mentioned in the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women*, not only of Greek cities and tribes, like Doros, Kadmos, and Danaos, but also of foreign nations, like Latinos and Phoinix, and perhaps Medeios and Arabos. Of these eponymous heroes, Phoinix and Arabos perhaps belong to the same genealogy. It is possible that it included more eponymous heroes of foreign nations, as is suggested by late sources, but the *Ehoiai*, as they are transmitted, are too fragmentary to reconstruct more of this genealogy. The works of Hesiod and his school do not tell us much about these heroes. There is no reason to think that Greek and non-Greek eponymous heroes were perceived as different, the Greeks as more civilised and the non-Greeks as foreign or barbarous.¹⁰⁴ In fact, we do not hear much about them apart from their relationships to one another and to the gods. Therefore it is difficult, almost

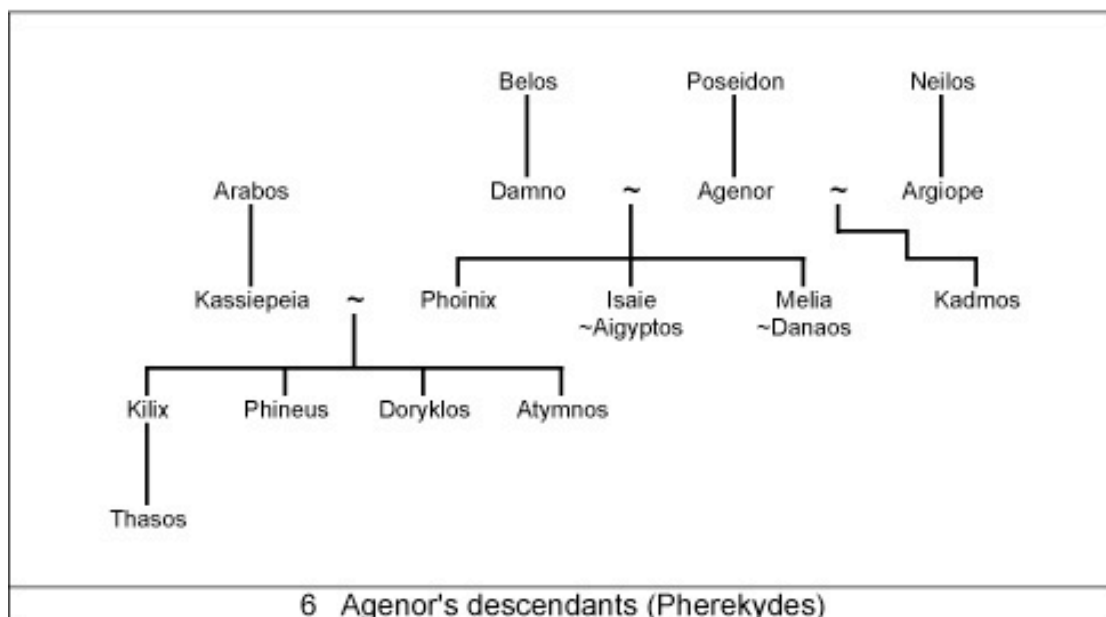
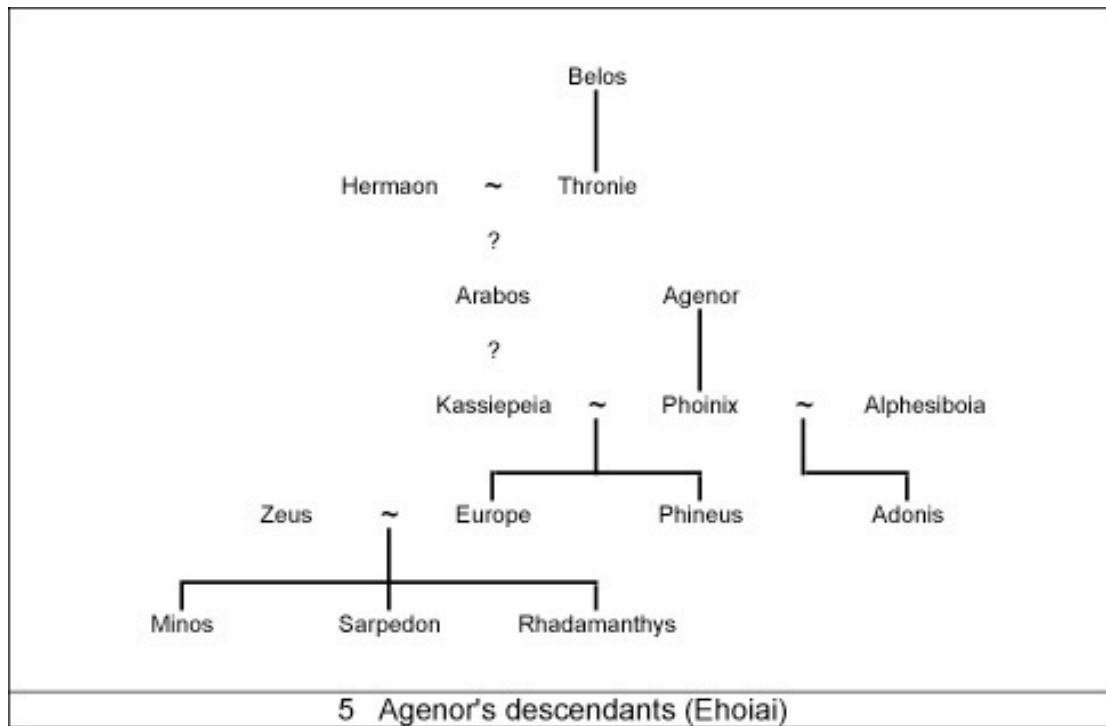
¹⁰¹ Göber in *RE* sv Thronia; Tümpel in *RE* sv Arabos.

¹⁰² West 1966: 430; Hirschberger 2004: 307.

¹⁰³ Tarn 1951: 253.

¹⁰⁴ Hall 1991: 36-37.

impossible, to draw conclusions on how the author(s) of the *Ehoiai* saw the relationships between the nations that were represented by these heroes. However, as far as we can reconstruct, the genealogy to which Belos, Agenor, and their descendants belonged, contained only eponymous heroes from the Eastern Mediterranean. The eponymous heroes of the Medes and Latins were kept apart.



Pherekydes of Athens

Pherekydes of Athens was an early historian and genealogist, whose work is often cited in *scholia* to Homer, Pindar, Euripides and Apollonios of Rhodes, but also in works of Athenaios, Strabo, Dionysios of Halikarnassos and others.¹⁰⁵ About his life little is known. We only know what can be concluded from the fragments of his work that have been handed down to us. Pherekydes lived in the late sixth and early fifth century: according to Jacoby, his *Historiae*, or *Theogonia*, were published between 508 and 475, while Fornara makes it ca 450, Fowler ca 465.¹⁰⁶ They were written in prose: according to Dionysios, Pherekydes was one of the ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς (frg. 156). Dionysios also calls him a μυθογράφος ‘writer of legends’ and a γενεαλόγων ‘genealogist’, because his work recorded genealogies and myths of ancient heroes, such as the adventures of Perseus and the founding of Thebes by Kadmos. Pherekydes, like most Greeks, probably regarded these myths as actual historical events from a distant past. Therefore it was possible to make connections with the recent past, or even the present. For example, in one of the fragments (frg. 2) we are told that Miltiades the elder (born ca. 590), who in the middle of the sixth century left Athens and settled on the Chersonesos (Hdt. 6.35-38), was a descendant of Philaios, son of Aias, son of Zeus.

Pherekydes of Athens has a famous namesake, Pherekydes of Syros, a theologian of the sixth century. Pherekydes of Syros wrote a theogony, usually called *Theologia* or *Theogonia*. He is as colourful as Pherekydes of Athens is shadowy: much biographical material on this theologian from Syros is extant, often hagiographic, and much of it probably fictitious.¹⁰⁷ In antiquity, he was regarded as the first Greek prose writer, a contemporary of the Persian king Cyrus, and of the seven sages, and as the teacher of Pythagoras. It has been argued, most recently by Toye, that many of the genealogies and myths attributed to Pherekydes of Athens in reality stem from the

¹⁰⁵ An attempt to reconstruct an outline of the *Historiae* has been made by Uhl (1963). It has been argued that the work of Pherekydes was also used by Herodotos (Ruschenbusch 1995), although Herodotos does not mention him by name. The fragments of Pherekydes have been edited by Dolcetti (2004). Also in: *FGrH* 3 and Fowler 2000: 272.

¹⁰⁶ Jacoby 1956: 116; Fornara 1988: 4; Fowler 2006: 39.

¹⁰⁷ Schibli 1984: 1-20.

Theogonia of Pherekydes of Syros.¹⁰⁸ According to Toye, Pherekydes of Athens has never existed, but was invented in the third century by Eratosthenes, head of the famous library of Alexandria, who separated the theological from the mythographical material and attributed the latter to the fictitious Pherekydes of Athens. However, the majority of modern scholars accept the existence of Pherekydes of Athens, writing in the early fifth century.¹⁰⁹

In the *Historiae* of Pherekydes of Athens many eponymous heroes are mentioned. Most of them are connected with Greek cities or landscapes, for example Ion, after whom the Ionians were called (frg. 176). However, eponymous heroes of foreign nations are also mentioned. According to a fragment from the *Antiquitates Romanae* of Dionysios of Halikarnassos (frg. 156), cited in a discussion on the original inhabitants of Italy, two grandsons of the primeval king Pelasgos emigrated from Hellas to Italy. One of them was Oinotros, and after him the Oenotrians were called, the other was Peucetos, after whom the Peucetians were named. Although both nations are shadowy to us, they were known to a number of ancient historians.¹¹⁰ This shows that it is not a modern interpretation to make these heroes eponymous heroes, but that Pherekydes marked both grandsons of Pelasgos explicitly as such.

Eponymous heroes of oriental nations, all descendants of Agenor, are mentioned in a number of fragments (frg. 21, 86 and 87).¹¹¹ These fragments make it possible to reconstruct the genealogy shown on page 159. It contains a number of names that are or could be eponymous heroes: Arabos, of the Arabians, Phoinix, of the Phoenicians, Kilix, of the Cilicians, Aigyptos, of the Egyptians, Danaos, of the Δαναοί, a name often given to the Greeks in epic poetry, and Kadmos, of the Καδμείοι or Καδμείονες, the inhabitants of Thebes. Unfortunately, most of these heroes are not explicitly connected with the country, nation or city whose founder or eponymous hero they probably are. Nevertheless, we may safely assume that Pherekydes regarded most of them as eponymous heroes. In modern literature,

¹⁰⁸ Toye 1997.

¹⁰⁹ Jacoby 1956; Fowler 1999.

¹¹⁰ Philipp in *RE* sv Oenotri and Peucetii.

¹¹¹ Translation on page 319-320.

Agenor's genealogy is sometimes completed with the help of later sources.¹¹² Belos is made a son of Poseidon, Aigyptos and Danaos sons of Belos, creating remarkably incestuous family relations among Agenor's descendants, and finally Europe, who is mentioned in another fragment (frg. 89), is made a sister of Kadmos. Of course, it is possible that the genealogy that is reconstructed in this way is the one that was originally found in Pherekydes' *Historiae*, but this is not certain.

The fragments that have been preserved of Pherekydes' work allow us to reconstruct more of Io's genealogy than the fragments of the *Ehoiai* do. There are no obvious contradictions between Hesiod and Pherekydes, but there can be no certainty that they agreed completely. Pherekydes' genealogy makes it possible to draw a few conclusions about his view on relations between Phoenicia, Cilicia, Egypt, and Greece. Kilix is a son of Phoinix, which points to the close connections between Phoenicia and Cilicia, Kadmos is a son of Agenor and a half-brother of Phoinix, which points to the cultural influence of Phoenicia on Greece. However, much remains unclear. We do not know how Arabos, Belos, Danaos, Europe and Minos fitted in this genealogy. The same holds true for Egypt, which is not only represented by Aigyptos, but also by Neilos, the river Nile, the father of Agenor's wife Argiope.

Aischylos and Euripides

At first, one would not expect to find a genealogy in a play, yet there are examples where genealogies are recited in plays. In Aischylos' *The Suppliant Maidens* (Ἰκέτιδες) the daughters of Danaos seek asylum in Argos to escape an unwanted marriage with the sons of Aigyptos, Danaos' brother. The king of Argos, Pelasgos, does not understand why these women, looking very foreign to him (*Suppl.* 234-237, 277-290), have come to Argos to seek asylum.¹¹³ Danaos' daughters explain to him that they have come, because they are descended from Io, daughter of the former Argive king

¹¹² Jacoby in *FGrH* 3 F21 Commentary; Uhl 1963: 40a.

¹¹³ According to Hall (1991), the depiction of foreigners as strangers and barbarians is an innovation of the Greek tragedians, serving the democratic and anti-Persian ideology of the fifth century Athens. But in the *Suppliants* the depiction of strangers less negative than in the *Persians* (Mitchell 2006).

Inachos. The sufferings of Io, her coming to Egypt, and the genealogy leading from Io's son Epaphos to Danaos are spun out in a dialogue between the king and Danaos' daughters (*Suppl.* 291-324). Finally, Pelasgos is convinced that they have some part in Argos (*Suppl.* 325-326). The genealogy which Danaos' daughters use to convince the king runs in a straight line from Io and Zeus to Danaos and Aigyptos, mentioning Epaphos, Libye, and Belos, but not their spouses.¹¹⁴ It includes two eponymous heroes, Danaos and Aigyptos, and an eponymous heroine, Libye. What we find here is a simple linear genealogy, tracing the descent of Danaos' daughters to their Argive ancestors, and thereby affirming their right to seek asylum in Argos, a genealogy that is very different from the segmented and more complex genealogies found in Hesiod and Pherekydes. In this genealogy, Aischylos mentions some names that are not found in the genealogies of Hesiod and Pherekydes, perhaps only because their works are preserved in such a fragmentary state, but perhaps also because of a real difference between their genealogies and that of Aischylos.

In a fragment of the *Phrixos*, a lost play by Euripides, we find the genealogy of Kadmos (*TrGF* Euripides frg. 819). This genealogy was in Euripides' play undoubtedly the start of the well-known story of the search for Europe. It starts with Agenor, who has three sons, Kilix, Phoinix, and Thasos. Euripides connects Kilix and Phoinix explicitly with the lands named after them, Cilicia and Phoenicia. This genealogy differs considerably from Pherekydes': Kilix is a son of Agenor, not of Phoinix, Thasos is also a son of Agenor, not of Kilix, and Kadmos is a son of Phoinix, not of Agenor. It is possible that Euripides found this genealogy in a source no longer extant, but it is also possible that he created it himself to serve a dramatical purpose. However, not enough remains of the *Phrixos* to tell.

The Bibliothek of Apollodoros

Nothing is known with certainty of the author of the *Bibliothek*, a genealogical handbook attributed to Apollodoros of Athens, a grammarian of the second century BC. However, a reference to Kastor of Rhodes (*Apoll.* 2.1.3), who is known to have

¹¹⁴ The same genealogy is implied in *Prometheus Bound* 853-855.

lived in the first century BC, shows that the *Bibliothēke* was written not earlier than the first century. Probably it was written even later. It has been argued on stylistic grounds that the *Bibliothēke* stems from the second century AD, but its date of origin remains uncertain.¹¹⁵ It is a handbook of genealogical knowledge,¹¹⁶ gathered from older sources, such as Hesiod, Pherekydes, Akusilaos, Euripides, Apollonios and Kastor, who are sometimes mentioned by name, but often are not. The author of the *Bibliothēke*, whom we will call Apollodoros for the sake of convenience,¹¹⁷ seems to accept these genealogies as historical facts. This lack of criticism and the fact that the largest part of the *Bibliothēke* has been handed down to us make it an ideal source for genealogical material. It is often used to complete genealogies from older sources of which only fragments have reached us.

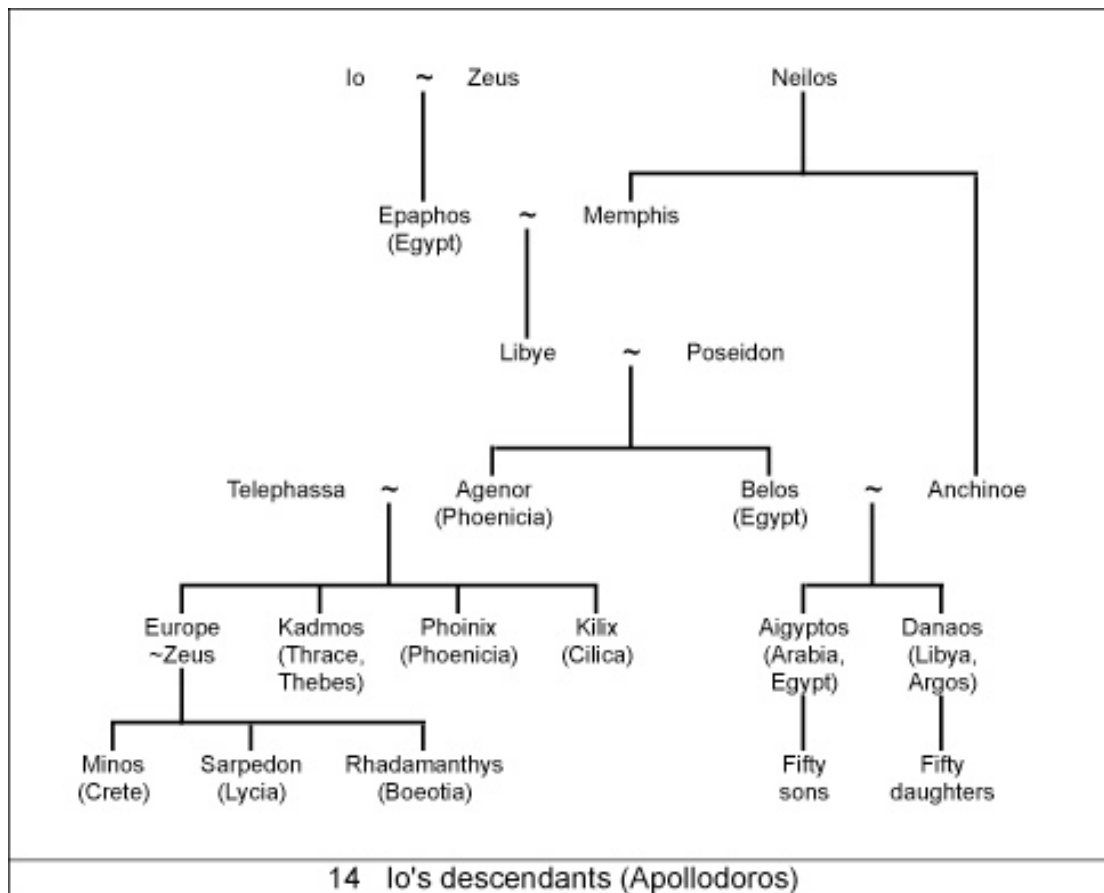
The first eponymous hero in Apollodoros' genealogy of the descendants of Io and Zeus is Libye. According to Apollodoros, she was the daughter of Epaphos, king of Egypt, son of Io and Zeus, and of Memphis, daughter of the Nile, and, of course, eponymous heroine of the Egyptian royal city of Memphis. Libye had a pair of twins by Poseidon, called Agenor and Belos (Apoll. 2.1.4). Agenor went to Phoenicia, where he became king. He married Telephassa and their sons were Kadmos, Phoinix and Kilix. Agenor also had a daughter, Europe, who was carried off by Zeus and brought to Crete, where she bore him three children, called Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys. Agenor sent out his sons to look for Europe, and as they were not able to find her, they settled in various places: Kadmos in Thrace, and later in Boeotia, where he founded Thebes, Phoinix in Phoenicia, and Kilix in Cilicia (Apoll. 3.1.1). Belos, the other son of Libye, remained in Egypt. He married Anchinoe (or Anchirrhoe 'the fast flowing'), another daughter of the Nile, and they got a pair of twins, called Aigyptos and Danaos. Aigyptos got fifty sons, while Danaos got fifty daughters. Belos settled Danaos in Libya and Aigyptos in Arabia, but they did not remain in their allotted regions. Aigyptos conquered the country of the Melampods,

¹¹⁵ Dräger 2005: 837-840; Fletcher 2008: 63.

¹¹⁶ On the character of the *Bibliothēke* as a manual, see: Fowler 2006.

¹¹⁷ Perhaps the author's name was really Apollodoros (a common name). This could explain the confusion with the grammarian of the same name

the people with black feet, and called it Egypt, after himself, and Danaos fled after a quarrel with his brother to Greece, where he became king of Argos (Apoll. 2.1.4).



Apollodoros is the first author who gives us a complete genealogy. He shows himself a real antiquarian, whose love for details is without bound: he even enumerates the full list of Danaos' ten wives and fifty daughters and Aigyptos' seven wives and fifty sons, and tells us which of Danaos' daughters was married to which of Aigyptos' sons. Among them we find many nationalities: an Ethiopian woman, an Arabian woman, and a Phoenician woman, all three without name, a woman called Memphis (after the Egyptian city of Memphis), a woman called Tyria (after the Phoenician city Tyrus), and a son of Aigyptos called Arbelos (after the Assyrian city of Arbela). The origins of many of these names are unknown. Generally, it is Apollodoros' merit to have preserved much older material.

Interpreting Io's genealogy

As we have seen, different authors present different versions of Io's genealogy. Sometimes Belos is the father of Phoinix, but in most genealogies it is Agenor; sometimes Europe is a daughter of Agenor, sometimes of Phoinix; in a late source, John of Antioch (seventh century AD), Phoinix has a brother Syros, the eponymous hero of the Syrians (15.253); in the *Ehoiai*, Phoinix was married to Kassiepeia and to Alpheisiboia, in the version of Pherekydes, he was married to Damno and to Argiope; and Arabos is found in the *Ehoiai*, but not in the *Bibliotheke*.¹¹⁸ The same names keep reappearing, but their family relations vary. Io's genealogy is not only very variable, it is also strikingly variegated: it incorporates the myth of Io and Zeus, the story of the founding of Thebes by Kadmos and the folk tale (*Märchen*) of the Danaides, the fifty daughters of Danaos, who all but one killed the sons of Aigyptos in their wedding-night. These stories are bound together by a genealogy which contains, apart from these mythological characters, a number of eponymous heroes: Phoinix, the eponymous hero of the Phoenicians, Kilix, of the Cilicians, Aigyptos, of the Egyptians, Syros, of the Syrians, and Danaos, of the Δαναοί, a name often given to the Greeks in Homer. Even Kadmos is an eponymous hero.¹¹⁹ The inhabitants of the city of Thebes are called Καδμείοι or Καδμείονες in Greek epic. In addition to Aigyptos, Phoinix, Kilix, Danaos, and Kadmos, two women are mentioned who according to the Greeks had each given their name to one of the continents: Libye and Europe (Hdt. 4.45). Of course, Λιβυή is ambiguous: sometimes it is the country west of Egypt, which is still called Libya nowadays, but often it is used to denote the whole of Africa (Hdt. 4.41-42; Strab. 17.3.1). In the archaic period, this did not make much of a difference, because then the Greeks did not know more of Africa than its north coast.

Probably Io's genealogy had a simpler form in an earlier stage of its development. Meyer has argued that in an older version of the Io myth, Danaos must have been a

¹¹⁸ More material can be found in Cumont in *RE* sv Baal; Tümpel in *RE* sv Belos; Wüst in *RE* sv Phoinix; Ziegler in *RE* sv Phineus; Gomme 1913; Fletcher 2008: 78.

¹¹⁹ West 1999: 448.

son of Io and Zeus, and that he was regarded as the ancestor of the Danaans.¹²⁰ Perhaps we can find this older version of the story of Danaos in Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886, although, of course, this is a very late source. In this story we are dealing with a simple founding myth, in which the offspring of a mortal woman and a god is the ancestor of a people, or the founder of a city, or the first of a line of kings. It is possible that the story of the struggle between Danaos and his twin brother and the legend of the daughters of Danaos also belonged to this oldest layer of the myth. Strife between twins is a recurring motif in founding myths. The struggle between Romulus and Remus, and between Jacob and Esau, are examples that immediately spring to the mind. Later, the genealogy was extended and three generations were inserted between Io and Danaos, thus giving the genealogy a more complex form. This addition must have been made by someone who was convinced that the origins of Greek civilisation were to be sought in Egypt, and who was struck by the similarity between the cow shaped Io and the theriomorph religion of Egypt. This made a number of changes and additions necessary. The birth of Io's son, called Epaphos, was located in Egypt, and Danaos was made a culture hero, coming from Egypt, introducing shipping and irrigation in central Greece. Perhaps in the same period, Kadmos, Phoinix and Europe, already known in Homer, but probably not regarded as eponymous heroes, were made part of Io's genealogy. When it found its more or less final form is difficult to ascertain, because many of the older sources are fragmentarily preserved, but it cannot be later than the mid-fifth century, as is shown by the works and fragments of Pherekydes, Herodotos, Aischylos and Euripides. Its lack of Greco-centrism, perhaps even its barbarian-friendliness, also suggests a period before the Persian wars:¹²¹ the sixth or very early fifth century.

Although Io's genealogy contains a number of eponymous heroes, it is clear, that it was never meant to encompass all nations of the world. For example, we do not find eponymous heroes of peoples in Italy or the Black Sea area, which were already known to the Greeks in the seventh and sixth centuries. At least for some Italian

¹²⁰ Meyer 1892: 77.

¹²¹ One has to be cautious with this type of argument: authors such as Herodotos and Plato, who lived after the Persian wars, sometimes speak admiringly about foreigners, although they often seem exceptions.

nations eponymous heroes are already mentioned in this period. In the closing part of Hesiod's *Theogony* we find Latinos, a son of Odysseus and the eponymous hero of Latium, who reigns over the Etruscans (*Theog.* 1011-1016). In Pherekydes' work we find the eponymous heroes of two other Italian nations, the Oenotrians and the Peucetians. This shows that Io's genealogy was not meant to include the nations of the whole world. Its geographical scope is limited to the eastern Mediterranean. Even later additions, like Syros, are limited to the same area.

It could be argued that Io's genealogy represents the knowledge of the world outside Greece of an older period, when a smaller part of the world was known, for example the late Bronze Age, the Minoan period, or the time of the migration of the Sea Peoples.¹²² However, it is unlikely that the Arabs were already known to the Greeks in the second millennium. The first time the term *Arab* is encountered in a source from the Ancient Near East is in the annals of Shalmaneser III from the middle of the ninth century.¹²³ Therefore, if Io's genealogy stems from the second millennium, Arabos, son of guileless Hermaon, is not the eponymous hero of the Arabs, or he must be a later addition. On the other hand, in the Bronze Age something of the Western Mediterranean must have been known in Greece. The Minoans traded with Sicily, and probably also with areas further West, and therefore they knew more of the world than the Eastern Mediterranean.¹²⁴ Therefore, it is not likely that Io's genealogy represents a Greek vision of the known world of an older era. The clue to its interpretations is better sought in the coming of Danaos and Kadmos to Greece. Both are often pictured as culture heroes.¹²⁵ Kadmos and his companions are thought to have introduced the alphabet in Greece (Hdt. 5.58). Danaos is sometimes portrayed as the first to build a ship (Apoll. 2.1.4; Schol. Eur. *Med.* 1) and he and his daughters are connected with the introduction of artificial irrigation in the Argolis (Strab. 1.23). Therefore the coming of Danaos and Kadmos probably represents the influence of Eastern civilisation on Greek culture.

¹²² Holland (1928) argues that the coming of Kadmos and Danaos represents historical events: invasions of small groups of people from the East, who supplanted the original rulers. The same thesis is defended by Edwards (1979) and Mavrojannis (2007).

¹²³ Hoyland 2001: 59.

¹²⁴ Boardman 1980: 164; Castleden 1993: 118-119; Van de Mierop 2004: 134.

This explains the limited geographical scope of Io's genealogy. There was no cultural influence of the West on Greece, only from the East, and Egypt and Phoenicia played an important role in its transmission.

As the foreign elements in Io's genealogy seem to stem from Greek historical speculations about the origin of civilisation, they must be much later than the Bronze Age, probably the seventh or sixth century. The ethnographic part of this genealogy starts with Belos and Agenor, the sons of Epaphos and Libye. It is often thought that originally Belos is the Semitic deity Baal (Phoen. *Ba^l*, Hebr. *Ba^cal*, Aram. *B^{ec}el*, Akkad. *Bēlu*), but in this context Belos represents Egypt or perhaps, in a wider sense, Africa. Why Baal should be chosen to represent Africa, remains in the dark, and perhaps it is better to leave the name Belos unexplained. Agenor represents the Levantine coast, Cilicia and the neighbouring island of Cyprus. He is said to have lived in Phoenicia, but Phoenicia in Greek sources often has a wider sense than Phoenicia proper, and denotes the entire Levant.¹²⁶ Agenor's going from Egypt to Phoenicia reflects the strong influence of Egyptian culture on this region. This influence is especially manifest in Phoenician art. Phoenicians ivories and bowls often show Egyptian motifs.¹²⁷ These objects of art were traded widely throughout the Mediterranean in Antiquity and were known to and highly praised by the Greeks. This must have engendered the idea that Phoenician civilisation was strongly influenced by Egyptian examples and perhaps even originated there, making Egypt in Greek eyes the ultimate origin of civilisation (cf. Hdt. 2.1; Diod. 1.28). Therefore we may conclude that Egypt and Phoenicia must have been seen as the main sources of Eastern influence on Greece by the mythographer who first constructed Io's genealogy in the form in which it is handed down to us. Assyria and Babylonia, however, are not included. This seems strange, because indirectly Mesopotamian civilisation has had a strong influence on Greek culture, but it came through the Levant and was not apparent as such to the seventh or sixth century Greeks. Arabos, still mentioned in the Hesiodic *Ehoiai*, probably disappeared, because Arabia did not influence Greek civilisation in any known way.

¹²⁵ Meyer 1892: 75 n 2; Bonner 1902: 137-138; Hirschberger 2004: 69.

¹²⁶ Helm 1980: 221.

¹²⁷ Moscati 1968: 59-75; Van de Mieroop 2004: 207-208.

Conclusion

It has become clear that the geographical horizon of Io's genealogy is limited to the Eastern Mediterranean: Egypt, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Greece, and perhaps Arabia. The western Mediterranean is not included, although it was already known to the Greeks, when the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women* were written. The reasons for this limitation are therefore not to be sought in the limitation of the geographical knowledge of the people who shaped it, but in their aims. From a simple founding myth, the story of Io and her descendants became, probably in the sixth century, a complex story about the coming of eastern civilisation to Greece. In this sense it is a historical narrative, but it was told with the help of a genealogy and a number of mythical and legendary stories. Io's genealogy and the related myths are concerned with the coming of civilisation from the East to Greece. Danaos and especially Kadmos are culture heroes and represent this westward expansion of civilisation, coming from Egypt and Phoenicia. Mesopotamia and Persia were apparently not seen as the origin of Greek civilisation in the period in which Io's genealogy was shaped. We may therefore conclude that Io's genealogy in the form in which it has come down to us, is not the written fixation of an older oral tradition, but is the result of thinking about the development of human society and the origin of Greek civilisation. It is not a naive story, but a theoretical construction of an early Greek mythographer or historian. However, in a later period, it was remythologised. When the *Bibliothèque* was written, it had become firmly anchored in the mythical realm.

5.4 Biblical and Greek Genealogies: Form and Function

In this section, the *Table of Nations* will be compared with Greek genealogies. Both Greek and biblical authors use segmented genealogies to describe relations between nations. In form, these genealogies, especially the *Table of Nations* and the genealogy of Io's descendants, are very similar. Similarity is not only found in the use of segmented genealogies itself, but also in details, such as the occurrence of twins and triads. There is also a difference in structure that immediately strikes the eye: the lack of women in the Table of Nations, while women often figure very prominently in Greek myths. Of course, similarity in form alone is not very telling. Segmented genealogies are found in many civilisations and periods of history. Therefore it is important to examine the functions that both genealogies fulfil in the contexts in which they are handed down to us, and, as far as it is possible, to reconstruct which functions they could have served in earlier contexts.

Twins and Triads

A striking similarity between biblical and Greek genealogies is the occurrence of twins and triads. Sometimes, these genealogies make mention of twins (e.g. Danaos and Aigyptos, Jacob/Israel and Esau/Edom), sometimes of three brothers.¹²⁸ The most obvious example are of course Noah's sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth,¹²⁹ but Greek authors also often mention three brothers. Herodotos, for example, mentions that the Carians regarded the Lydians and Mysians as kinsmen, because Λυδός, Μυσός and Κάρι were brothers, sons of Ἴατρος (Hdt. 1.171, cf. 1.7 and 7.74). Another example is found in a fragment of Euripides' lost play *Phrixos*, where the eponyms of Phoenicia and Cilicia are brothers: 'For Agenor had three sons, Kilix, after whom Cilicia is named, Phoinix, whose name the country (of Phoenicia) bears, and Thasos' (*TrGF* Euripides F819). And of course Ἑλλην, the eponym of the Greeks, had three sons: Δῶρος, the ancestor of the Dorians, Εοῦθος, the ancestor of the Achaeans and

¹²⁸ More examples in: West 1985: 27-28.

¹²⁹ The name יָפֶֿתֿ *jepet* (Japheth) is almost certainly related to Ἰαπετός, the name of one of the Titans, father of Atlas and Prometheus (Diod. 5.66-67; Apoll. 1.2.8). The origin of this name is not clear. The explanation from ἰάπτω 'to throw, to hit' is probably secondary (for other explanations, see: Gundel in *RE* sv Iapetos).

Ionians, and Αἰόλος, the ancestor of the Aeolians (*Ehoiai* F9; cf. Hdt. 1.56; 7.94; 8.44; Apollod. 1.49). Sometimes, Triads are used where two or four brothers would have been easier for the task. Hellen had *three* sons, who became the fathers of *four* Greek tribes: Dorians, Achaeans, Ionians and Aeolians. Apparently, three was a desired number, even where four would have been more appropriate.

Women

A striking difference is found in the occurrence of women. The *Table of Nations* is exclusively composed of men, mentioning only fathers and sons, while most Greek genealogies also mention mothers and daughters. The wives of Noah and his sons, which figure in the account of the flood, are not mentioned in the Table of Nations, nor is a single daughter or granddaughter.¹³⁰ Of course, women are generally scarce in biblical genealogies, but sometimes they are mentioned. For example, in Cain's genealogy (Gen. 4), we find the wives of Lamech, Adah and Zillah, and his daughter Naamah. In Greek genealogies, on the other hand, we find many wives and daughters. Some of them play an important role, others only a minor one. The second group exhibits a remarkable fluidity, as is shown by names of Agenor's wives. According to Apollodoros, Agenor was married to Telephassa, but according to Pherekydes, Agenor had two wives, Argiope and Damno. Apart from their names, nothing is known of Argiope and Damno, and not much of Telephassa. At the other side of the spectrum we find Io and Europe, who are subjects of well-known myths, in which they form a union with Zeus. Originally the union between a mortal woman and a god or semi-divine hero is a motif belonging to a founding myth, in which the offspring of this union became the founder of a dynasty. When the monarchy was abolished in most Greek *poleis*, these founding myths must have lost their original function, but they were not forgotten, as these myths were recorded in mythographic or historiographic works. In the Hebrew Bible nothing similar is found, except perhaps in Gen. 6:1-4, in which we hear of the marriages between the sons of God and the daughters of men.¹³¹ However, this short passage is enigmatic

¹³⁰ The rewritten version of Gen. 10 in Jub. 8-10 mentions the names of the wives of many of the sons and grandsons of Noah.

¹³¹ Most scholars regard the sons of God (בני אלהים) as (semi)divine beings, but according to Fockner (2008) the text must be read non-mythologically and the sons of God are human.

and stands isolated. Unions between mortal women and deities seem foreign to the religious ideas expressed in the Hebrew Bible. Probably, we should not attach too much importance to this difference. The similarity in form easily outweighs the differences.

Function

More important than the form is the function. The function of the Table of Nations is theological and historical. It follows the account of the flood and it precedes the calling of Abraham, which is the beginning of Israel's history. It shows that the nations of the earth all are descended from Noah, who himself was descended from Adam, the first man, created by the God of Israel. In this way it expresses that the entire world is a creation of the God of Israel. The most common function of segmented genealogies is to express domestic, religious, or political relationships between persons or groups. In this way it regulates the way persons or groups in a society behave themselves with respect to others. It is difficult to see how the Table of Nations could ever have fulfilled a function like this. A genealogy can only perform this function if there is a basic agreement about the relationships expressed in it. Relationships between nations are regulated by political treaties, not by genealogies. The Table of Nations could have been created after the example of a genealogy functioning in such a way, but in the form in which we have it, it must have been from the start a scholarly creation with a theological or historiographic function. Of course, it is possible that parts of it have been adopted from lists that had a different function, for example, lists of countries with which commercial relations existed.¹³² However, in a form similar to the present form, as a genealogy starting with the sons of Noah, it has always been historiography, or theology, or both.

It is more difficult to determine the function of Io's genealogy. It need not have been the same in different sources. Apollodoros' *Bibliothēke*, from which we know the most complete version, is a repository of ancient myths. Io's genealogy has no function in the *Bibliothēke*, other than being part of the traditional Greek mythology.

¹³² Westermann 1974: 698, 704.

It is also recorded in a number of Greek mythographic or historiographic works from various periods. To us moderns historiography and mythography may seem incompatible, but in early Greek historiography no difference was made between these genres.¹³³ Myths were often regarded as part of history, not only in the sixth and fifth centuries, when the writing of history began, but also later, as is shown by their inclusion in Diodoros' *Bibliothēke*, a universal history from the first century, and even in Christian historical works such as Synkellos' *Ecloga Chronographica*, the *Chronicon Paschale* and other Byzantine chronicles, in which we find Perseus and Heracles, and even Zeus and Ouranos, described as real historical characters. In many of these works, early and late, Io's genealogy was included as history, or myth, which is often almost the same. Of course, myths were often purified from supernatural or pagan elements, to comply with the more or less rationalistic, religious or Christian views of the historian who wrote them down, but the conviction that Io and Perseus were historical characters is seldom challenged. They had become part of history writing and it is in this function that Io's genealogy is included in those works. It is an altogether different question, however, what the function of this genealogy was in older works.

According to West, early Greek genealogical literature had three functions. In the first place, it was written, because people who do not know written records or use them only sparsely, often 'delight in factual knowledge for its own sake, especially when it relates to people and places beyond their own limits of time and space. They enjoy listening to catalogues and genealogies'.¹³⁴ The second function of Greek genealogical literature, according to West, was to express the relationships between the clans and aristocratic families, who formed the ruling class in archaic Greece. Genealogies could be used to support the claims of a family to standing and respect in its struggle with rivalling families. Finally, West argues that genealogies are used by many peoples as a means 'to account for their origins, and in some cases their relationships to other peoples in their world'.¹³⁵ The *Catalogue of Women* has been handed down too fragmentarily to be certain that Io's genealogy already had this

¹³³ Van Seters 1992: 24-34; Fowler 2010: 321.

¹³⁴ West 1985: 8; cf. Miano 2010: 65-66.

¹³⁵ West 1985: 27.

function in the Hesiodic corpus, but at a certain moment in history, Io's genealogy must have acquired a historical function. As we have seen earlier, it originally had a simpler shape and was for the greater part located in the Argolis, but was later extended to include the eponymous heroes of the Phoenicians, Cilicians, and other oriental nations. This development can be explained from the third function that West mentions: reflection on the origins and relations of nations. Io's genealogy was used by someone who was convinced that the origins of Greek civilisation were to be found in Egypt and in Phoenicia. From a simple founding myth it became a story about the coming of eastern civilisation to Greece, history that was told with the help of a genealogy and a number of mythical and legendary stories.

Conclusion

We may safely conclude that the functions of the Table of Nations in Genesis and Io's genealogy in the *Catalogue of Women* are the same. As we have seen, the function of a genealogy is often to express relationships between persons or families or groups in a society, or to legitimise someone's position, or to give standing and status to a clan or family. These functions are often important in societies that use script only seldom or not at all, and are only possible if there is a certain degree of fluidity: genealogies have to change to adapt to the changing social relations. Perhaps such functions were still fulfilled by Io's genealogy in the archaic period, although they are difficult to trace. However, in the form it is handed down to us, Io's genealogy is the result of thinking about history and the development of civilisation. Unlike Io's genealogy, the Table of Nations does not show any traces of a social or political function. It is the result of theological reflection. It aims at expressing the relation between God's act of creation at the beginning and the nations that populate the world. It is theology, but also history, because this relation is described as the result of a historical process. The Table of Nations and Io's genealogy therefore both result from reflection on history, not in the way we do it now, by carefully examining and comparing sources, but in a pre-scientific, religious or mythical way. Yet, despite these similarities in form and function, specific similarities that point to Greek mythography or historiography having influenced the composition of the Table of Nations, or vice versa, have never been found. Form and function are the the same, but the names are different, the role of

Egypt is different (often the place of origin of civilisation in Greek thought, usually an enemy or a unreliable ally in the Bible), and the geographical horizon of the Greek ethnic genealogies is more restricted. Direct influence, for which for example Van Seters has argued, is therefore not very likely. If Greek mythography has influenced the composition of the genealogies in Genesis, or vice versa, it must have happened not by textual transmission, but indirectly, by oral transmission of stories and ideas, and not of specific names and events. But it is also possible that the similarities are explained by genealogies and kinship ties being the way in which ancient authors, and also members of pre-modern societies from other regions and periods, structured their world and described the relations between nations.