

## CHAPTER 7

### PAUL'S INTERRUPTED SIXTH SPEECH (Acts 22:30-23:9)

#### 1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

One encounters here a completely new category of speech, and one which could be called the "stepchild" among studies on the speeches in Ac. The second and third Petrine speeches (Ac 2:14-41; 3:12-26), and the first Pauline speech (Ac 13:14-41/48), were *missionary speeches*. This sixth Pauline speech falls in the category of the *defence speeches* of Paul. It is one of two defence speeches which contain an explicit quotation from the Jewish Scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

The similarities between the second Petrine speech (Ac 2) and the first Pauline speech (Ac 13) with regard to their use of the Pss and Prophets have already been pointed out. After they were presented, formulating the Jesus-kerygma, the Torah Scroll is picked up as another section from the Scriptures. It was referred to in Ac 3 to link the miracle of the lame man with the covenantal God of Israel, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (V.13), and his promises which were made to their forefathers (VV.13.25), quoting from Gn. It was also used in the same speech as a prophecy from Moses, and linked with an exhortation to listen to the Prophet who will come, by quoting a combination of textual phrases from Dt 18 and probably Lv 23. In this instance (Ac 23), the Torah is used to show Paul's acquaintance with it. Not only does he know the commandments, but the fact that he quotes the Torah in this context indicates his respect and commitment to them.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH

##### Section I: Introduction (22:30)

30 Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον βουλόμενος γινῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές, τὸ τί κατηγορεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἔλυσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκέλευσεν συλλεθεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πᾶν τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ καταγαγῶν τὸν Παῦλον ἔστησεν εἰς αὐτούς.

##### Section II: The irony of Paul's trial (23:1-5)

23:1 Ἀτενίσας δὲ ὁ Παῦλος τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἶπεν·

<sup>1</sup>. The other being Ac 28:16-28.

<sup>2</sup>. So also A. WEISER: "Die höchst befremdliche Mitteilung, daß es eines eigenen Hinweises bedurfte, damit Paulus den Hohenpriester erkannte, und daß er sich dann sofort mit Bezugnahme auf ein Schriftwort entschuldigte, kann wohl in der Absicht des Lukas nur den Sinn haben, Paulus — obwohl kritisch gegenüber jüdischem Fehlverhalten — doch als schrift- und gesetzestreu herauszustellen" (*ApG II*, 616-617).

ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,  
ἐγὼ πάση συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ θεῷ ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας.

2 ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας ἐπέταξεν τοῖς παρεστώσιν αὐτῷ τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα.

3 τότε ὁ Παῦλος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν·  
τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ θεός, τοῖχε κεκοιμημένε·  
καὶ σὺ κἀθὴ κρίνων με κατὰ τὸν νόμον  
καὶ παρανομῶν κελεύεις με τύπτεσθαι;

4 οἱ δὲ παρεστώτες εἶπαν·  
τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ λοιδορεῖς;

5 εἶπε τε ὁ Παῦλος·  
οὐκ ἴδεις, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρχιερεὺς·  
γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι ἀρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς.

#### Section III: The resurrection as a controversial issue (23:6-9)

6 Γινούς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ὅτι τὸ ἐν μέρος ἐστὶν Σαδδουκαίων τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Φαρισαίων ἔκραξεν ἐν τῷ  
συνεδρίῳ·  
ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ Φαρισαῖός εἰμι υἱὸς Φαρισαίων,  
περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν [ἐγὼ] κρίνομαι.

7 τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ εἰπόντος ἐγένετο στάσις τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων, καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ  
πλῆθος. 8 Σαδδουκαῖοι μὲν γὰρ λέγουσιν μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν μήτε ἄγγελον μήτε πνεῦμα,  
Φαρισαῖοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν τὰ ἀμφότερα. 9 ἐγένετο δὲ κραυγὴ μεγάλη, καὶ ἀναστάτες τιπὲς τῶν  
γραμματέων τοῦ μέρους τῶν Φαρισαίων διεμάχοντο λέγοντες· οὐδὲν κακὸν εὐρίσκομεν ἐν τῷ  
ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ· εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἄγγελος;

Although the first six verses in Ac 23 do not look like a genuine speech, especially in comparison with the speech of Peter in Ac 2, or that of Paul in Ac 13, some of the prominent elements of the other speeches which were previously discussed, are also to be found here. The manner in which the hearers are addressed, the explicit quotation from Scripture with a clear introductory formula, the reaction of the hearers, and the motif of the resurrection were all present in the speeches discussed so far. But in contrast with the others, which were relatively long discourses, this takes the form of a dramatized dialogue between Paul and his antagonistic hearers. It looks like the start of a long speech by Paul, which is interrupted by the unjust order from the high priest to strike him; this interruption causes the dialogue to develop in a different direction from that planned by Paul. Nevertheless, the same structural markers stand out prominently here too: (a) *the gesture of the speaker*:<sup>3</sup> "Paul, looking intently at the council" ('Ατενίσας δὲ ὁ Παῦλος τῷ συνεδρίῳ, V.1); (b) *the verb of saying*: "he said" (εἶπεν, V.1); (c) *naming the hearers*: "Brethren"

<sup>3</sup>. "Paul was set before them" (τὸν Παῦλον ἔστησεν εἰς αὐτούς...).

(ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, V.1). As in the other speeches, the addressing of the hearers serves as a prominent structural marker in the speech. It is to be found again in V.5 (ἀδελφοί), and also in V.6 (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί).

### 3. SECTION I. ACTS 22:30

#### Introduction

The brief dialogue of Paul with the authorities of the Sanhedrin, forms part of Paul's persecutions. It is Paul's remark that he is a Roman citizen by birth (Ac 22:29) which results in the withdrawal of those who were about to examine him, and the emotion of fear on the part of the tribune who had bound him.

In V.30,<sup>4</sup> on the following day (τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον), the need develops for this Roman tribune to establish the real reason (βουλόμενος γινῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές) why the Jews have accused Paul (τὸ τί κατηγορεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων). After unbinding Paul (ἔλυσεν αὐτόν),<sup>5</sup> he commands the chief priests and the whole of council to meet (καὶ ἐκέλευσεν συναλθεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πᾶν τὸ συνέδριον), and brings Paul before them (καὶ καταγαγὼν τὸν Παῦλον ἔστησεν εἰς αὐτούς).

### 4. SECTION II. ACTS 23:1-5

#### The irony of Paul's trial and the quotation from *Ex 22:27*

#### 4.1 Composition of the section

Paul's trial is presented here in such a way that he is in the centre of events.<sup>6</sup> He addresses his hearers as "brothers" (ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, V.1), as was the case in several of the other speeches, including those of Peter, Stephen and James.<sup>7</sup> This does not reflect a Jewish way of addressing people.<sup>8</sup> Typical Lukan style is used to describe the temporal element in Paul's life before God, a life which he lived "in all good conscience<sup>9</sup> up to this day" (ἐγὼ πάση συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ θεῷ ἄχρι<sup>10</sup> ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας,<sup>11</sup> V.1). It is important to notice that the τῷ θεῷ might also be taken to mean that Paul can call God as a witness with regard to his life.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>4</sup> E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 565; A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 614; and B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA are right in including Ac 22:30 with Ac 23, "since it essentially constitutes an introduction to Paul's defense before Council" (*Translator's Handbook*, 431).

<sup>5</sup> See Ac 21:33.

<sup>6</sup> So also in the same direction, A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 614.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Peter in Ac 1:16; 2:29,37; 15:7; Paul in 13:15,26,38; 22:1; 23:6; 28:17; Stephen in 7:2; and James in 15:13.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 765.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also Ac 24:16, although there with ἀπρόσκοπος as the attribute. G. SCHNEIDER points to the combination of συνειδήσις with ἀγαθῇ in the following: 1 Tm 1:5,19; 1 Pt 3:16,21; 1 Clem 41:1; Polyc 5:3; Herodian VI 3:4 (*Apg II*, 331).

<sup>10</sup> The temporal marker, ἄχρι, occurs 49 times in the NT and is found most frequently in Lk-Ac (19X). Only Rv comes near with 11 times.

<sup>11</sup> Almost half of all the occurrences of ἡμέρα in the NT are to be found in Lk-Ac (177 of the 389 times). It occurs 83 times in Lk and 94 times in Ac.

<sup>12</sup> E. HAENCHEN says: "Paulus hat sich vor Gott nicht das Geringste vorzuwerfen" (*Apg*, 565). So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 432.

Paul is then interrupted at this point<sup>13</sup> by the high priest Ananias<sup>14</sup> who commands those who stand by Paul, to strike him on the mouth" (ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας ἐπέταξεν τοῖς παρεστώσῳ αὐτῷ τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, V.2).<sup>15</sup> Paul's reaction to this comes in the form of a direct speech with (a) a curse on the one hand, and (b) the manifestation of his knowledge of the law, on the other hand. Note also the contrast here between ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (V.1) and τοῖχε κεκουιαμένε (V.3).

(a) "God shall strike you, you whitewashed wall!" (τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ θεός, τοῖχε κεκουιαμένε, V.3).<sup>16</sup> The phrase τοῖχε κεκουιαμένε ("whitewashed wall"), reminds one immediately of Jesus' designation of the scribes and Pharisees, as τάφοις κεκουιαμένοις ("whitewashed tombs", Mt 23:27),<sup>17</sup> which is the only other place in the NT where the verb κοιιάω is to be found.<sup>18</sup> There is a striking resemblance here to a motif from Ez 13:10-15,<sup>19</sup> the context of which is a warning against false prophets. However, the LXX uses the verb ἀλείφω at this point, and not κοιιάω.<sup>20</sup> Another interesting parallel is to be found in Dt 27:2-4. Here, Moses and the elders of Israel have commanded the people to keep the commandment which was given to them that day. Further, when they pass over the Jordan to the promised land, they are instructed to "set up large stones, and plaster them with plaster" (καὶ στήσεις σεαυτῷ λίθους μεγάλους καὶ κοιιάσεις αὐτοὺς κοιιά, V.2),<sup>21</sup> and write upon them all the words of that law. This is the only place in the LXX where the verb κοιιά is used within a comparable context.

(b) Paul's knowledge of the law becomes clear with the question he asks: "Are you sitting to judge me according to the law, and yet contrary to the law you order me to be struck?" (καὶ σὺ κάθη κρίνων με κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ παρανομῶν κελεύεις με τύπτεσθαι: V.3).<sup>22</sup> The reference might be to Lv 19:15: "You shall do no injustice in judgment".<sup>23</sup> It was the custom that defendants should be given a fair

<sup>13</sup> G. LÜDEMANN says: "So hebt Paulus mehrmals an, ohne daß sich eine wirkliche Rede entwickelt" (*Christentum*, 251).

<sup>14</sup> Based on the information from *JosAnt* XX 5,2; 9,2; *Bell* II 17,9, this Ananias was the son of Nedeбайos, who was made high priest by Herod of Chalkis and who ruled between ca. 47-59. He was hated as being a friend of the Romans, and murdered by the Zealots in Sept 66, at the beginning of the Jewish war (STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 766). Cf. also H. CONZELMANN, *App.* 137; B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 432-433; F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 425; A. WEISER, *App.* 616; and G. SCHNEIDER, *App.* 331.

<sup>15</sup> According to G. SCHNEIDER, this should not be seen as punishment for Paul taking it upon himself to speak, but rather for the *content* of what he is saying (*App II*, 331).

<sup>16</sup> H. CONZELMANN says that "τύπτειν κτλ ist eine jüdische Fluchformel" (*App.* 137). So also STR-BILL, *Kommentar II*, 766; and A. WEISER, *App II*, 616. According to G. SCHNEIDER, this phrase expresses the certainty of the punishment: "Die Strafe wird auf den Srafenden zurückfallen!" (*App II*, 331.n.23).

<sup>17</sup> So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 433; and F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 426.

<sup>18</sup> Lk simply refers to them as being like "graves" (Lk 11:44).

<sup>19</sup> So also H. CONZELMANN, *App.* 137; F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 426; A. WEISER, *App II*, 616; G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 331.

<sup>20</sup> So also noticed by B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 433.

<sup>21</sup> The phrase καὶ κοιιάσεις αὐτοὺς κοιιά is repeated again in V.4.

<sup>22</sup> H. CONZELMANN points out that "Lk will das Judentum, sein gebrochenes, heuchlerisches Verhältnis zum Gesetz (vgl 7 50ff) in seinem Repräsentanten charakterisieren" (*App.* 137).

<sup>23</sup> So also E. HAENCHEN, *App.* 566.

trail, and be presumed innocent until proved guilty.<sup>24</sup> However, the resemblance with Jn 7 on the division among the people about Jesus, is striking. Officers were sent by the chief priests and the Pharisees to arrest Jesus, but they were divided on the issue if he should be arrested, and it did not happen. On being questioned about their reluctance to arrest Jesus, Nicodemus, who went with the officers, answered: "Does our law judge a man without first giving him a hearing and learning what he does?" (Jn 7:51).

The similarities between the attitude of the priests, scribes and Pharisees to Jesus, and their attitude to Paul, are striking. The whole event calls to mind the trial of Jesus himself. Jesus was led to the high priest (Lk 22:54), while all the chief priests, elders and scribes were assembled (Mk 14:53; Mt 26:57; Lk 22:66); so too is Paul brought before the council, chief priests and high priest (Ac 22:30; 23:2). The whole council sought testimony against Jesus to put him to death (Mk 14:55; Mt 26:59; Lk 22:66-70); in the same way, the Jews plotted to kill Paul (Ac 23:12). No witnesses were needed for Jesus (Mk 14:63; Lk 22:71), or false witnesses came forward (Mt 26:60); and in Paul's case it seems as if only the centurion was present, apart from the council itself (Ac 22:30). They spat in Jesus' face, struck and slapped him (Mk 14:65; Mt 26:67; Lk 23:10-11); Paul too, is struck (on the mouth) (Ac 23:2).

The bystanders demonstrate their loyalty to the high priest with their counter (rhetorical) question to Paul: "Would you revile God's high priest?" (τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ λοιδορεῖς; V.4).<sup>25</sup> Paul responds that he was unaware that this was the high priest (οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρχιερεύς, V.5). Note the use of ἀδελφοί again, indicating a more positive tone in Paul's voice.<sup>26</sup> The opportunity is once again used by Paul to express his knowledge of the law, through the explicit quotation from Ex 22:27: "You shall not speak evil of a ruler of your people" (ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς, V.5).<sup>27</sup>

#### 4.2 The quotation from Ex 22:27 in Ac 23:5

##### 4.2.1 Other NT occurrences of the quotation

This is the only place in NT literature where Ex 22:27 is quoted. Thus, there is no scriptural evidence to support the possibility that Luke could have derived this quotation from tradition;<sup>28</sup> it can safely be ascribed to the initiative and hand of Luke himself. Ex as a whole seems to have been well known by Luke. It was part of the Torah scroll (the oldest and most respected section of Scriptures among the

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 425.

<sup>25</sup> F.F. BRUCE (*Acts*, 426,n.13) has pointed to the resemblance here with Jn 18:22. Jesus is struck by one of the guards standing near him, asking Jesus: "Do you answer the high priest like this?" (ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος εἰς παρεστηκῶς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔδωκεν ῥάπισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰπῶν· οὕτως ἀποκρίνη τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ).

<sup>26</sup> So also B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 434. According to G. LÜDEMANN, "(hätte er) Ananias nicht so angeredet, wenn er von seiner Hohenpriesterwürde gewußt hätte" (*Christentum*, 251). This may be proof that Paul meant this honestly and not sarcastically.

<sup>27</sup> G. SCHNEIDER draws attention also to Is 8:21 (LXX) (*Apq II*, 332,n.32).

<sup>28</sup> Contrary to G. LÜDEMANN who thinks that VV.1-5 might have been influenced by material from the tradition (*Christentum*, 253).

Jews), on the one hand, and also used frequently, on the other hand, by especially Luke, to quote from explicitly.<sup>29</sup>

#### 4.2.2 The introductory formula (Ac 23:5)

The quoted text (phrase) from Ex 22:27(28) is introduced by the words γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι, which are clearly recognizable as an introductory formula.<sup>30</sup> The ὅτι here simply serves the purpose of a double point.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

NT (NA26)	LXX	MT
Ac 23:5	Ex 22:27	Ex 22:27(28)
	θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις καὶ	אלהים לאלקלך
ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ	ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ	רמשיא
σου οὐκ ἔρεῖς κακῶς.	σου οὐ κακῶς ἔρεῖς.	לא רשעך

##### (a) Textual differences between MT and LXX

Both versions are almost in agreement with each other with regard to the quoted phrase, except for (a)  $\Theta\iota\gamma\iota\lambda\lambda\lambda$  which reads θεοὺς in the LXX;<sup>32</sup> (b) the Hebrew singular,  $\text{רשעך}$  ("ruler") which has become a plural in the LXX translation: ἄρχοντας ("rulers");<sup>33</sup> (c) the preposition  $\text{רשעך}$  which is left untranslated in the LXX; and (d) the  $\text{רשעך}$  ("curse") which is translated with κακῶς ἔρεῖς in the LXX.

According to this information, the quotation in Ac neither agrees exactly with that of the MT, nor with that of the LXX.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the following: Ac 7:27,35 (Ex 2:14); Ac 7:6,29 (Ex 2:22); Ac 7:33 (Ex 3:5); Ac 3:13; 7:32, par Mk 12:26; Mt 22:32; Lk 20:37 (Ex 3:6); Ac 7:34 (Ex 3:7,10); Lk 12:35 (Ex 12:11); Lk 2:23 (Ex 13:2,12,15); Ac 4:24; 14:15 (Ex 20:11); Lk 18:20, par Mk 10:19; Mt 19:18 (Ex 20:12-16); Ac 23:5 (Ex 22:27); Lk 7:27, par Mk 1:2; Mt 11:10 (Ex 23:20); Ac 7:40 (Ex 32:1,23).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. also C.K. BARRETT, *Luke/Acts*, 240.

<sup>31</sup> See also F. RIENECKER, *Sprachlicher Schlüssel zum Griechischen Neuen Testament*, Basel 1980, 301.

<sup>32</sup> J.W. WEVERS points out that θεοὺς "can either refer to 'God' or 'gods,' but since  $\text{רשעך}$  is singular, the first clause must mean 'you shall not revile God'" (*Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SCS 30), Atlanta 1990, 355).

<sup>33</sup> According to J.W. WEVERS, the LXX "Exod understood  $\text{אלהים}$  as plural in intent and for consistency's sake took  $\text{רשעך}$  as a collective." He thinks that the use of the plural might be a reflection of the Egyptian environment in which the translator lived (*Notes*, 355).

(b) *Textual differences between LXX and Ac*

There are two differences between the versions of the LXX and that of Ac: (a) the LXX plural, ἄρχοντας, is found as a singular, ἄρχοντα, in Ac 23; and (b) the word order of the LXX phrase, οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς, is changed to οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς in Ac.

b.1 *Change in number: ἄρχοντας (LXX) —> ἄρχοντα (Ac)*<sup>34</sup>

No NT textual witnesses support the reading as it is to be found in the reconstructed reading of the LXX. The situation among the LXX manuscripts is, however, different, and they vary in their reading.

Two possibilities might have caused this alternative reading in Ac. It is (a) either the result of another *Textvorlage* which is nearer to the MT than to the LXX. The singular-reading of Ac agrees with the reading of the MT, and is therefore at this point nearer to the MT than to the LXX. Or (b) it is the result of the re-interpretation of the quotation in its new context. Contextually, the ἄρχοντα of Ac makes more sense in the context, referring to the high priest Ananias, and standing therefore in the singular.<sup>35</sup>

b.2 *Change in word order:*

οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς (LXX) —> οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς (Ac)

Similarly, with regard to this change, there is no support to be found among the textual witnesses of the NT in favour of the reading as it occurs in the LXX manuscripts.

4.2.4 *Method of quotation*

This is the only place in the NT where Ex 22:27 is quoted, and it is a relatively safe assumption that Luke himself is responsible for the occurrence of this quotation here and in this context. The reading of the quotation agrees neither with the reading of the reconstructed LXX, nor with that of the Hebrew. If the change from ἄρχοντας to ἄρχοντα is taken as being the result of Luke's *Textvorlage*,<sup>36</sup> then it seems to be nearer to the Hebrew. This agrees with the evidence from the other quotations which have been dealt with thus far.

The pattern of usage of Scripture in the Petrine speeches was that material from the Pss, 12P and Is was used first,<sup>37</sup> and thereafter material from the Torah.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup>. Ἄρχων appears 19 times in Lk-Ac, which represents half of all its occurrences in the NT corpus (37 times).

<sup>35</sup>. Cf. also W.K.L. CLARKE: "ἄρχοντα is substituted for the less suitable ἄρχοντας" (*Use of the Septuagint*, 94).

<sup>36</sup>. W.K.L. CLARKE takes a different view. He sees the change from ἄρχοντας to ἄρχοντα as being due to those quotations which are "Free Versions of the LXX, in Acts" (83), and narrows this down to those which present "...a desire to adapt a prophetic context to the circumstances under which it was thought to have been fulfilled" (93.94). He sees the other change to be a mere recensional one (*Use of the Septuagint*, 93.95).

<sup>37</sup>. Cf. the first and second Petrine speeches: Ac 1:16-22 and 2:14-41.

<sup>38</sup>. Cf. the third Petrine speech: Ac 3:11-26.

It seems as if the same pattern is to be found here in the Pauline speeches; first, material from the Pss, 12P and Is is used,<sup>39</sup> after which (in this speech) the focus moves to the Torah.

#### 4.2.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

The meaning of this quotation in its original context is retained. It functions as a commandment within the Torah. Its impact and its function within this speech, probably lies more in the *fact* of quoting this commandment, than in its *content*. It depicts Paul firstly as a Pharisee who knows the Jewish law very well, and secondly as a person who shows respect for that law and obeys it.<sup>40</sup>

Some major historical problems arise here, the most obvious of which is that Paul, apparently, did not know that he was speaking to the high priest.<sup>41</sup> However, the changing tone in Paul's voice by addressing them as ἀδελφοί, and the quotation from Ex 22:27(28) are pointing in the opposite direction.<sup>42</sup> Luke probably intended to suggest that Paul was uttering a *prophecy*,<sup>43</sup> without knowing that he was addressing the high priest himself. This may have been a retrospective interpretation by Luke, looking back on Ananias' death at the hands of the Zealots 66 AD.<sup>44</sup> God's protection of his elected and authorized servants, and his revenge against those who touch them, would then be implied here.

If Paul was then genuinely unaware that he was addressing the high priest himself, then all this would show how God is in control of his servant, and of history.

Any possible misunderstanding that Paul sees himself as being above the law is cleared up when he apologizes, pointing out his ignorance, and submitting himself in obedience to the Jewish law, which he knows so well that he can quote it verbatim from the Scriptures.

The ironies of Paul's trial are vividly clear. Paul is brought before the Sanhedrin to be judged by the Jewish law. As the accused, he might well be expected to convey some antagonistic reaction to this law. On the contrary, he shows his knowledge of, and respect for that law by quoting from it and submitting himself to it. The Sanhedrin, on the other hand, would be expected to act as honest and

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the first Pauline speech: Ac 13:16-41/48.

<sup>40</sup> So also E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 566; F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 426; A. WEISER, *App II*, 617. C.K. BARRETT includes this quotation as part of those which give "direction for the church's life", "...if it is understood to mean that Christians, or at least Jewish Christians, were expected to show respect to Jewish authorities" (*Luke/Acts*, 240).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. also H. CONZELMANN: "Die ganze Szene ist unvorstellbar: Wie sollte Paulus den Vorsitzenden nicht erkannt haben!" (*App*, 137). F.F. BRUCE too points to the fact that: "At a regular meeting of the Sanhedrin the high priest presided, and would surely have been identifiable for that reason" (*Acts*, 426). Most commentators have a general problem with the historicity of the whole account. Cf. G. SCHNEIDER on the historicity of the centurion who calls together the Sanhedrin (*App II*, 330). Also A. WEISER, *App II*, 614-615, for some of the other historical problematic issues in this account, and a brief discussion on this.

<sup>42</sup> So also E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 566; and B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, *Translator's Handbook*, 434.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. E. HAENCHEN who agrees that this is a *prophecy*, pointing to "μέλλει vom göttlichen Ratschluß" (*App*, 566). In the same direction, also G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 331.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also E. HAENCHEN who thinks along similar lines (*App*, 566).



faithful custodians of the law. They are the representatives and the watchdogs of that law. In fact, during the trial, the roles are reversed! The Sanhedrin does not comply with the law: Paul has been brought before them without any properly formulated charge, and without any witnesses. Even the highest authority of all, the high priest, the judge himself, acts against the law by ordering that the accused be struck. Likewise, at the lowest level of authority, the court officials obey the high priest, instead of upholding the law, and ensuring that others do so too. Paul is thus pictured in the same way as Jesus.<sup>45</sup> He is an innocent person, unjustly accused, tried, and judged.<sup>46</sup>

### 5. SECTION III. ACTS 23:6-9

#### The resurrection as a controversial issue

This section should be taken as beginning at V.6, rather than V.7. The structural use of ὁδὲλεφοί clearly indicates this.<sup>47</sup>

By this time Paul has seen that the audience consists of both Pharisees and Sadducees, so he "cries out" in the council that he himself is a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees,<sup>48</sup> and that he is on trial with respect to the hope and resurrection of the dead (V.6).<sup>49</sup> It is the fourth time that Paul speaks here, and the hearers are once again addressed as "brothers". In a masterly way Paul uses the divided views on the resurrection to his benefit. The Sadducees did not believe in the resurrection, angels or spirits, while the Pharisees do believe in all these (V.8). The Pharisees then take side for Paul and against the Sadducees by saying that they do not find anything wrong in him (V.9). The fact that the Pharisees also believed in the resurrection, probably means that "pure" Judaism could have reached its fulfillment within the Christian religion.<sup>50</sup>

With this chessmate situation, Paul gets himself out of a real dilemma.

### 6. SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN THE SIXTH PAULINE SPEECH

6.1 A single line from Ex 22:27 in the Torah-scroll is used here to show Paul's respect and obedience for the law, in contrast to the officers of the same law who are disobedient to it themselves.

6.2 It is used in a normative sense, with the implication that it remains normative for all times; it is law!

<sup>45</sup> So also A. WEISER, *Apg II*, 615.

<sup>46</sup> A. WEISER says: "Hauptanliegen der beiden Szenenteile ist es, Paulus gegenüber den höchsten Repräsentanten des religiösen Israel als einen vor 'Gott mit reinem Gewissen' lebenden (V 1), schrift- und gesetzstreuen (VV 2-5), pharisäisch geprägten Judenchristen (VV 1.6-9) zu erweisen" (*Apg II*, 615).

<sup>47</sup> Contrary to the division of G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 329.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. also Ac 26:5 and Philp 3:5.

<sup>49</sup> G. SCHNEIDER is right in saying: "Die Formulierung ist absichtlich so gewählt, damit sie zugleich auf die pharisäische Enderwartung und den christlichen Osterglauben bezogen werden kann" (*Apg II*, 332).

<sup>50</sup> So G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 330.

6.3 Either a *Texnortage* was used which neither agrees with the existing LXX, nor with the MT evidence, or the quoted line is simply recalled from memory. But even then would it be a very exact formulation according to practice of the day to respect the law "to its letter".

## CHAPTER 8

### PAUL'S TENTH SPEECH (Acts 28:16-28)

#### 1. THE BROADER CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

One encounters in Ac 28 the end of Luke's double work. There seems to be no doubt that this chapter can also be ascribed to the creative hand of Luke himself.<sup>1</sup> Paul has reached the capital of the Roman empire. Luke may have intended, by this account, to present Paul as the one who introduced Christianity to Rome, although he must surely have been aware of the prior existence of a Christian congregation in Rome.<sup>2</sup> According to the Lukan Paul, "this sect" was unknown among the Jews in Rome itself, although the Jewish leaders had heard several rumours about it. They are curious to hear what Paul has to say about it, and where he himself stands with regard to this "sect",<sup>3</sup> or "party of the Nazarenes".<sup>4</sup>

Paul meets the Jewish leaders and gives them a summarized account of the events which have brought him to Rome (described in Ac 21-26). This can be seen as the last of Paul's so-called "defense speeches".<sup>5</sup> It consists of two main parts of direct speech, with a narrative in between which deals with the reaction of Paul's hearers. There is a striking similarity here between the end of Ac (28:23) and the end of Lk (24:27).<sup>6</sup> Another similarity is to be found with the passion of Jesus

<sup>1</sup> So also A. WEISER, *App II*, 679.

<sup>2</sup> So H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 159; and A. WEISER, *App II*, 679. Also F.F. BRUCE states: "When the Christian community in Rome came into being is uncertain, but when Paul sent his letter to the Roman church early in A.D. 57 it was already a well-established church, renowned for its faith and loyalty throughout the churches" (*Acts*, 506). Cf. also, along similar lines, G. SCHNEIDER: "Die christliche *Botschaft* steht ganz im Vordergrund des Schlußabschnitts 28,23-1, nicht die Person des Paulus" (*App II*, 413).

<sup>3</sup> A. WEISER points out that the use of this word in the mouths of the Jews (and as it is used by Josephus), meant nothing else than a different "school" or "party" in the Jewish religion (*App II*, 681). So also E. HAENCHEN: "die Lehre einer Häresie hätten sich die römischen Juden nicht begierig (πλείονες!) vortragen lassen" (*App*, 645,n.3).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 506, who refers to Ac 24:5: τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἰρέσεως. So also G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 416,n.52. (Also 24:14).

<sup>5</sup> The others are: Ac 22:1-21 (before the Hebrews in the temple court); Ac 22:30-23:9/10 (before the Sanhedrin); Ac 24:10-21 (before Felix); Ac 25:6-12 (before Festus); Ac 26:1-32 (before Festus and Herod Agrippa II). Scholars disagree on the identification of the defense speeches. Compare for instance F. VELTMAN, *The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts*, in: C.H. TALBERT (ed), *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, Edinburgh 1978, 243-257, here 253; F.F. BRUCE, *Paul's Use*, 77; G. SCHNEIDER, *App I*, 96. The last two include Ac 28, the first omits it as being a "defense speech".

<sup>6</sup> Compare the following: Lk 24:27 = καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἐαυτοῦ. Ac 28:23 = ...πειθῶν τε αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν... The similarity between Ac 28 and Lk 24 was also observed by A. WEISER, *App II*, 679.

himself.<sup>7</sup>

Also several other elements which have come to the fore in the other speeches which were discussed so far, are to be found here: The Jesus-kerygma and God's divine plan of salvation,<sup>8</sup> the reaction of the Jews manifesting a division about this message, the usage of Scripture as proof that God knew what would happen in the future, the necessity to fulfill the rest of that divine plan via these speakers who were authorized to do so, are but some of these motifs which were encountered before, and which are to be found here once again.

## 2. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH

### Section I: Paul's conversation with the Jewish leaders (VV.16-20)

- 16 Ὅτε δὲ εἰσιήθομεν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐπετράπη τῷ Παύλῳ μένειν καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ.
- 17 Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς συγκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄντας τῶν  
Ἰουδαίων πρώτους·  
συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν πρὸς αὐτούς·  
ἐγὼ, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῷ λαῷ  
ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρίοις δέσμιος  
ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων παρεδόθην εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων.
- 18 οἵτινες ἀνακρίναντές με  
ἐβούλυντο ἀπολύσαι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐμοί·
- 19 ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠναγκάσθη ἐπικαλέσασθαι Καίσαρα  
οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ἔθους μου ἔχων τι κατηγορεῖν.
- 20 διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν καὶ προσλαλήσαι,  
ἐνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην περικείμεαι.

### Section II: The reaction of his hearers (VV.21-22)

- 21 οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπαν·  
ἡμεῖς οὔτε γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας  
οὔτε παραγενόμενός τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπήγγειλεν  
ἢ ἐλάλησέν τι περὶ σοῦ πονηρῶν.
- 22 ἀξιούμεν δὲ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ φρονεῖς,  
περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἵρέσεως ταύτης γνωστὸν ἡμῶν ἐστίν  
ὅτι πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται.

### Section III: Paul's last effort (VV.23-25a)

- 23 Ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν

<sup>7</sup>. So also A. WEISER, *Apq II*, 677-678; and G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq II*, 413. The latter points to the trilogy of references to Paul's innocence (23:29; 25:25; 26:31) in relation with that of Jesus (Lk 23:4,14,22). Despite this, however, both Jesus (Lk 23:23-25) and Paul (Ac 25:25-27) were convicted.

<sup>8</sup>. Here in Ac 28 understood to be "the kingdom of God" and "the things about Jesus".

ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες οἷς ἐξετιθετο  
διαμαρτυρούμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ πείθων  
τε αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ  
ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως  
καὶ τῶν προφητῶν  
ἀπὸ πρῶτῆ ἕως ἑσπέρας.

24 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις,  
οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν·

25a ἀσύμφωνοι δὲ ὄντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπελύοντο

**Section IV: The quotation from Is 6:9-10 and the stubbornness of the Jews.**

**Conclusion: God's salvation is sent to the Gentiles (VV.25b-28)**

25b εἰπόντος τοῦ Παύλου ῥῆμα ἔν, ὅτι  
καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου  
πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν 26 λέγων,  
πορευθήτι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τούτου καὶ εἰπὼν·  
ἀκοῆ ἀκούσατε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε  
καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε·  
27 ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου  
καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν βαρέως ἤκουσαν  
καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμυσαν·  
μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς  
καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν ἀκούσωσιν  
καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν  
καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσωμαι αὐτούς.

28 γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν  
ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ·  
αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται.

### 3. SECTION I. ACTS 28:16-20

Paul's conversation with the Jewish leaders

In V.16 is found the conclusion of the so-called "we"-sections in Ac. Once in Rome,<sup>9</sup> Paul receives special treatment, probably because he is a Roman civilian;<sup>10</sup> he receives special permission to stay by himself with a single soldier<sup>11</sup> to guard him (ἐπετράπη τῷ Παύλῳ μένειν καθ' ἑαυτὸν σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ, V.16). V.17 starts with the interesting temporal designation of "after three days"

<sup>9</sup> A. WEISER points to several elements which give the final chapter of Ac the nature of a climax, one being that Rome is the goal of Paul's mission: "Dcn Szenen kommt eine besondere Bedeutung zu, weil sie sich in Rom, dem mehrfach angesagten Ziel des von Gott geführten Weges ereignen (vgl. 19,21; 23,11; 25,10-12; 27,24)" (*Apk II*, 677).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ac 22:25.

<sup>11</sup> According to H. CONZELMANN, it was customary to hand a prisoner over to two soldiers (*Apk*, 159). So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apk II*, 408,n.28; and F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 504.

(ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς)<sup>12</sup> when Paul takes the initiative to call together the local Jewish leaders (συγκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτους).<sup>13</sup> They obey his wish by coming to him (συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν) and he addresses them (ἔλεγεν πρὸς αὐτούς) with the typical ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (V.17). This is the structural indication of the formal start of Paul's speech, directed to these Jewish leaders in Rome.

Paul uses the opportunity to brief his hearers on how he came to be in Rome. This is done by way of a brief summary of the history of events reported in Ac 21-26. He starts with a statement about his innocence.<sup>14</sup> Starting with an emphasized "I" (ἐγὼ at the beginning of the sentence), Paul claims that he has not done anything against the people or the customs of their fathers<sup>15</sup> (ἐγὼ...οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῶ λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρώοις δεσμιος, V.17).<sup>16</sup> He was nevertheless captured in Jerusalem and delivered "into to the hands of the Romans" (ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων παρεδόθεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας<sup>17</sup> τῶν Ῥωμαίων, V.17).<sup>18</sup> The Romans then tried him (οἵτινες ἀνακρίναντές με), found him not guilty, and wanted to set him free (ἐβούλουτο ἀπολύσαι),<sup>19</sup> as there was no reason whatsoever to bestow the death sentence upon him (διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐμοί, V.18). These Romans are contrasted with the Jews, who were not satisfied with that decision and who objected to it.<sup>20</sup> They have "spoken against" it (ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, V.19). Note the emphatic position of ἀντιλεγόντων in this sentence. The attitude of these Jews forced Paul to appeal to the Caesar (ἐπικαλέσασθαι Καίσαρα, V.19).<sup>21</sup> But although Paul was mistreated in this manner by them, he gives his hearers the assurance that he will not file suit against his people (οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ἔθνους μου ἔχων τι κατηγορεῖν, V.19). In VV.17-19 then, Paul defends his innocence with regard to three things: (a) the Jewish customs, (b) the Roman authorities, and (c) the Jewish people.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>12</sup>. The whole phrase is typically Lukan. This is attested by (a) the temporal designation, (b) the usage of ἐγένετο δὲ + inf, (c) τρεῖς. Cf. also G. LÜDEMANN, *Christentum*, 273.

<sup>13</sup>. Is there perhaps some connection between Jesus' witness in *Jerusalem* after his resurrection (3 days), explaining the Scriptures from Moses and the Prophets (Lk 24), on the one hand, and that of Paul here in Ac 28, witnessing after 3 days in *Rome* "νεπὶ Ἰησοῦ", on the basis of the Scriptures from Moses and the Prophets, on the other hand?

<sup>14</sup>. Compare Ac 23:29; 24:16; 25:25; 26:31. Also 23:1 (third Pauline speech) where Paul says to the Sanhedrin that he is standing there with a clear conscience. See also G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 413.

<sup>15</sup>. These customs are those prescribed in the Jewish law (Torah). Thus, seen from a *Jewish religious viewpoint*, he declares his innocence.

<sup>16</sup>. Cf. also Ac 6:13-14; 18:13; 21:20-26,28; 24:5f; 25:8.

<sup>17</sup>. παρεδόθεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας is a typical LXX expression. See G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 414,n.30. He refers to Dt 1:27; Jer 33:24; Jdt 6:10; 1Mac 4:30.

<sup>18</sup>. Cf. Jesus' passion: Lk 9:22; 24:7. So also H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 159; and G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 413. Compare also the Jewish law (Decalogue) which prohibits false witness. The Jews, however, are violating it themselves here. Paul, nonetheless, undertake not to take the case further.

<sup>19</sup>. So the same during Jesus' passion: Lk 23:4,14,22,41. Also from a *Roman political viewpoint*, Paul declares his innocence. But compare Ac 25:11!

<sup>20</sup>. With this, the blame is shifted to the Jews: "Politisch und religiös befinden sich nicht Paulus und das Christentum in Glaubensabfall und Unrecht, sondern die Juden" (A. WEISER, *App II*, 681).

<sup>21</sup>. Cf. Ac 25:9-12.

<sup>22</sup>. Cf. J. JERVELL, *Paulus - Der Lehrer Israels. Zu den apologetischen Paulusreden in der Apostelgeschichte*, in: *NT 9* (1967-68), 164-190, here 176-181.

Paul then justifies his calling them, by telling them the reason (διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν) why he has called them (παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς). He wanted to meet them and to talk to them (ἰδεῖν καὶ προσλαλῆσαι), since it is because of "the hope" whom is expected by Israel, that Paul is now in chains (ἐνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην περικείμεαι, V.20).<sup>23</sup> This "hope of Israel" is probably the Jewish messianic hope,<sup>24</sup> which was meant to be fulfilled, either with the coming of Jesus as the Christ, or with his resurrection, or both.

#### 4. SECTION II. ACTS 28:21-22

##### The reaction of Paul's hearers

In their reaction to what Paul says the Jewish leaders respond by saying (οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπαν), that they have neither received any letters about him from Judea (ἡμεῖς οὔτε γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας), nor has any of their brothers reported anything about him (οὔτε παραγενόμενός τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπήγγειλεν), or spoken any evil of him (ἢ ἐλάλησεν τι περὶ σοῦ πονηρὸν, V.21).<sup>25</sup> Thus, neither officially, nor orally, have they received information about Paul.<sup>26</sup> However, they are curious about "this sect". They desire to hear from him what his views are (ἀξιούμεν δὲ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ φρουεῖς) with regard to this sect; they know that everywhere people speak against it (περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης γνωστὸν ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται, V.22).

#### 5. SECTION III. ACTS 28:23-25a

##### Paul's last effort

The Jewish leaders then appoint a day for Paul (ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν)<sup>27</sup> to further satisfy their curiosity (V.23). On the appointed day they came to his lodging in great numbers<sup>28</sup> (ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες). This opportunity is now used by Paul, from early in the morning until late in the evening (ἀπὸ πρωῒ ἕως ἑσπέρας), to explain to them the kingdom of God (οἷς ἐξετίθετο

<sup>23</sup> In the same direction, also Ac 23:6; 24:15; 26:6.

<sup>24</sup> So also E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 645; G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 415; and the TEV, for instance. Against others who take it as a reference to the Jewish (Pharisaic) belief in the resurrection. Others choose to keep it ambiguous; for example, RSV.

<sup>25</sup> According to A. WEISER, this could not be strictly historically true. There is evidence of regular contact between the Jews in Palestine and those in Rome. Also, Paul's letter to the Galatians indicates clearly that Paul (and his preaching) was challenged by Jewish agitators from Jerusalem in the diaspora. The letter to the Romans also points in this direction: "Paulus rechnete damit, daß seinem Besuch in Rom judaistische Angriffe vorausgegangen waren" (*Apg II*, 681). F.F. BRUCE too (*Acts*, 506), finds it strange that these Jews had apparently heard nothing about Paul, "since 'the Jerusalem-Rome axis was strong'" (referring to R.E. BROWN, *Antioch and Rome*, London 1983, 104).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also A. LOISY, *Actes*, 934; followed by E. HAENCHEN, *Apg*, 645; "ἀπήγγειλεν bezeichnet eine offizielle, ἐλάλησεν eine private Mitteilung." So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 416,n.48.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. 2Mac 3:14; 14:21; Tob 6.

<sup>28</sup> Compare with V.17. See also Ac 13 where the same feature is found: As Paul continues with his ministry over a period of time, the numbers of the hearers increase (Ac 13:42,43,44). Cf. also A. WEISER for several other obvious parallels between this speech and that in Ac 13 (*Apg II*, 678).

διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν<sup>29</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ). He does this from within the context of the Mosaic law<sup>30</sup> and the Prophets (ἀπό τε τοῦ νόμου Μωυσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν), trying to persuade them about Jesus (πέιθων τε αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ).<sup>31</sup> "The kingdom of God" and "the things about Jesus" are not closely related,<sup>32</sup> but within each other.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the Jews are convinced by what Paul says (καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις), while others disbelieve (οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν, V.24). This results in a division among the hearers, something which can be observed also in the reactions to some of the earlier speeches. Compare the reaction to the second Petrine (Ac 2:41); third Petrine (4:1-4); first Pauline (13:44-45,48-49), and sixth Pauline speeches (23:7-10). This dual reaction could be seen also as a fulfillment of the words of the *Nunc Dimittis*, the song of Simeon in Lk 2:34 which says of Jesus: "this child is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel". It also fits in with the words of Jesus about himself in Lk 12:51-53, i.e. that he has come to bring division.

So, as they disagreed among themselves, they departed (ἀσύμφωνοι δὲ ὄντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπελύοντο, Ac 28:25a).

#### 6. SECTION IV. ACTS 28:25b-28

The quotation from Is 6:9-10 and the stubbornness of the Jews.

Conclusion: God's salvation is sent to the Gentiles

Before the people can leave, Paul gets a last word in (εἰπόντος τοῦ Παύλου ῥῆμα ἔν, V.25b). He confirms what the Holy Spirit has said so beautifully to their fathers through Isaiah the prophet (ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων..., V.25c-26). He follows this with a relatively long quotation from proto-Is (Is 6:9-10), describing the stubbornness of the Jews: "They shall hear but not understand, see but not perceive, their heart has grown dull and their ears are heavy of hearing. Lest they should perceive with their eyes and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and turn to God to heal them."

Paul's conclusion is clear: "Let it be known to you then that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles (γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν<sup>34</sup> ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ). He then prophesies that they — with an emphasized "they" — (the Gentiles) will listen (αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται, V.28)! [Textcritical evidence weighs heavily in favour of the exclusion of V.29].

<sup>29</sup> G. LÜDEMANN points out that the connection between βασιλεία with verbs of proclamation, is a Lukan feature (*Christentum*, 274).

<sup>30</sup> Note that the Mosaic law is again used here as a witness to Jesus. Compare also Lk 24:27,44; and Ac 26:22.

<sup>31</sup> From the previous speeches, the things "about Jesus" is the Jesus-kerygma: his death, resurrection, exaltation and parousia. Cf. Ac 2:31 = περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ; Ac 13:9 = πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα. So also along similar lines: H. CONZELMANN, *App*, 159; and A. WEISER, *App II*, 681.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the argumentation of E. HAENCHEN, *App*, 646.

<sup>33</sup> So G. SCHNEIDER, *App II*, 417.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. also Ac 2:14; 4:10; and 13:38.



## 6.1 The quoted text from *Is 6:9-10* in *Ac 28:26-27*

### 6.1.1 Other NT occurrences of the quotation

The quotation is found in exactly the same form (apart from the introductory phrase at the beginning)<sup>35</sup> in Mt 13:14-15.<sup>36</sup> A reduced or summarised version (i.e. a reference or allusion, and not an explicit quotation) occurs also in Mk 4:12,<sup>37</sup> Lk 8:10,<sup>38</sup> Jn 12:40 and Rm 11:8. The Markan passage quotes from *Is 6:9*, while the Lukan and Johannine passages quote from *Is 6:10*. Probable references to *Is 6:9f* can be found in Jn 9:39; 2 Cor 3:14; 4:4 and Eph 4:18.<sup>39</sup> Outside the NT, the quotation appears in Justin's *Dialogue* 12:2, 33:1 and 69:4. The versions of Mt, Mk and Lk are closer to the reading of the LXX,<sup>40</sup> while that of Jn is closer to the MT.<sup>41</sup>

Lk could have known of this quotation from its occurrence in the Pauline (Rm 11:8) and/or Markan material (Mk 4:12). The fact that the text, as quoted in *Ac*, is closer both in length and in wording to the version in Mt 13 than it is to that in Lk 8, raises the question of where Luke took the quotation from — the LXX, or elsewhere in the tradition.<sup>42</sup> The fact that it was used both by Paul and by all four gospel writers highlights the important role which this passage played in the early Christian tradition. Although the initiative for identifying and employing this passage should therefore probably be attributed to the tradition, the question about the *length* of the quotation here in *Ac*, remains unanswered. Luke may have encountered the quotation in the tradition, have checked it himself in the *Is* scroll, and extended it to its current length.

### 6.1.2 The introductory formula (*Ac 28:25b-26*)

A clear distinction must be maintained between the introductory formula to Paul's quotation on the one hand, and on the other, the introductory formula which leads into the words of Yahweh (κύριος) at the beginning of the quotation.<sup>43</sup> This clearly

<sup>35</sup> However, some of the Matthean textual witnesses do include the introductory phrase with the quotation: D it mae Eus.

<sup>36</sup> H. CONZELMANN asks the question about possible interpolation in Mt at this point (*App*, 160). [Referring to K. STENDAHL, *School*, 131] Cf. the discussion of R.H. GUNDRY, *Use of the OT*, 116-118.

<sup>37</sup> According to J. GNILKA, the quoted phrases seem to be nearer to the Targum than to the known MT and LXX versions (*Die Verstockung Israels* (STANT 3), München 1961, 14). Cf. also C. BREYTENBACH on Mk 4:1-34 (*Nachfolge*, 133-190, here 159-163).

<sup>38</sup> C.K. BARRETT points to the fact that Luke omitted a Markan allusion here (*Luke/Acts*, 240).

<sup>39</sup> So C. BREYTENBACH, *Nachfolge*, 157.n.190; and C.H. DODD, *Scriptures*, 36-39.

<sup>40</sup> H. RINGGREN says of the occurrence of the quotation in Mt, Mk and Lk that "All three differ from the LXX in the order of the clauses....a phenomenon which often points to oral transmission or quoting from memory" (*Luke's Use*, 228). According to E. HAENCHEN, Mk and Jn made use of another tradition (*Schriftzitate*, 159).

<sup>41</sup> So also J. ROLOFF, *App*, 374. Cf. also the commentary column of G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 95.

<sup>42</sup> So believed to be the case by T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 35; and A. WEISER, *App II*, 679.

<sup>43</sup> So rightly noticed by F. BOVON: "...wir (haben) hier nicht nur ein, sondern zwei Zitate, d.h. ein Zitat im Zitat: ein alttestamentliches, schriftliches in einem neutestamentlichen, mündlichen Zitat" ('Schön hat der heilige Geist durch den Propheten Jesaja zu euren Vätern gesprochen' (Act 28 25), in: *ZNW* 75 (1984), 226-232, here 227). Also B.J. KOET: "...a quotation from Isaiah is found inside a

illustrates the technical distinction made earlier in this study between a formal explicit quotation and a quoted text. Paul's (Luke's!) quotation, on the one hand, is introduced with a *ὅτι-recitativum*,<sup>44</sup> with the words: ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν. Is's quotation, on the other hand, now already part of Luke's quoted text, is introduced by λέγων.

The quotation is thus marked out as an explicit citation, clearly attributed to Is.<sup>45</sup> The καλῶς carries an emphatic function.<sup>46</sup> It implies that the Holy Spirit, who has used David as his mouthpiece,<sup>47</sup> has also used Is to predict these things long in advance of their happening. It fits in with God's plan<sup>48</sup> and his being in control of history.

### 6.1.3 Determining and explaining the textual differences

NT (NA26)	LXX	MT
Ac 28:26-27	Is 6:9-10	Is 6:9-10
Πορεύθητι. <sup>49</sup> πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτου καὶ εἰπὸν,	Πορεύθητι	ךָל 9
Ἄκοῃ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνήτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε·	καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ Ἄκοῃ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνήτε καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε·	הִיָּה אַחַל בְּרַשָׁן יַעֲשֶׂה עֵינֵיכֶם וְיִבֶן
27 ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμισαν· μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ	10 ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμισαν, μήποτε ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ	יָכֵן וְיִבֶן עֵינֵיכֶם וְיִבֶן עֵינֵיכֶם וְיִבֶן עֵינֵיכֶם וְיִבֶן עֵינֵיכֶם

quotation from Paul" (*Paul in Rome*, 132).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also E. HAENCHEN, *Apq*, 646; and BL-DBR, § 410,1.

<sup>45</sup> C.K. BARRETT says: "The introduction is elaborate and draws special attention to the last OT quotation in the book" (*Luke/Acts*, 240).

<sup>46</sup> For the combination of καλῶς in an introductory formula, linked with an Isaianic quotation, see also Mc 7:6 (H. CONZELMANN, *Apq*, 160). Also Lk 20:39 and Mk 12:28 (*par* Mt 15:7) (G. SCHNEIDER, *Apq II*, 418,n.69).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Ac 1:16; 4:25.

<sup>48</sup> So also H. CONZELMANN, *Apq*, 160.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. H. AVALOS on the translation of ךָל as πορεύω: ΔΕΥΡΟ/ΔΕΥΤΕ and the Imperatives of ךָל. New Criteria for the "Kaige" Recension of Reigns, in: *EstB* 47 (1989), 165-176.

τοῖς ὤσιν  
ἀκούσωσιν καὶ  
τῇ καρδίᾳ  
συνώσιν καὶ  
ἐπιστρέψωσιν  
καὶ ἰάσονται  
αὐτούς.

τοῖς ὤσιν  
ἀκούσωσιν καὶ  
τῇ καρδίᾳ  
συνώσιν καὶ  
ἐπιστρέψωσι  
καὶ ἰάσονται  
αὐτούς.

וַיִּזְכַּר  
עַל  
לְבָבָהּ  
וַיִּזְכַּר  
וַיִּזְכַּר  
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וַיִּזְכַּר  
וַיִּזְכַּר

NT (NA26)  
Mt 13:14-15

NT (NA26)  
Mk 4:12

NT (NA26)  
Lk 8:10

NT (NA26)  
Jn 12:40

NT (NA26)  
Rm 11:8

Τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν  
τοὺς  
ὀφθαλμοὺς  
καὶ  
ἐπώρωσεν  
αὐτῶν

Ἄκοῦ  
ἀκούσετε  
καὶ οὐ μὴ  
συνῆτε καὶ  
βλέποντες  
βλέψετε  
καὶ οὐ μὴ  
ἴδητε. 15  
ἐπαχύνθη  
γὰρ ἡ  
καρδία τοῦ  
λαοῦ  
τούτου,  
καὶ τοῖς  
ὤσιν  
βαρέως  
ἤκουσαν,  
καὶ τοὺς  
ὀφθαλμοὺς  
αὐτῶν  
ἐκάμμυσαν·  
μήποτε  
ἴδωσιν  
τοῖς  
ὀφθαλμοῖς  
καὶ τοῖς  
ὤσιν  
ἀκούσωσιν  
καὶ τῇ  
καρδίᾳ  
συνώσιν  
καὶ  
ἐπιστρέψω-σιν, καὶ  
ἰάσονται  
αὐτούς.

βλέποντες  
βλέπωσιν  
καὶ μὴ  
ἴδωσιν

βλέποντες μὴ  
βλέπωσιν

τὴν  
καρδίαν,

ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ  
βλέπειν

καὶ  
ἀκούοντες  
ἀκούωσιν  
καὶ μὴ  
συνώσιν,  
μήποτε  
ἐπιστρέψω-σιν καὶ  
ἀφεθῆ  
αὐτοῖς.

καὶ  
ἀκούοντες  
μὴ  
συνώσιν.

ἵνα μὴ  
ἴδωσιν  
τοῖς  
ὀφθαλμοῖς  
καὶ  
ἴδωσιν  
τῇ  
καρδίᾳ  
καὶ  
στραφῶσιν,  
καὶ  
ἰάσονται  
αὐτούς.

καὶ  
ὠτα τοῦ μὴ  
ἀκούειν,

*Textcritical remarks:*

Ac 28:26-27 with its quotation from Is 6:9-10 is lacking in codex D. The ἴδητε in Ac 28:26, reads εἶδητε<sup>50</sup> in some textual witnesses, while the ἐπαχύνθη in V.27 has become ἐβαρύνθη<sup>51</sup> in some others. The ἐπιστρέψωω in the last line of the quotation is read as ἐπιστρέψουσω by a few textual witnesses,<sup>52</sup> and ἰάσσομαι as ἰάσωμαι.<sup>53</sup> The textual witnesses connected with the Mt 13:14-15 reading support none of these alternatives.

*(a) Textual differences between MT and LXX*

There are a number of differences to be found between the MT text and the LXX translation. All of these changes were taken over by both the readings of Mt 13:14-15 and Ac 28:26-27. Some of the most prominent changes are the following: (i) 4 imperatives of the MT are changed: two of them to future indicatives and the other two to aorist indicatives; (ii) 2 *Qal*-futures are translated into subjunctives; (iii) another imperative changed to an aorist passive; (iv) the causal conjunction γαρ, is inserted by the LXX; (v) an object in the MT becomes a subject in the LXX; (vi) the translation of a μήποτε-conjunction in combination with the aorist; (vii) the use of a futurum translation equivalent rather than a passive.

(i) In the LXX translation of Is 6:9, two future indicatives are used (ἀκούσετε, "you shall hear"; βλέψετε, "you shall see"), rather than imperatives which would have correlated better with the MT reading: "hear" and "see".<sup>54</sup> Also in Is 6:10, the two forms of the *Hiph'il*/imp/masc/sing רָבִיבִי ("make heavy/grievous") and אָשַׁח ("look away from/shut"), were translated by the LXX as aorist indicatives: βαρέως ἤκουσαν ("have heard with difficulty") and ἐκάμυσσαν (their eyes "have closed") by the LXX.<sup>55</sup>

(ii) In Is 6:9, the two forms of the *Qal*/fut/2nd pers/masc/sing רַבִּינִי-לֹא ("you shall not understand") and רַבִּינִי-לֹא ("you shall not perceive"), are translated as aorist subjunctives, οὐ μὴ συνῆτε ("you shall never understand") and οὐ μὴ ἴδητε ("you shall never perceive").<sup>56</sup>

(iii) In Is 6:10, the *Hiph'il*/imp/masc/sing יָבִשׁוּ ("make fat") of the MT, is translated as an aor/ind/pass ἐπαχύνθη ("it has grown dull") in the LXX.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Cf. NA26: (ex itac.?) p<sup>74</sup>vid E 104 pc sy<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> So N\* (gig). According to E. HAENCHEN, this was due to the influence of βαρέως ἤκουσαν (*Schrifttate*, 159).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. A E Ψ 048.81 pc vg<sup>mss</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. E 33.81.2464 pm gig vg.

<sup>54</sup> So B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 129. R.H. GUNDRY formulates this as follows: "...note the pure Septuagintal form in the rendering of the Hebrew idiom of a conjugated verb-form with an infinitive absolute first by a finite verb with a cognate noun and then by a finite verb with a participle" (*Use of the OT*, 118).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. R.H. GUNDRY, *Use of the OT*, 118; and B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 129. According to G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, it seems as if they were read as רָבִיבִי, אָשַׁח (*Quotations*, 93).

<sup>56</sup> In the latter case, a better translation would probably have been μὴ γνῶτε/εἶδητε, according to G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 93.

<sup>57</sup> It seems as if it was vocalized as a 3rd pers/masc/sing *Hoph'al* (יָבִשׁוּ) by the LXX translator, according to G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 93.

- (iv) A γάρ is inserted between ἐπαχύνθη and ἡ καρδία by the LXX translation.<sup>58</sup>
- (v) The "heart of the people", being the object in the MT, is changed to a subject in the syntax of the LXX translation.<sup>59</sup>
- (vi) In the LXX translation the negative intention of the people is expressed with the μήποτε-conjunction in combination with the aorist.<sup>60</sup>
- (vii) Instead of the futurum in the LXX translation καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς ("and I shall/should heal them"), a better translation for the impersonal וְיִשְׁרָפוּ ("and to heal/cure") would probably have been: καὶ ἰαθησεται, ἰαθῆ (passive),<sup>61</sup> or "and be healed".<sup>62</sup>

*(b) Textual differences between Ac and LXX*

The quotation in Ac 28:26-27 matches almost exactly the LXX version of Is 6:9-10.<sup>63</sup> There are only two differences to be found between the reconstructed readings of the LXX and Ac:<sup>64</sup> (a) the omission of αὐτῶν after ὡσίν (V.27), and (b) the LXX order καὶ εἶπον τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, which is changed in Ac to πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἶπόν.

*b.1 Omission: αὐτῶν*

None of the available textcritical evidence casts any doubt upon the omission of αὐτῶν in Ac 28:27. The LXX witnesses on the other hand, confirm its inclusion in the LXX text, so that this NT omission does not have any convincing support by any LXX textual witnesses.<sup>65</sup> It is interesting that its omission in the other NT parallel, Mt 13:15, also receives adequate textcritical support.<sup>66</sup> This raises the question of

<sup>58</sup> Cf. also R.H. GUNDRY, *Use of the OT*, 118; and B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 129. The latter points to the fact that "This causal conjunctive is employed to underscore the change from the prophet's active agency to a diagnosis."

<sup>59</sup> So B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 129.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. B.J. KOET: "The heart of the people has become fat and their ears are dull of hearing and they have closed their eyes, therefore they do not perceive and thus do not repent. It is they themselves, who make it impossible for the Lord to heal them" (*Paul in Rome*, 129).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. R.H. GUNDRY, *OT Quotations*, 118. So also according to G.L. ARCHER & G. CHIRICHIGNO, *Quotations*, 93,95. The latter reckon that "...this vowelizing of the Sopherim consonantal text may reflect a theological preference. That is, sinful, disobedient Judah has hardened itself in willful rejection of God's mandates; the emphasis is laid on human guilt rather than upon that judicial blinding by which God confirms the wicked in their unbelief, making them ripe for the coming judgment" (95).

<sup>62</sup> So B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 129.

<sup>63</sup> So also W.K.L. CLARKE who has indexed it as belonging to those quotations which show "Substantial Agreement between Acts and LXX" (*Use of the Septuagint*, 87). Also H. CONZELMANN: "folgt fast genau LXX" (*Apg*, 160). E. HAENCHEN talks about a "LXX-treuen Zitat" (*Schriftzitate*, 159); B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA about "almost word-for-word agreement with the Septuagint" (*Translator's Handbook*, 513); and B.J. KOET says it "largely agrees with the LXX" (*Paul in Rome*, 128). Cf. also T. HOLTZ, *Untersuchungen*, 33-37; and G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 418.

<sup>64</sup> So also H. RINGGREN, *Luke's Use*, 235.

<sup>65</sup> It is supported only by minuscule 393 and the Coptic translation.

<sup>66</sup> It is included, however, by NC 33.892.1241 pc it vg<sup>mss</sup> sy<sup>s.c.p.</sup>

whether both Mt and Luke (here in Ac) could have made use of the same written textual tradition.<sup>67</sup>

b.2 *Substitution and Transposition*  
καὶ εἶπον τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ (LXX) —>  
πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἶπόν (Ac)

The Ac-reading presents this LXX-phrase in the reversed order,<sup>68</sup> thereby going against our known readings of the MT and LXX.<sup>69</sup> When looking back at the other discussed quotations, this change in word order seems to be a feature which is relatively often to be found. The question arises then whether this was a stylistic feature of the *Textvorlage* which Luke has used, or a stylistic feature of Luke himself. The latter should be preferred on the basis of the lack of textual evidence to support the former.

#### 6.1.4 Method of quotation

The same quotation is also to be found in Mk 4:12,<sup>70</sup> Mt 13:14f, Lk 8:10, Jn 12:40 and Rm 11:8. This quotation could have been known by Luke from his knowledge of the Markan and Pauline material and could therefore hardly be ascribed to Luke's own independent finding and application of it from his "Scriptures".<sup>71</sup> But this does not prove beyond all doubt that Luke has made use here of "an early Christian 'testimony'".<sup>72</sup> It is interesting, however, that the version in Ac almost identically resembles that found in Mt, in length,<sup>73</sup> form and content, while those in Mk, Jn and Luke's gospel are standing closer to each other.<sup>74</sup> The beginning and ending of the quotation is quite clear.

67. R.H. GUNDRY reckons for instance, that "because of an identical purpose to show the OT passage has already been fulfilled, for which the Hebrew is not suitable, Mt and Acts may independently follow the same Septuagintal text, represented by Cod. N<sup>o</sup> in its omission of the first αὐτῶν in Isaiah against its own reading in Matthew" (*Use of the OT*, 118).

68. The same trend has come to the fore in Ac 7:50 where Is 66:2 was quoted. It was changed there, however, due to the change from a statement to a question.

69. Textual support by LXX witnesses (minuscules 393 and 534, as well as by Ath.II 1001) do not convince. Cf. also E. HAENCHEN, *App.*, 646.

70. According to F.F. BRUCE, here "they are introduced (in a targumic form) at the end of the parable of the sower" (*Paul's Use*, 77).

71. G. SCHNEIDER (*App II*, 418), on the footsteps of T. HOLTZ (*Untersuchungen*, 35), asked whether Luke could have found the Is text, probably from a "Testimoniensammlung", and checked it with his LXX text. A. WEISER thinks in the same direction: "Das Jesaja-Zitat wird er freilich nicht nur aus der LXX, sondern auch aus sonstigem urchristlichen Gebrauch aufgenommen haben..." (*App II*, 679).

72. So taken by F.F. BRUCE, *Acts*, 508.

73. The only difference between the two is that Mt's version left out the sentence that immediately precedes the ἀκοῆ ἀκούσατε.

74. So also E. HAENCHEN, *App.*, 159.

### 6.1.5 Interpretation of the quotation by Luke

Luke has applied this quoted text to his own audience. In *Is*, *the prophet* is called to tell *the people of Israel* these words in the quotation.<sup>75</sup> Those Israelites, to whom these words were originally addressed, are now taken to be the (fore)fathers of the current generation. Luke repeats the same words in mouth of *Paul*, and indicates thereby that they (*the descendants* of those generations) are still walking in the same old ways, being stubborn and relentless.<sup>76</sup>

This quotation is therefore used to explain and justify Paul's turning away from the Jews to take the message of salvation<sup>77</sup> to the Gentiles.<sup>78</sup> The fact that Paul turns now to the Gentiles, is seen as a fulfillment of God's divine plan; the quotation merely provides scriptural support for this change of direction.<sup>79</sup>

Note the link between Mk 4:11-12 (within the setting of the parable of the sower) and Ac 28:23-31 on the basis of "the kingdom of God" in combination with the reference to Is 6:9-10. In Mk 4:11-12, Jesus said to "those who were about him with the twelve" that to them was given "the secret of the kingdom of God, but for those outside everything is parables". At this point he adds quoted phrases from Is 6:9-10, without any indication that these are explicit quotations. This is taken over by Luke in Lk 8:9-10, also in the context of the parable of the sower, where Jesus says to the disciples that "it has been given to them to know the secrets of the kingdom of God; but for others they are in parables"; again, the quoted phrases from Is 6:9-10 appear without any indication that this is an explicit quotation. The same trend is found in Mt 13:11-15, except that: (a) there is an explicit reference to Is (formal introductory formula), (b) an explicit quotation follows, and (c) this quotation is considerably longer than the parallel passages in Mk and Lk. This suggests the existence, during the time of early Christianity, of a well established tradition linking the Is quotation with the theme of "the kingdom of God".

It has been noted that, in his use of this quotation, Luke (in this case, in Ac) stands closer to Mt, than to the Markan tradition; a similar pattern is apparent also, for example, in the temptation narratives, where it seems that Mt and Lk have used

<sup>75</sup> Cf. E. HAENCHEN: "der Schwerpunkt liegt auf der an Israel gerichteten Weissagung" (*Apg*, 646).

<sup>76</sup> G. SCHNEIDER says: "Jesaja hat zu den Vätern der gegenwärtigen Judengeneration gesprochen; aber er sprach als inspirierter Prophet und kennzeichnete damit im voraus auch das sich verweigernde Verhalten der späteren Judenschaft" (*Apg II*, 418).

<sup>77</sup> The question of *how* exactly this function is achieved with this text, is difficult to answer. B.J. KOET has blamed several scholars for not paying enough attention "to the question of how the writer of Luke-Acts understood this prophetic text and how he meant to convey its meaning in its present context" (*Paul in Rome*, 119).

<sup>78</sup> According to B.M. NEWMAN & E.A. NIDA, this quotation "is particularly appropriate as a prophetic justification for Paul's turning to the Gentiles" (*Translator's Handbook*, 511); and according to G. SCHNEIDER, "...jetzlich aus der 'Schrift' als dem Willen Gottes entsprechend 'erwiesen' (*Apg II*, 420). Cf. also R.C. TANNEHILL, *Rejection by Jews and Turning to Gentiles: The Pattern of Paul's Mission in Acts*, in: J.B. TYSON (ed), *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People. Eight Critical Perspectives*, Minneapolis 1988, 83-101.

<sup>79</sup> According to F.F. BRUCE, "This fulfilled the pattern that had been set in one city after another to which Paul brought the gospel" (*Acts*, 508). The deepest reason for this turn to the Gentiles is then, according to A. WEISER, to be found in Luke's view of God's universal plan of salvation. He refers to Lk 2:11, 14, 30-32; 3:6; 4:24-27; 24:47; Ac 1:8; 10f; and 13:47 (*Apg II*, 683).

the same longer tradition, as against the shorter version as found in Mk. What is curious here, is that in terms of similarities, *Ac* and *Mt* stand over against *both Mk and Lk*. One possible explanation here is that there were two variations of the same tradition in circulation: one version like that found in the Markan account, which does not resemble an explicit quotation, and which was used by Luke in his gospel, and a second version, resembling a long explicit quotation, which Luke used in *Ac*. However, both versions combine the reference/quotation from Is 6:9-10 with the theme of "the kingdom of God".

When *Jn 12:37-41* is now compared with the synoptic gospels and *Ac*, the differences are striking. Not only does John's version seem to be nearer to the MT than to the LXX, but the link with "the kingdom of God" is not to be found at all. The quotation appears in the context of the continued unbelief of the people in spite of the many signs which Jesus had performed before them. This unbelief is seen here as the fulfillment of prophecy — "that the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled".

Turning to *Rm 11:7-8*, and comparing the context and interpretation of this quotation there, it is clear that there is a definite difference between the synoptic and Pauline understanding of this quotation.<sup>80</sup> In the context of *Rm 9-11*, Paul says that "Israel failed to obtain what it sought. The elect obtain it, but the rest were hardened, as it is written..." He combines then some phrases from Is 29:10; 6:9; and Dt 29:4 to form a single but conflated quotation.

Returning now to the occurrence of Is 6:9-10 within the context of *Ac 28:26-27*, and its interpretation there by Luke, one thing is clear: the quotation agrees almost exactly with the reconstructed LXX version, but together with the LXX, differs considerably from the reconstructed MT. It is the consequences of these changes between the LXX and the MT that are interesting:<sup>81</sup> (a) Emphasis is laid in the LXX translation on the fact that it is the *people's* fault that they are unable to hear and see; (b) the severe picture of God in the Hebrew text is toned down; and (c) in a description of the people's negative attitude, their judgment changed. "It is because the people *themselves* have hardened their hearts that the unfortunate result is blindness. In contrast to the Hebrew text, the possibility to repent is still open in the LXX."<sup>82</sup> The LXX thus opens another direction for the interpretation of this quotation, which is not present in the MT.

<sup>80</sup> So, for instance, E. HAENCHEN: "Wie sich aus unserer Stelle, aber auch aus Mk 4,12 Par. und Joh 12,40 ergibt, ist Jes 6,9f. in der hellenistischen Gemeinde als reines Verwerfungsurteil Gottes verstanden worden. Mit Röm 11,26 darf man diese theologische Auslegung nicht vermengen" (*App*, 646). J. ROLOFF explains the synoptic understanding further: "Dieses geheimnisvolle Gotteswort wurde im Urchristentum vielfach angeführt zur Beantwortung der Frage, warum die Botschaft des Evangeliums nicht das ihr zukommende Gehör fand" (*App*, 374). And about the Pauline understanding: "Die heilsgeschichtliche Zukunftsperspektive von Röm 9-11, die über die gegenwärtige Verstockung hinaus auf eine zukünftige Bekehrung Israels blickt, macht sich Lukas also nicht zu eigen" (*App*, 375).

<sup>81</sup> So spelled out by B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 129-130.

<sup>82</sup> B.J. KOET, *Paul in Rome*, 130. He takes a different viewpoint from the traditional. There is thus still the possibility for the Jews to repent. G. SCHNEIDER and others, thinks differently: "Jes 6,9f habe sich an ihnen erfüllt; das Judentum *bleibe* verstockt" (my emphasis, *GJS*), although it "...schließt nicht die Bekehrung einzelner Juden aus" (*App II*, 419).



Another aspect which is apparently clear, is the interpretation of Is 6:9-10 in connection with the theme of "the kingdom of God". Within the broader context of Ac itself, this should probably be linked with Ac 1:3-6.<sup>83</sup> There, during the forty days before Jesus' ascension, he talks to the apostles whom he had chosen (V.2) about "the kingdom of God" (V.3). This causes them to ask him if he will restore the kingdom to Israel at this time (V.6). Ac 28:23,31 is reminiscent of this scene: just as Jesus explains the kingdom of God to his apostles in Jerusalem, so Paul explains the kingdom of God in Rome. This teaching can probably be interpreted as encapsulating the central message of the Christian proclamation;<sup>84</sup> in Lukan theological terms: God's plan of salvation.<sup>85</sup> The content of the message need not to be described here; the previous speeches, narratives and miracles of Ac all help to convey the message. And the Jesus-kerygma fits into this plan of salvation, this kingdom of God, which is clearly revealed in the prophecies quoted from Scripture. Also that does not need to be spelled out here. The reader of Ac would surely be familiar at this point with what that is! With reference being made to it at the beginning of Ac (1:3) and at the end of Ac (28), the whole book forms an *inclusio* on this theme.<sup>86</sup>

The contrast between the long quotation of Jl 2:28-30(3:1-5) in the second Petrine speech, and this long quotation of Is 6:9-10 in the tenth Pauline speech, is striking. In the first, those who have received the (power of the) Holy Spirit, will prophecy, see visions, have dreams and do miracles; but those who do not accept that message will be blind and deaf, according to the latter! Consisting mostly of Jews, this is a demand and justification for Paul to turn away from them with this message, and to proclaim it to the Gentiles.<sup>87</sup>

## 7. SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN PAUL'S TENTH SPEECH

7.1 The origin of this quotation remains a question. The sharing of it with Mt may be an indication of some common texttradition shared by both of them. But it is

<sup>83</sup> So also E. HAENCHEN, *Apg.* 646; J.A. SANDERS, Isaiah in Luke, in: *Interp* 36 (1982), 144-155, here 147; and P. DAVIES, The Ending of Acts, in: *ET* 94 (1983), 334-335. The latter two refers also to the similar ending of 4 Ki(2 Ki), with Jehoiachin who is treated as a royal guest, although in captivity, and remains in that manner their Davidic king. With the reference to the hope of Israel, who is Jesus, DAVIES ponders on the possibility of some shared idea here. Evidence for this hypothesis of DAVIES is, however, too scarce and this cannot be developed further.

<sup>84</sup> So also E. HAENCHEN, *Apg.* 646; and G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 417,n.59. The latter refers to Ac 1:3; 19:8; 20:25 where the whole Christian message is meant, and Ac 8:12; 28:31 where the message of the "kingdom" is mentioned next to the proclamation about Jesus.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. G. SCHNEIDER: "Freilich ist schon die Zeit der Basileia-Verkündigung heilsgeschichtliche Erfüllungszeit (vgl. Lk 16,16)" (*Apg II*, 417).

<sup>86</sup> So also G. SCHNEIDER, *Apg II*, 417,n.59.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. also Ac 13:46ff; 18:6. G. LÜDEMANN: "Das Zitat wiederholt nochmals, daß sich die Evangeliumspredigt nur noch an die Heiden richtet" (*Christentum*, 274). C.K. BARRETT points out that both this quotation as well as that in Ac 13:47 point to the mission to the Gentiles. In the latter instance it was done in a positive sense, while it is done in a negative sense in the former instance. It is used here as "a prediction of the failure and unbelief of the Jews" (*Luke/Acts*, 240).

clear that the quoted text matches almost exactly that of the LXX, which in turn, differs relatively substantially from the Hebrew.

7.2 Again a prophecy is used, but reinterpreted to suit that current generation. The omission of αὐτῶν might be a result of this.

7.3 Part of this reinterpretation is conveniently made possible in the LXX version, which tones down the severe picture of God and indicates that it is the people's fault that they are unable to hear and see.

7.4 The link with the beginning of Ac has also become clear, especially in terms of the motif of the "kingdom of God". The purpose of it all seems to be God's plan of salvation which is offered to all those who call on the name of the κύριος. With the Jews rejecting this message, the quotation is used both as a justification and as a demand to turn away from them and to proclaim the message to the Gentiles.

## CHAPTER 9

### SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

#### 1. EXPLICIT QUOTATIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE SPEECHES

1. This investigation has explored the question of Luke's use and understanding of his Scriptures in his second work, the *πράξεις ἀποστόλων* (*Acta Apostolorum*).
2. The investigation has focused exclusively on his usage of explicit quotations, but contrary to most previous studies in this direction, it has attempted to deal with these quotations within their contexts, and thus in a holistic, rather than a fragmentary way.
3. It has been confirmed that all the explicit quotations drawn from Luke's Scriptures are to be found in speeches and dialogues, with the Is quotation in Ac 8 being an exception. These speeches are normally accepted to be Luke's own literary composition. It is therefore significant that the explicit quotations are only to be found in these speeches, and the speeches can thus tell something about Luke's use and understanding of Scripture, while being creative compilations by himself.
4. Interesting was the confirmation that in all these speeches and dialogues which contain explicit quotations, the hearers were Jews. However, it was also established that in several instances the non-Jews were not completely excluded. Important was the notion that there are no explicit quotations *from the Jewish Scriptures* (regardless of whether written in some Semitic language or in Greek) in the speeches and dialogues where the hearers consisted exclusively of non-Jews!
5. Based on the abovementioned information, three categories of speeches/dialogues were identified, i.e. Petrine, Pauline and "other" speeches. For practical and workable reasons the investigation was limited only to the Petrine and Pauline speeches. These have included three "missionary speeches" (Ac 2,3 and 13), two "defense speeches" of Paul (Ac 23 and 28) as well as Peter's "selection speech" for a twelfth witness (Ac 1).

#### 2. THE TEXT-HISTORICAL ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM:

The origin and *Textvorlage* of the explicit quotations

1. It is clear from the identified explicit quotations in Ac, that Luke has used the scrolls of the Torah, the Pss, the 12P and that of Is.
2. There also seems to be evidence that Luke knew most of his quotations already from the tradition (either oral or written). Cf. the following:
  - (a) *The first Petrine speech*: It was argued in Ch 3 of this study that Ps 68(69) was no foreign text for the writers of the NT and that there seems to be a strong possibility that V.26 was already linked with the tradition of Judas' death.
  - (b) *The second Petrine speech*: Jl 2:28(3:5) was already used by Paul in Rm 10:13, and one might assume that the christological-soteriological connection with this quoted text from Jl was known during Luke's time. It was also argued that Ps

109(110) was probably the text most used by early Christianity. With its occurrence in the gospels, Pauline literature and Heb, there can be no doubt that this was no foreign text for Luke at all!

(c) *The third Petrine speech*: Compare here the promise to Abraham (covenant) and the christological application of the quoted text from Gn 22:18 in Ac 3:25, with the evidence as found in Gl 3:8,16 (as discussed in Ch 5). Also the Jewish expectation of a "prophet like Moses" and the application of the quoted text from Dt 18:15-20 in Ac 3:22, underlines the fact of a pre-knowledge in terms of the usage of this quotation. Its occurrence in 4QTest 5-8 and 1QS 9:11 proves this pre-knowledge.

(d) *The first Pauline speech*: The Davidic tradition and the promises made to David about "God's exalted son" as contained in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:10b-14, were noted. The latter is reflected in its links with the quoted texts from Ps 2:7 and Is 55:3 (the latter which, in turn, shares the translation of  $\tau\theta\pi$  by  $\delta\sigma\alpha$  with 2 Ki(Sm) 7). The application of the quoted texts from Ps 15(16) in Ac 2 and 13, as well as Ps 109(110):1 in Ac 2:34 also fit in with these Davidic promises. Apart from the evidence for the importance of the Davidic tradition of 2 Ki(Sm) 7, it was also stated that Ps 2 was already linked by early Judaism with a messianic expectation. Also the usage of Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5 and 5:5, linked with the christology (exaltation), is an indication that Luke may have known this quotation from its use in early Judaism and early Christianity. The same applies to Is 55:3 which is found to be quoted already in 1QS 4:22; 5:5f; 1QSb 1:2f; 2:25,<sup>1</sup> although their interpretations differ. Even Is 49:6 was used before Luke's time, as can be seen from the quotation in Enoch 48:4, which already interpreted it messianically.

(e) *The tenth Pauline speech*: It was argued that Luke could have been familiar with the quotation from Is 6:9 from the Markan and/or Pauline material, but might have checked it in his Is scroll, and then extended it to its current length.

Several of these quotations were then already used before Luke's time, as is to be seen in the documents from Qumran, Mk, Paul's letters and Heb. However, it seems as if Luke has sometimes checked these quotations against his Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> Two things point in this direction: (a) He sometimes quotes *longer* passages, as is the case with his quotations from Jl 2(3) and Ps 15(16) in Ac 2, as well as that of Is 6:9-10 in Ac 28; and (b) he sometimes reflects a broader knowledge of the original context from which a specific quotation is drawn. This becomes clear, not only from traces of motifs which are found in the original context as well as in the new context, but also in the specific reference in some of the introductory formulae to the place from which the relevant passage is quoted from, e.g. Jl, the second Ps, etc.

But even though the tradition ensured his familiarity with most of the quotations he used, Luke himself clearly used a text which greatly resembles that of the reconstructed Old Greek Version and other LXX documents.

3. There is insufficient proof of the existence of a so-called "testimony book", which might have been used by Luke at the end of the first century AD, in order to substantiate the specific selection of texts as found in the *Acta Apostolorum*. A safer

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. BRAUN, *Qumran I*, 317.

<sup>2</sup> Compare this with the prologue to Luke's gospel where he has stated clearly that he wrote these things down after he has "carefully investigated" it (Lk 1:1-4):

assumption, in connection with those quotations which agree with other sources, may be that certain texts, interpreted by early Judaism in the context of messianic and eschatological expectation, were taken over by early Christianity, and reinterpreted, identifying Jesus of Nazareth as the messiah (Christ) who has come, and who will come again in the future. Luke may have picked up some of the "key texts" of the Jews, interpreting them in a consciously christological way, as a challenge to the way in which the Jews understood these texts. Does this indicate some apologetical motif implicit in the use of these specific quotations?

4. The remaining quotations from the six speeches which were investigated, do not show sufficient proof to assume knowledge from existing written traditions. These are: Ps 108(109):8 in Ac 1:20; Hab 1:5 in Ac 13:41; and Ex 22:27 in Ac 23:5. It may be assumed that these were added by Luke himself from his own *repertoire* of scriptural knowledge, either from memory, and/or traced by Luke himself in his LXX scrolls.

5. A comparison with existing reconstructions of the Hebrew and Greek texts of those Scriptures has revealed that the textform which Luke used was probably a Greek one, but one which greatly resembles our known LXX manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> But there are also indications (although few) that his text has differed sometimes from these existing Greek manuscripts of the LXX, reflecting a *Textvorlage* which seems to be somewhat closer to the Hebrew.

### 3. THE METHODOLOGICAL ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM:

#### Luke's usage and application of LXX quotations

It became clear from all the speeches which were investigated in this study, that Luke consistently made use of Scripture on two levels:<sup>4</sup>

(a) **Level I: Informative.** It is used here for past events, which were already fulfilled. While looking back, retrospectively, it is used especially in the missionary speeches, in a christological manner.

(b) **Level II: Normative.** On this level, it is used much more towards the present or future situation of the hearers who are addressed. Most of the time, the quoted texts presented on this level are events which are presented as if they still had to be fulfilled. It has a strong prophetic dimension.

A closer look at each of the speeches has revealed the following:

*3.1 First Petrine speech:* Two quoted texts from the Pss were combined in a masterly manner and presented as one single quotation with a single introductory formula. In the first quoted text, Ps 68(69):26, it was found that the changes between the reconstructed LXX readings and that of Ac were probably due to the hand of the author. The second person plural pronoun was changed to the singular in order to apply it to Judas. The change to the predicate adjective in place of the passive

<sup>3</sup>. See the tables in App. A.

<sup>4</sup>. Compare these levels with D.E. AUNE's (*Prophecy in early Christianity and the ancient Mediterranean world* Grand Rapids 1983, 339) identification of three essential features of "charismatic exegesis", being "a characteristic feature of Jewish prophetism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods", but also to be found in early Christian biblical interpretation: "it is *commentary*" (level 1 below?), "it is *eschatological*" (level 2 below?) "and it is *inspired*" (both levels?).

participle, seems to be a broader Lukan stylistic preference. An interesting feature of Luke's use of sources is found here, namely that something might be omitted, only to be added later in different words (i.e. a transposition-cum-substitution). The quoted text as such replaces Zch 11/Jr 39(32) in the Matthean parallel.

In the second quoted text, Ps 108(109):8, the connection with the preceding quoted text was effectively made. The striking feature here is the change from the optative to the imperative. This not only connects the quoted text with the preceding one, but also serves the function of a divine demand.

*3.2 Second Petrine speech:* The long quoted text from Jl 2:28-32 (3:1-5) probably serves some programmatic function. It consists of three parts: the first interprets and confirms the preceding event of the Spirit which Jesus has just "poured out" from heaven, having received it from his Father, while sitting at the right hand of the Father; the second has a stronger eschatological trend, looking ahead to the consequences of this Spirit-event, which lie in the future; the third consists of the emphatic (and strategically ended) sentence about salvation in the name of the κύριος. The latter is thus interpreted in a christological-soteriological manner. Both levels of interpretation, as identified above, are thus to be found in this quoted text. Most of the changes found here seem to be the result of the author's hand, and to be theologically motivated. The insertion of λέγει ὁ θεός confirms Luke's Theo-centric approach; that of καὶ προφητεύουσιν his prophetic intention, and those of ἄνω, (κάτω), σημεῖα with the substitution of μετὰ ταῦτα by ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, Luke's eschatological dimension. Some pronouns were changed again in order to apply the quoted text more closely to its current context. The change in order between πρεσβύτεροι and νεανίσκοι, as well as that of ἐνυπνία which has become ἐνυπνίως, is an indication of Luke's own stylistic preferences.

The second quoted text, Ps 15(16):8-11, has shown that it could only have been taken from the LXX.<sup>5</sup> It is presented in a typological way, as being already referred to in the past by the "prophet" David, and now interpreted in terms of what has happened to Jesus of Nazareth. Striking is the Theo-centric approach which remains consequently present during the interpretation of the Ps.

The third quoted text, Ps 109(110):1, also points to the LXX by following the ὑποπόδιον, instead of the ὑποκάτω reading. Contrary to rabbinic material which interprets it in a non-messianic manner, the NT interprets it messianically (christologically). Taking this with Ps 15(16), there might be some link with the Davidic promises in 2 Ki(Sm) 7:12-16. Also important is the continuation of the κύριος-motif which was begun at the end of the Jl quotation, taken up by the quotation from Ps 15(16) and appears again here in the quotation from Ps 109(110). Luke's presentation of witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus is clear: (a) Scripture, as found in Pss 15(16) and 109(110), as well as (b) Peter and the other 11 "witnesses".

<sup>5</sup> In a study conducted on LXX influence on the language and style of Luke's gospel, it was found that the "Sondergut-Lukas" material was much closer to the readings of the LXX than those from other material (cf. G.J. STEYN, *LXX invloed*, 136). Does the fact that the occurrence of this quoted text in Ac could only be traced back to Luke himself, confirm that finding?

3.3 *Third Petrine speech*: The first quoted text, Dt 18:15-20, was interpreted in pre-Lukan times in terms of the expectation of an eschatological prophet such as Moses. It is used here by Luke roughly within the same lines, but also as an example of the promise of the times of restoration. Typologically, therefore, it is christologically applied, so that its three dimensions, prophetic, christological and eschatological, are like three strings in a single cord of interpretation. Again, pronoun changes were made to adapt the quoted text to the current hearers, by changing the second person singulars to plurals. This adaptation to the current hearers was extended by the transposition of ὑμῖν which placed it in an emphatic position and by the addition of πρὸς ὑμᾶς. The prophetic dimension was stressed by (a) the emphatic start of the quotation with προφήτην; by (b) the transposition of ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν...ὡς ἐμέ which emphasized "prophet"; by (c) the transposition of τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου which emphasizes obedience to the prophet; and (d) the warning against false prophets. The rest of the context from the quoted text (VV.15-20) was omitted, probably due to the fact that it does not fit into the new context. Despite the fragmentary character of this quoted text, there seems to be sufficient evidence that it is to be traced back to the LXX. Probable broader knowledge of the LXX version of Dt is also indicated by the addition of ἔσται δέ.

The second quoted text, resembling a similar "curse" to that found in Lv 23:29 for instance, deals especially with the second level of Luke's use of Scriptural quotations. It is combined with the quoted text from Dt 18:15-20 and presented as a single quotation — as was the case with the two quoted texts from the Pss in the first Petrine speech. It is used as an added moral code.

The third quoted text, Gn 22:18, clearly identifies the first recipients of the mentioned promises. This is achieved by (a) the transposition of ἐνευλογηθήσονται which results in emphasizing ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου, by which it is clear that the quoted text was meant for *them*, being those children of their forefathers, as well as by (b) the substitution of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη with πᾶσαι αἱ πατριά. This quoted text also seems to be functioning within Luke's second level of usage of scriptural quotations. It is applied to the present situation with an appeal to its current hearers (readers?). The context in which it is quoted is that the hearers are children of the covenant made by God with their fathers, through Abraham.

Most of the changes in the third Petrine speech seem to be stylistic changes, however, being theologically motivated.

3.4 *First Pauline speech*: The trilogy of quoted texts in Ac 13:33-35, are all christologically interpreted. Although the quoted text from Ps 2:7 reflects no textual changes, it seems to be a *crux interpretum*. It was concluded that it might have some double meaning, referring both to the earthly Jesus' birth and ministry, but also to the exalted Jesus' status. If a choice must be made, the latter is more probable, that is, that it deals with the period after his resurrection, and specifically with his exalted status. The quoted text is therefore interpreted as a fulfillment of the Davidic promise.

The second quoted text, Is 55:3, probably shares some background from 2 Ki(Sm) 7:15 with the next quoted text, Ps 15(16):10. The addition of δώσω makes it clear that one should distinguish between a quoted text and a quotation. Luke's quotation already starts here, but it is not yet part of his quoted text. However, it could also be

seen as an implicit replacement for the next omission in the quoted text (διαθήσομαι). The element of God's promise figures prominently here and reflects therefore again on the dimension of prophecy.

The third quoted text, Ps 15(16):10, is quoted as a *pars pro toto*, especially bearing in mind its first occurrence in the second Petrine speech. It probably serves to emphasize the incorruptibility of Jesus' body as proven from Scripture, and therefore to substantiate the fact of his resurrection.

The fourth quoted text, Hab 1:5, was taken from an eschatological context, but is interpreted here as a warning with some immediateness, in the form of a prophecy which stands on the brink of fulfillment. In order to apply the quoted text to the current situation, Luke adds ἔργον for the sake of clarity and the pronoun ὑμῖν to emphasize the fact that the content of this prophecy is meant *for them!*

In the fifth quoted text, Is 49:6, the κύριος-motif again plays an important role. The text is presented as a direct commission of the κύριος himself to these apostles. This probably refers to the now exalted Jesus, who was made κύριος by God (cf. Ac 2:36). It has thus a christological dimension. However, within its current context it also reflects an eschatological dimension through the mission for the restoration of Israel — and even beyond the restoration of Israel! Simultaneously it contains then also a soteriological element. The normative character of this quoted prophecy is to be seen in the transposition of the attention marker ἰδοῦ from the context of the quoted text, prior to the introductory formula.

**3.5 Sixth Pauline speech:** The context of the only quoted text, Ex 22:27, is retained here. It functions as a commandment which is applied here to the relevant person, Ananias. This is achieved by the change from a plural to the singular ἀρχοντα. The purpose of the quoted text seems to be an emphasis of Paul's commitment and obedience to the law, in ironical contrast with the Jewish officials who disobey these Jewish laws.

**3.6 Tenth Pauline speech:** There is clear and sufficient evidence to assume that Luke made use here of a LXX version for this quoted text from Is 6:9-10. It is still in line with Luke's Theo-centric approach, fitting in with God's plan of salvation. The transposition of elements within the LXX phrase καὶ εἶπον τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ to read in Ac πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἶπόν probably represents a Lukan stylistic preference for interchanging elements in his quoted texts near the end of those quotations. It was also done in the first Pauline speech with the quoted text from Hab 1:5, where the phrase ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι has become ἐργάζομαι ἐγώ, as well as in the sixth Pauline speech with the quoted text from Ex 22:27, where the phrase οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς was changed to οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς.

The pronoun αὐτῶν was omitted in order to apply the quoted text to its new hearers.<sup>6</sup> The quoted text could now be interpreted as a message by the mouth of (the "prophet"?) Paul to the descendants of Israel, while, in its original context, it was a message from the mouth of the prophet Isaiah to their forefathers. The text itself is thus interpreted as being a prophecy, both with an eschatological dimension (within the setting of Paul's discussion on the "kingdom of God"), as well as a

<sup>6</sup> But cf. also the reading in Mt which is similar. It was either the independent result of both authors, or both made use of a similar *Textvorlage*.



soteriological dimension (if the Jews do not want this message of salvation, it will be taken to the non-Jews, "they will listen").

#### 4. THE HERMENEUTICAL ASPECT OF PROBLEM:

Aspects of Luke's theology and his interpretation of LXX quotations

The question of how these changes in the quotations fit in with the Lukan theology should now be taken a step further. Attention should be paid especially to the theological *apriori* which were functioning within Luke's reinterpretation of his quoted material from his Scriptures.

With regard to the place of Luke's use and interpretation of his Scripture within the framework of his theology, the following has become clear:

(a) The nature of the applied quoted texts is Theo-centric rather than christological. God always remains the Subject.

(b) The medium through whom these quoted texts are interpreted is a prophetic one. Peter and Paul seem to be the mouthpieces of Jesus. They have authority, are empowered by the Holy Spirit, and can therefore interpret the Scriptures.

(c) The general aim of these quoted texts is salvation-historical. It has as its primary objects of salvation the Jews, but also more and more the non-Jews.

(d) The contents of the prophecy itself is presented in a kerygmatic form. It deals with specific themes, arising from a real historical context, which are then related to God's general plan of salvation via the name of the κύριος.<sup>7</sup>

Luke's use, understanding, and application of his Scriptures, can therefore only be understood in the end within his theology. It would be unwarranted to try and reconstruct such a Lukan theology from the information in these six speeches alone. However, the question which should be asked is, where exactly in Luke's theology do these quotations then fit? It is clearly not the intention of this investigation to reconstruct a Lukan theology here, or to be comprehensive or reflective with regard to existing proposed reconstructions of Lukan theology. Attention will simply be paid to certain aspects of Luke's theology as reflected in the discussed speeches. Therefore, nothing more than a reflection on certain *aspects* of the Lukan theology should be expected here. Thus, how do these changes fit in within the context of these speeches, i.e. within those aspects of the Lukan theology which were dealt with in the relevant speeches?

The Petrine and Pauline speeches have shown that they consist of certain elements, which reflect some aspects of Luke's theology. These are the most basic elements to be found in the Petrine and Pauline speeches which were discussed. Due to the fact that the emphasis is not the same in all of the speeches (the missionary speeches has a different approach from the Pauline defense speeches, for instance), it would of course then be expected that the emphasis on some of these elements would be more prominent in one speech than in another. But their traces are clearly shared by all these relevant speeches. The elements are the following:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. for instance: (a) *νεπὶ Ἰουδα*, Ac 1:16; (b) *νεπὶ ἀναστάσεως*, Ac 2:31; etc.

<sup>8</sup> The form or format of these speeches are probably nearer to the influence of the Greek rhetoricians and philosophers, while the contents of the discussed speeches and their application and interpretation of the Jewish scriptures, probably stands nearer to Jewish influence. However, it is not the purpose of this study to investigate the speeches as such.

(a) *Link with a recent/previous occasion or event*: First Petrine (Ac 1:16); second Petrine (2:14-18); third Petrine (3:12,16); first Pauline (13:15-16); sixth Pauline (22:30); tenth Pauline (28:16).

(b) *A summary of past historical events* (sometimes including the Jesus events): First Petrine (Ac 1:17-20c); second Petrine (2:22-23,29); third Petrine (3:13-15,17-18,22,24-25); first Pauline (13:17-25,36); sixth Pauline (23:1); tenth Pauline (28:17-19).

(c) *Jesus kerygma*: First Petrine (Ac 1:21-22); second Petrine (2:22-28,30-36); third Petrine (3:13-15,18,20-22); first Pauline (13:23-35,37-39); (sixth Pauline, 23:6); (tenth Pauline, 28:20,23b).

(d) *Reaction of the hearers*: First Petrine (Ac 1:23-26); second Petrine (2:37,41-47); third Petrine (4:1ff); first Pauline (13:42-45,48); sixth Pauline (23:2,4,7ff); tenth Pauline (28:21-23a,24-25a).

(e) *Prophecy for future situation and/or appeal for present situation*: First Petrine (Ac 1:20d-22); second Petrine (2:19-21,38-40); third Petrine (3:19-21,23,26); first Pauline (13:38-41,46-47); sixth Pauline (23:3,5); tenth Pauline (28:25b-28).

Scriptural quotations were not used for, or limited to, one single element of the speech only. The distribution of explicit quotations within these elements looks as follows:

*Element (a) Link with a recent/previous occasion or event*:

\* Second Petrine speech: Jl 2:28-29 (3:1-2) in Ac 2:17-18

*Element (b) A summary of past events*:

\* First Petrine speech: Ps 68(69):26 in Ac 1:20b-c

*Element (c) Jesus kerygma*:

\* Second Petrine speech: Ps 15(16):8-11 in Ac 2:25-28

\* Second Petrine speech: Ps 109(110):1 in Ac 2:34

\* Third Petrine speech: Dt 18:15-20 in Ac 3:22

\* First Pauline speech: Ps 2:7 in Ac 13:33

\* First Pauline speech: Is 55:3 in Ac 13:34

\* First Pauline speech: Ps 15(16):10 in Ac 13:35

Note that quotations which are linked to the Jesus kerygma, are thus to be found only within the missionary speeches.

*Element (d) Reaction of the hearers*:

It is noteworthy that nowhere in these speeches do the hearers themselves quote directly from Scripture!

*Element (e) Prophecy for future/ appeal for present situation*

\* First Petrine speech: Ps 108(109):8 in Ac 1:20d

\* Second Petrine speech: Jl 2:30-32 (3:3-5) in Ac 2:19-21

\* Third Petrine speech: Lv 23:29 in Ac 3:23

- \* Third Petrine speech: Gn 22:18 in Ac 3:25
- \* First Pauline speech: Hab 1:5 in Ac 13:41
- \* First Pauline speech: Is 49:6 in Ac 13:47
- \* Sixth Pauline speech: Ex 22:28 in Ac 23:5
- \* Tenth Pauline speech: Is 6:9-10 in Ac 28:26-27

Element (c) seems to reflect quoted texts from Scripture which were primarily *christologically* interpreted. They are generally treated as prophecies which were already fulfilled in the events as described in the Jesus kerygma, dealing especially with the resurrection and exaltation of Christ. Luke looks back into history and interprets those texts in an informative manner in order to indicate to his readers (via Peter and Paul's speeches to their hearers) the fact that these have been fulfilled, as well as how they have been fulfilled.

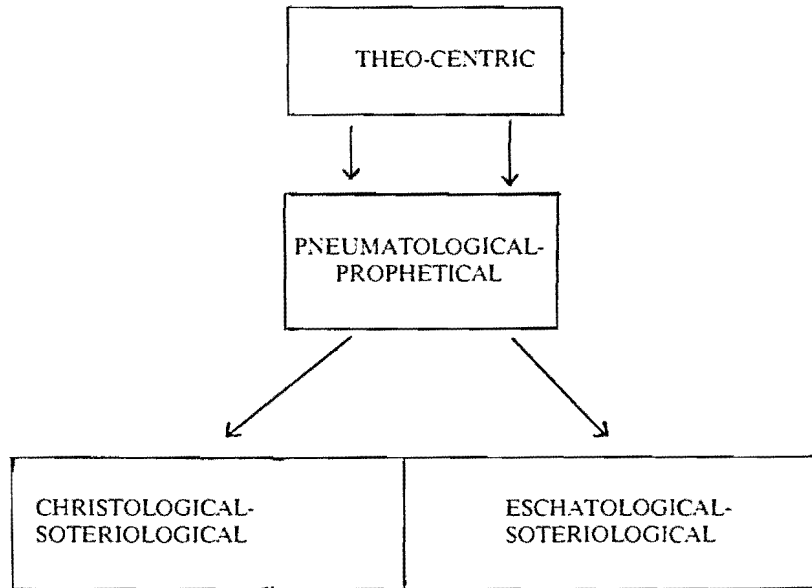
Element (e) reflects quoted texts which are treated *prophetically*. They are used mainly as prophecies which are not yet fulfilled, but which may be on the point of fulfillment; or, the prophecies may be fulfilled, but at the same time still remain open in terms of their consequences or their challenge, because they are normative for all time (e.g. Ex 22:28). Some of these texts also have an implied *eschatological* dimension. Emphasis is laid on the normative nature of these texts. Although they are revealed as being part of God's foreknowledge which is busy unfolding before them, all of them have the nature of an appeal, or invitation, (e.g. Ps 108(109):8), which is directed towards a soteriological aim, implicitly rooted in them, in order to fit in with God's plan of salvation for all, both Jews and non-Jews (Gn 22:18; Is 49:6; Is 6:9-10). Attention is paid to the current situation of the hearers, and to their future (Jl 2:30-31(3:3-4)), and they are constantly reminded and warned of the consequences of denying this opportunity (Lv 23:29; Hab 1:5; Is 6:9-10) of being saved by calling upon the name of the κύριος (Jl 2:32(3:5)).

The sharing point of both seems to be their prophetic tendency, first in the past era directed towards the first coming of the messiah as Saviour of these Jews, then in the present era directed towards the salvation of all, including the non-Jews — a point which confirms the overall *salvation-historical perspective* which Luke has in mind. And this is confirmed, in its turn, by the occurrence of element (a) which points to a recent event in the *present* situation; element (b) which points to *past* events further back in history; and element (e) which points to the *future* situation.

Scripture is linked with elements (a) and (b) in order to prove that God already knew long ago what would happen with regard to Jesus of Nazareth, as spelled out in the Jesus kerygma, to which element (c) also attests. But Scripture is also used in order to prove, or rather to reveal, what God has intended for the future, as becomes clear from element (e).

#### 4.1 Some aspects of Lukan theology within a salvation-historical approach

The above-mentioned elements which were encountered in the discussed speeches, point to the following aspects of Luke's theology, within a broader salvation historical approach: Theo-centric, pneumatological-prophetic, christological-soteriological, eschatological-soteriological. It could be schematically presented by the following illustration:



#### 4.1.1 *Theo-centric approach (The "Divine Plan")<sup>9</sup>*

Luke's Theo-centric approach to his understanding of salvation-history is striking. God remains the Subject of everything which has happened in the past (including the events as described in the Jesus kerygma), as well as that which is currently happening, and that which will come. God has decided and predetermined everything long ago (Ac 2:23; 4:28; 13:36). The role which the βουλή τοῦ θεοῦ plays in the argumentation of Ac 2 and 13 should not be underestimated in this regard.<sup>10</sup> Jesus himself plays a subordinate role within this Theo-centric approach, being made κύριος and χριστός by God (Ac 2:36), and being given the most honourable position in God's creation: right next to God, at his right hand, where he "had to stay" until the "times of refreshment have come", "the time of the restoration of all things" (Ac 3)!

<sup>9</sup> See also R.L. MOWERY, The Divine Hand and the Divine Plan in the Lukan Passion, in: E.H. LOVERING (ed), *SBL Seminar Papers* 127/30, Atlanta 1991, 558-575, especially 568f. He identified 6 ways in which Luke refers to the divine plan: (a) the verb δεῖ, (b) the verb μέλλω, (c) references to the Scriptures, (d) various other distinctive words, (e) divine passives and (f) explicit references to God (571).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Ac 2:23 and 4:28.

This Theo-centric approach is confirmed by the following terms and phrases (themes) in the *Petrine speeches* which were encountered:

(a) First Petrine speech: *With regard to Judas* (περὶ Ἰουδα, V.16): Using the mouth of David, "the Holy Spirit foretold" (προεῖπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, Ac 1:16) what would happen to Judas. It therefore "had to" happen, (εἶδει, Ac 1:16). Ps 68(69):26 is then quoted as the Scriptural proof that God knew about this long ago. *With regard to the disciples*: On the basis of what has happened with Judas, another quoted text, from Ps 108(109):8, is linked with the previous one. It is treated as a divine imperative in order to fill that empty position which was left by Judas who should have been an authoritative witness about Jesus' life and resurrection. The disciples "had to" elect another witness in Judas' place (δεῖ, Ac 1:21).

(b) Second Petrine speech: *With regard to the "promise of the Holy Spirit"*: God has already said (inserted λέγει ὁ θεός, V.17) long ago "through the prophet Joel" (διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ, V.16) that this will happen "during the last days" (ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, V.17, a substitution for the original reading). Jl 3:1-5 (2:28-32) is then quoted to show three things: the coming of the Spirit, the apocalyptic wonders and signs, and the opportunity to be saved by the name of the κύριος. Luke starts then to explain the last of these. Jesus is implicitly identified as that κύριος, and a summary of Jesus' passion follows; Luke emphasizes David's foreknowledge of Jesus' resurrection and ascension, backing this up with the quotations from Ps 15(16) and 109(110). It is the risen Jesus who has received this Spirit from his Father and "has poured it out", an event which they have just experienced (V.33). *With regard to Jesus of Nazareth*: According to the "plan and foreknowledge of God" (τῆ ὀρισμένη βουλή καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ, V.23), God has handed Jesus over to the Jerusalem Jews. *With regard to their forefather David* (περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Δαυὶδ, V.29): David "therefore" could only have been talking of Jesus (Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν, V.25), as he himself had died long before. This was illustrated by the long Scriptural quotation from Ps 15(16):8-11. *With regard to the resurrection of the Christ* (περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ χριστοῦ, V.31): David, the "prophet" (προφήτης οὗν ὑπάρχων, V.30) "knew" (εἰδώς, V.30) that one of his descendants would sit on his throne, and had therefore "foreseen" (προϊδών, V.31) the resurrection of the Christ. At this point reference is once again implicitly made to Ps 15(16):10. *With regard to the ascension of Christ*: As David, again, had not ascended into heaven, the words quoted from Ps 109(110) must be seen as referring, not to himself, but to Jesus (οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός, V.34). Ps 109(110):1 is then quoted to prove that David knew Christ would sit at the right hand of his Father in heaven.

(c) Third Petrine speech: *With regard to the healing of the lame man*: This has happened because the covenantal God (of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) has glorified his child, Jesus (V.13). It was through faith in the Name of Jesus, that God has healed the man (v.16). *With regard to the passion of his Christ*: God has "foretold" (προκατήγγελεν, V.18) through the mouths of many prophets that his Christ would suffer (παθεῖν τὸν χριστόν, V.18), and so it was fulfilled (ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως, V.18). If they convert, God will forgive their sins and he will send Jesus to them, whom he has made known before as the Christ (τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστόν Ἰησοῦν, V.20). *With regard to the exalted Christ*: He "had to" (δεῖ, V.21)

stay in heaven until the time of the restoration of all,<sup>11</sup> which God has spoken of (ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεός) since long ago (ἀπ' αἰῶνος) through the mouth (διὰ στόματος) of his holy prophets (τῶν ἁγίων...αὐτοῦ προφητῶν) (V.21). *With regard to the restoration of all things*: In VV.22-23, Moses is then quoted as one such prophet, prophesying that God will raise a prophet like himself to whom they should listen. This is a combined quotation, consisting of material from Dt 18:15-20 and what seems to be Lv 23:29. The prophets since Samuel, have foretold what will happen during this time (V.24). Their prophecies are relevant for this generation, as they share in the covenant which God has made with their forefathers (V.25). Abraham is highlighted as one such forefather to whom God has promised that all the nations of the earth will be blessed because of his offspring, a quotation from Gn 22:18.

(d) First Pauline speech: *With regard to the people of Israel*: God has elected their forefathers, elevated them in Egypt, led them out of Egypt, cared for them in the desert, prepared a land for them (driving out seven other nations), given them judges until the time of the prophet Samuel, a king (Saul) when they asked for one, including (later) David with whom God was pleased and from whose descendants would come their promised saviour, Jesus!<sup>12</sup> *With regard to this message of salvation* (λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης, V.26): Although the Jews had murdered him, God has resurrected him from death and Paul and Barnabas themselves are witnesses (μάρτυρες) to that (V.31). They can therefore proclaim to them that God has fulfilled (ὁ θεός ἐκπεπλήρωκεν, V.33) to them the promise which was made to their forefathers by "raising" Jesus (linked with a quoted text from Ps 2:7) and resurrecting him from death. Is 55:3 and Ps 15(16):10 are then quoted as proof that the Davidic promise had foretold the incorruptibility of the body of that saviour — which could not have referred to David himself, as he had "fallen asleep", was buried, and his body had decayed after he had served God's purpose (τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλή, V.36) within his own generation. This message is indeed the "word of God" himself (τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, V.46). *With regard to Paul and Barnabas*: They are urged by many Jews and converts of Judaism to continue "in the grace of God" (V.43).

(e) Sixth Pauline speech: *With regard to Paul's trial*: Paul's life is a life in good conscience "before God" (τῷ θεῷ, Ac 23:1). God himself could thus be called as a witness to that. The prophetic curse directed towards the high priest, is one where God is called to bring justice into an unjust situation. However, the high priest himself is accepted by his officials as "God's high priest". Paul's quotation from God's law as found in the Torah (Ex 22:27) is an indication of his own respect for the commands of God.

(f) Tenth Pauline speech: *With regard to Jesus* (περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ac 28:23): He seems to be the central point of the message about the "kingdom of God" (τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, V.23), already referred to in Scripture by the law of Moses and the prophets. Is 6:9-10 is quoted as being the words of the Holy Spirit, spoken by the

<sup>11</sup>. According to H.N. RIDDERBOS, "This 'must' happens in accordance with the eschatological plan of God" (*Speeches of Peter*, 14).

<sup>12</sup>. Note the emphasis on τούτο ὁ θεός at this point in Ac 13:23.

mouth of the prophet Isaiah to their forefathers. This Jesus is thus no less than God's salvation (τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, V.28) which was sent to them.

All these point to a "divine plan" of God, made known to his prophets and the fathers in the past, and which shows that God remains in control of history, with the purpose of saving his people, first the Jews and then the Gentiles.

#### 4.1.2 *Pneumatological empowerment and prophetic mission*<sup>13</sup>

##### *a. Regarding the pre-Christian era*

It is interesting to see how Luke presented his quotations as information which was received by the prophets and fathers of old, via God or his Holy Spirit. They were the witnesses of old regarding the divine message. Compare the following:

###### *(a) To David:*

- προεἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ (Ac 1:16) —> Ps 68(69):26 and Ps 108(109):8 (Ac 1:20)

- Δαυὶδ...προφήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων...προϊδὼν (Ac 2:29-31) —> Ps 15(16):8-11 (Ac 2:25-28. Cf. also 13:35) and Ps 109(110):1 (Ac 2:34).

###### *(b) To Joel:*

- τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ...λέγει ὁ θεός (Ac 2:16-17) —> Joel 2:28-32(3:1-5) (Ac 2:17-21)

###### *(c) To Moses:*

- ὁ θεός διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἶπεν (Ac 3:21-22) —> Dt 18:15-20 (Ac 3:22) and Lv 23:29 (Ac 3:23).

- τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ...περὶ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωϋσέως (Ac 28:23).

###### *(d) To Abraham:*

- ὁ θεός πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ (Ac 3:25) —> Gn 22:18 (Ac 3:25).

###### *(e) To their fathers:*

- τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην, ὅτι ταύτην ὁ θεός ἐκπεπλήρωκεν...ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ...οὕτως εἶρηκεν...καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει (Ac 13:32-35) —> Ps 2:7 (Ac 13:33); Is 55:3 (Ac 13:34) and Ps 15(16):10 (Ac 13:35).

###### *(f) To Isaiah:*

- ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου (Ac 28:25) —> Is 6:9-10.

Samuel and all the other prophets had announced what would happen in these times (3:24). The hearers are thus partakers in the covenant which God had made with

<sup>13</sup> . Cf. R.G. HALL: "Luke bases his understanding of Jesus and God's plan in history on the Holy Spirit's activity in the past and present. The Holy Spirit revealed the plan of God in the scriptures, carried it out in the ministry of Jesus and proclaimed it in the witness of the early church" (*Revealed Histories. Techniques for Ancient Jewish and Christian Historiography* (JnlStPs.Supp Ser 6), Sheffield 1991, 171). See also H.N. RIDDERBOS, *Speeches of Peter*, 17-19; D.L. TIEDE, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts*, Philadelphia 1980; C.A. EVANS, *Prophetic Setting*, 148-150; and J.T. SANDERS, *The Prophetic Use of the Scriptures in Luke-Acts*, in: C.A. EVANS & W.F. STINESPRING (eds), *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, Atlanta 1987, 191-198.

their forefathers (3:25). God promised Abraham that his descendant would be a blessing for all the people of the earth (3:25). God's Servant (3:13, 26; 4:27, 30) was sent first to them (the Jews) to be a blessing to them, and to bring them back from the wrong ways (3:26).

All this attests to the fact that "God's voice speaks 'Scripture'",<sup>14</sup> and that "divine speech" and Scriptural inspiration, seem here to be two sides of the same coin. The promises are presented as being God's very own words which were written down, and are thus contained now in Scripture. These Scriptural accounts are treated by Luke as prophecy. These accounts are then seen as God's "programme" for what was to happen; now that the prophecies have been fulfilled, the Scriptural accounts are used by Luke to prove that these events are indeed part of God's broader plan of salvation history. The normative nature of these Scriptures and Luke's respect for them is clear from the way in which he quotes from them. The mere fact that these Scriptures are used in his argumentation regarding God's salvation, makes this clear.

The content of the message in the pre-Christian era was God's promises to Abraham, Moses, David and the other prophets regarding the coming of a messiah, which turns out to be Jesus (Lk 1:32), who would bring salvation to the Jews (Lk 2:32).

#### *b. Regarding the early Christian era<sup>15</sup>*

Apart from the prophets and fathers of old who have received God's message, the apostles too (including Paul) are pictured in Ac as the authorized witnesses of God's message, i.e. the Jesus events. They *had to fulfill* his commands and orders. They have the authority to interpret Scripture, and have the ability to use it in the same way as the prophets of old, and as Jesus himself, in order to indicate what could (and should) happen.

During the 40 days after Jesus' resurrection, and before his ascension, Jesus (i) gave commands to his apostles (1:2; 10:42) and (ii) proved during this time to his apostles that he was alive (1:3). These apostles are thus the faithful witnesses (10:39; 13:26) of his resurrection (1:3,21; 2:32; 3:15; 4:20,33; 5:32; 10:40-41; 13:31). He also (iii) talked with them about the things of the kingdom of God (1:3; 14:22). Almost all of the quotations are to be found in the speeches and dialogues, i.e. in the mouths of authoritative witnesses (μάρτυρες, Ac 1:22; 2:32; 3:15). Peter and Paul

<sup>14</sup>. Cf. S.E. JOHNSON on Mk 1:11. Refers to Hebrew "bath qol" which means literally: "daughter (i.e. echo) of the voice". Often then, although not always, it speaks words of Scripture. See Midrash Eecl.vii.9 and Talmud Berachoth 3a (*A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, London 1960, 39).

<sup>15</sup>. Cf. E.E. ELLIS: "Christian prophecy in Acts is represented as an eschatological power of the Holy Spirit from God...or from the risen Jesus" (The Role of the Christian Prophet in Acts, in: W.W. GASQUE & R.P. MARTIN (eds), *Apostolic History and the Gospel. Biblical and Historical Essays presented to F.F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday*, Exeter 1970, 55-67). See also D.E. AUNE, *Prophecy*, 317f; G.F. HAWTHORNE, The Role of Christian Prophets in the Gospel Tradition, in: G.F. HAWTHORNE & O. BETZ (eds), *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament*, Grand Rapids/Tübingen 1987, 119-133 (especially 126f); and M. TURNER, The Spirit of Prophecy and the Power of Authoritative Preaching in Luke-Acts: A Question of Origins, in: *NTS* 38 (1992), 66-88.



are presented as "prophets" - they can "speak the words of God".<sup>16</sup> They have received the "promise" of the Holy Spirit.<sup>17</sup> They are thus informed about this "plan" of God and have received pneumatological empowerment. They recognize the message of God in Scripture, proclaim it and interpret it.<sup>18</sup>

(a) In the *first Petrine* speech, the *number of the apostles* had therefore first to be completed, before they went on with their orders. With Judas no longer of their number, another *had to be* chosen in his place (1:20d-22), as is demanded by Ps 108(109):8. This is a divine imperative and probably contains an implied reference to the restoration of Israel.<sup>19</sup>

(b) Just prior to the *second Petrine* speech, a special empowering of the witnesses takes place: they received the promise. The Spirit-event and the tongues (Ac 2) are experienced. They should not be surprised, as Joel had predicted that these things would happen.

(c) In the *third Petrine* speech, the listeners at the temple court are reminded about the warning contained in Scripture (Lv 23:29?), that those who do not listen to this "prophet like Moses" should be cut off from the people (Ac 3:23).

(d) In the *first Pauline* speech, the hearers at the synagogue in Antioch are exhorted not to reject the message about Jesus, and reminded of the warning of the prophets if they do not accept the message about Jesus: βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις (Ac 13:40), as it is described in Hab 1:5.<sup>20</sup> Then, when the Jews in Antioch did not listen, Scripture is quoted again to make it clear that "the κύριος has commanded them" (οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος) to turn to the non-Jews, as it is stated in Is 49:6 (Ac 13:47).

(e) In the *sixth Pauline* speech, Paul indicates that he knows God's commandments and that he respects the Jewish law, by quoting from Ex 22:27 (Ac 23:5).

(f) In the *tenth Pauline* speech, Paul uses Is 6:9-10 in order to substantiate their decision to turn to the non-Jews (Ac 28:26-28).

Two types of witnesses are thus now attesting to God's message: (a) written witnesses, the prophets and fathers in Scripture,<sup>21</sup> and (b) oral witnesses, the

<sup>16</sup> See also in this regard: L.H. FELDMAN, *Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus*, in: *JThS* 41 (1990), 386-422.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ac 2 and the "tongues" as of fire. Having received such a "tongue", God's words could be spoken. Compare also the following with regard to the Spirit: δωρεά, Ac 2:38; 8:20; 10:45; 11:17; ἐπιγγελία, Ac 1:4; 2:33,39; 7:17; 13:23,32; 26:6; ἔκχεω ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, Ac 2:17,18,33).

<sup>18</sup> See also O SKARSAUNE, on the basis of whose results it can be pointed out that the authority of these became clear in the early church history, where even an Apologist like Justin Martyr related his proof-text tradition closely "to the missionary tradition contained in the *Kerygma Petrou*" (*Proof from Prophecy*, 425). On Paul, cf. B.J. KOET, *Prophets and Law*, 73-96. He indicated that "Luke stresses that after Damascus Paul is a law-abiding Jew and a Pharisee". His mission is accordance with the Scriptures, in particular with "the Prophets" and that "just like Philip, Stephen and Peter before him (he) is proclaiming Jesus from the Scriptures or from concepts developed out of them" (95-96).

<sup>19</sup> There might also be some wordplay on Ἰουδα, being the disciple Judas, but also the very same word for the tribe of Judah.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. 1QpHab 2:1-10, referring to the "traitors of the last days" = midrash-pesher.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. A.A. TRITES, *The New Testament Concept of Witness*, Cambridge 1977. He confirms that Luke made use of the OT principle (Dt 19:15) "...that everything must be established at the mouth of two or three witnesses, and formulates his historical material in accordance with it" (133). Three categories of witnesses are identified: the apostles, Holy Spirit and Scriptures. Taken together, these three "...constitute a compelling case for the claims of Christ as Lord and Messiah".

apostles. The contents of the divine message in the early Christian era resembles the message of the old era. As God has promised the messiah to the prophets, so Jesus has promised the Spirit to the apostles (Lk 24:46-47), who will empower them for their mission of the proclamation of salvation to the nations (Lk 24:46-47, Ac 1:2,8). Comparison between both:

<i>Relation to past events:</i> (Informative use)	<i>Relation to present/future</i> (Normative use)
- Based on historical events	- Based on current situation
- Proof of fulfillment	- Promise of fulfillment
- Christologically directed	- Eschatological-Soteriological
- Limited to Jewish history	- Universalistic dimension
- All texts from tradition	- Texts from tradition AND Luke
- Jesus of Nazareth = Messiah	- Jesus is exalted Christ

#### 4.1.3 Christological arbitration (*The Jesus kenigma*)<sup>22</sup>

After the baptism preached by John in Galilee (10:37; 13:24-25), Jesus of Nazareth was made known through powerful deeds, wonders and signs (2:22; 10:38) — because God had anointed him with the Holy Spirit and strengthened him with power (10:38). Jesus was delivered to them (2:23), the Jews, (this was decided and determined by God (2:23)) and then *they* have crucified Jesus (2:23; 3:15,18; 4:10; 5:30; 10:39; 13:29) using Gentiles (2:23). Although he was innocent (3:13; 13:28), they have rejected Jesus (4:11; 13:27) and chosen a murderer above him (3:14). These things were done through ignorance (3:17). After he was crucified, he was taken from the cross and buried (13:29). All this was already announced by the prophets, namely that the Christ would suffer (3:18; 13:29), and this is what has happened now (3:18; 4:27-28; 13:27), as foretold by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of God's servant, David (4:25-26): *Ps 2:1-2 LXX*,<sup>23</sup>

God has, however, resurrected Jesus (2:24; 3:15; 4:10; 5:30; 10:40; 13:30,37) — as he has promised to their forefathers (2:30-31; 13:32,34). The resurrection itself was thus already foreseen by David, because he was a prophet (2:25-28,31): *Ps 15:8-11 LXX, Ps 15:10 LXX*. It was said that God would "raise" him (13:33): *Ps 2:7 LXX*,<sup>24</sup> but David is dead (13:36). God has resurrected Jesus in fulfillment of his promises to David ([2:30] 13:34) = *Is 55:3 LXX* (δῶσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά); David, however, is still buried (13:36). Jesus would therefore not decay (13:34), because God has promised this also, in another text (13:35) = *Ps 15:10 LXX* (οὐ δώσειτε τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν); David has, however, decayed (13:36). Therefore, although these things were promised to David, he has died, is buried with his forefathers, and has decayed (2:29; 13:36). But it was Jesus who was resurrected by God and who did not decay (13:37).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. R.BROWN: "The interpretation of Jesus' actions in terms of OT fulfillment probably began with Jesus himself; but the NT works agree that it was only after the resurrection that the disciples saw in the OT the key to understanding Jesus Luke xxiv.27)" (*Gospel According to John, Vol I, (AnBib)*, New York, 123). See also H.N. RIDDERBOS, *Speeches of Peter*, 19-27.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the similar eschatological text of 4QFlor, linked with 2 Kí(Sm) 7:10b-14 (a midrash-pesher?).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also Heb 1:5, 5:5.

his forefathers, and has decayed (2:29; 13:36). But it was Jesus who was resurrected by God and who did not decay (13:37).

Jesus' ascension then took place (1:2, 9-11), as well as his exaltation, described as follows: He sits now on the throne of David — in fulfillment of the promise to David that one of his descendants would sit on his throne (2:30; 13:23; [34]), that is, at the right hand of God (2:33-35; 5:31; 7:55-56) — as foretold by David (2:34): *Ps 109:1 LXX*.<sup>25</sup> From his place at the right hand of God, Jesus is now able to receive the Holy Spirit from the Father, and "pour" it out (2:33). He was been made both κύριος (Ruler) (10:36) and χριστός (anointed one, Messiah) (2:36; 4:26-27). He has thus received divine honour (3:13). He is appointed by God to be Judge over those who live and those who are dead (10:42).

#### 4.1.4 Some eschatological dimension<sup>26</sup>

During this investigation, several traces of an eschatological dimension were found:

(i) There seems to be a slight possibility that the headings of Pss 68(69) and 108(109) (reading εἰς τὸ τέλος) might have helped in the selection of passages concerning the Jesus events.

(ii) The J1-quotation contains a substitution with the words ἐν ταῖς ἔσχαταις ἡμέραις (Ac 2). Especially the second part of this quotation is coloured in apocalyptic language, and ends then in the appeal that all who call on the name of the κύριος will be saved. Add to this some exegetical-hermeneutical indicators which also play a role, e.g. τούτο ἔστιν (Ac 2)

(iii) The restoration of all things, "times of refreshment" and parusia in the third Petrine speech have confirmed this eschatological motif. One might add to all this also the normative usage of these Scriptures. The proclamation of this message must take place. When it is rejected by the Jews, it should then be taken to the Gentiles. God's words will happen. Jesus must remain in heaven until all these "times of refreshment" have taken place, then will he come again.

These things *must* therefore happen. They were the spoken words of God! God's words are action. The role of the divine δεῖ was identified. God has formerly worked through Jesus to achieve this. Jesus has now the same authority as God, and he works now through the apostles to unveil this salvation plan of God. Both are under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Luke has thus used several of the already known quoted Jewish and early Christian texts, and has used a *Textvorlage* which was near to that of the reconstructed LXX editions of today (although being stylistically more Semitic in nature), in order to indicate that the expected messiah of the Jews was indeed Jesus of Nazareth, and in order to appeal to the Jews to believe in him. When some of them remained unconvinced, justification is found again in Scripture for the decision to turn to the non-Jews with this message of divine salvation in the name of the κύριος!

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Mk 12:36, par. Mt 22:41-46; Lk 20:41-44 - the question about "the son of David" - also Heb 1:13.

<sup>26</sup> See also H.N. RIDDERBOS, *Speeches of Peter*, 12-17;